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REPRESENTING FOREIGN SOUNDS

Greek Transcriptions of Egyptian Anthroponyms

from 800 BC to 800 AD

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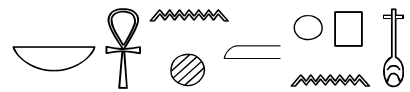
Dissertation presented for
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N t3y.i mwt

To my mother,



Nb(.t) 'nh m hrw pn nfr

Mistress of Life in this beautiful day

(Philae, Temple of Isis, Room VII,
east wall, lowest register)

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To all of you, thank you very much.

ABBREVIATIONS

In this dissertation, papyrological sources are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*¹. For the epigraphical sources, the abbreviations of Trismegistos (<http://www.trismegistos.org/>) have been followed². In all the cases, we follow the editorial conventions of the system of Leiden. The abbreviations used are listed below:

BL:

PREISIGKE, F., BILABEL, F., BOSWINKEL, E., CLARYSSE, W., PESTMAN, P. W., RUPPRECHT, H. A. (eds.), *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, Leiden, 1922-

CDD:

JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago, 2001

CRIPEL:

Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille

DN:

LÜDDECKENS, E. *et alii*, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1980-2000

¹ Cf. <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

² Cf. http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/publication_lookup.php?fieldname=Publication&.

LGPN I:

FRASER, P. M., MATTHEWS, E. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. I: *Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford, 1987

LGPN II:

OSBORNE, M. J., BYRNE, S. G. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. II: *Attica*, Oxford, 1994

LGPN III.A:

FRASER, P. M., MATTHEWS, E. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. III.A: *Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia*, Oxford, 1997

LGPN III.B:

FRASER, P. M., MATTHEWS, E. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. III.B: *Central Greece: From the Megarid to Thessaly*, Oxford, 2000

LGPN IV:

FRASER, P. M., MATTHEWS, E. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. IV: *Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea*, Oxford, 2005

LGPN V.A:

CORSTEN, T. (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. V.A: *Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia*, Oxford, 2010

LGPN V.B:

BALZAT, J.-S., CATLING, R. W. V., CHIRICAT, É., MARCHAND, F. (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. V.B: *Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*, Oxford, 2014

PN I, II, III:

RANKE, H., *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 3 vols., Clückstadt, 1935-1977

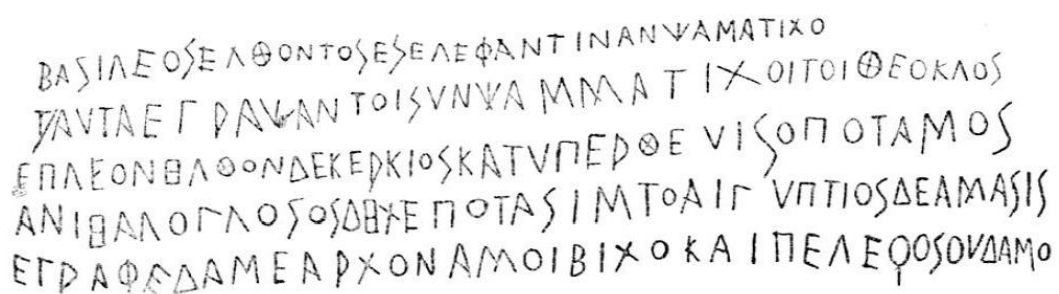
Short Texts II:

VLEEMING, S. P., *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*, Leuven, 2011

INTRODUCTION

As precursors of Coptic writing, Greek transcriptions of Egyptian anthroponyms reflect characteristic aspects of Koine Greek, show phonetic and morphological features of ancient Egyptian words and, thanks to the notation of vowels, which are not written in Egyptian texts, reveal some dialectal traces and even complete isoglosses of the latest period of the Egyptian language. However, the number of Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription studied is not wide, and the interpretation of some of them is still uncertain. The aim of our research is to analyse, thanks to the Trismegistos database, the Egyptian proper names attested in Greek transcription, along with the linguistic features of both Greek and Egyptian languages they reveal.

The first known Greek transcription of an Egyptian proper name, dated from the early sixth century BC (c. 589 BC), is found in an inscription in Abu Simbel made by Greek-Egyptians soldiers led by Amasis. In this inscription (SB VIII 10018 a), the Egyptian name *P3-di-sm3-t3.wy*, ‘The one who has been given by the unifier of the two lands’, is rendered into Greek as Ποτασιμτο and introduced in the Greek sentence without a Greek morphological ending. Even though this transcription dates from the reign of Psamtek II, it is only after the arrival of Alexander the Great in Egypt in 332 BC when the Greek transcriptions of Egyptian names became frequent. From that moment onwards, the Greek language was gradually imposed as lingua franca and as the language of the administration, whereas Egyptian was limited to a private, religious and literary use. In fact, in the Roman period only the administrative and juristic documents written in Greek were legally valid and, as a result, the Egyptian proper names of the native inhabitants of Egypt had to be written in Greek characters in all the official documents.



ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΛΘΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΞ ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΑΝ ΨΑΜΑΤΙΧΟ
 ΨΑΥΤΑΕ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟΙΣ ΨΝΨΑ ΜΜΑΤΙ ΧΟΙΤΟΙ ΘΕΟΚΛΟΣ
 ΕΠΛΕΟΝΘΛΟΝΔΕΚΕΡΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΤΥΠΕΡΘΕ ΒΙΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ
 ΑΝΙΘΑΛΟΓΛΟΣΟΣΘΗΕ ΠΟΤΑΣΙΜΤΟΑΙΓ ΥΠΤΙΟΣ ΔΕΑΜΑΣΙΣ
 ΕΓΡΑΦΕΔΑΜΕΑΡΧΟΝ ΑΜΟΙΒΙΧΟΚΑΙ ΠΕΛΕΡΟΣΟΝΔΑΜΟ

CIG III 5126; *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* I, n. 1 (Abu Simbel, ca. 589 BC)

Βασιλέος ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίναν Ψαμματίχο,
 ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοῖ σὺν Ψαμματίχοι τοι Θεοκλός
 ἔπλεον, ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθε, υἱς ὁ ποταμὸς
 ἀνίη. ἀλ(λ)ογλός(σ)ος δ' ἦχε **Ποτασιμτο** [**P3-dī-sm3-t3.wy**], Αἰγυπτίος δὲ Ἄμασις.
 ἔγραφε δ' ἀμὲ Ἄρχον Ἀμοιβίχο καὶ Πέλερος Οὐδάμο.

On the other hand, whereas the provenance of literary Coptic texts written in a certain dialect is not usually known, the origin of the Greek texts containing anthroponyms can be more frequently determined. Nevertheless, as pointed out by J. Vergote, and later by J. Yoyotte, the main difficulty related to the study of Egyptian names in Greek transcription is the unequal distribution of the documentation preserved for each geographical area. In addition, population movements and the ancient transport of documents are other difficulties for the delimitation of dialectal features reflected in Greek transcriptions.

The identification of a name in Greek writing as an Egyptian name in transcription is possible when:

1. A given personal name is attested in both Greek and Egyptian texts. To this group belong the names attested in bilingual documents, in which the identification of a name in Greek transcriptions with its Egyptian prototype is sure.
2. A given anthroponym can be identified as Egyptian because it contains some elements, and especially phonetic equivalences, that have been found in other Egyptian anthroponyms or recall other Egyptian names. Thus, for instance, the name *P3-ḥm-ntr-Īs.t* > Φέμνασις, “The prophet priest of Isis”, is both attested in Greek and demotic; however, the name Θενφέμνασις < **T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm-ntr-Īs.t* is only attested in Greek, but its Egyptian prototype can be reconstructed by comparison with the precedent name: “The daughter of the prophet priest of Isis”. For other names, nevertheless, it is more difficult to find the Egyptian prototype, because there are several possibilities: the prototype of the name Παταχῆμις could be **Pa-ta-ḥm*, “The one of the one of the little one”, but also **P3-di-ḥm* (?), “He who has been given by the little one”.

An important methodological question for the study of Egyptian names in Greek transcription is the reliability of the material: they way proper names have been read in Greek documents and the consideration of some specific names as real attestations.

The reliability of the material is a fundamental question for the analysis of the Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription¹. Many anthroponyms have in fact been incorrectly read by editors, who have been unable to distinguish a specific letter in a cursive writing or a damage passage. The letters of some anthroponyms written very cursively are usually not easy to decipher if the interpretation or the meaning of the name in transcription is unknown by the editor. The incorrect reading of anthroponyms, along with the wrong word division, implies the creation of ghostnames². In the course of this research, more than 30 ghostnames have been identified (cf. the images below for some examples)³, aside from other incorrect spellings related to anthroponyms in Greek transcription, such as ghostnames due to printing errors, variants of anthroponyms misread by editors (cf., for example, Πέτσιρις instead of Πετόσιρις < *P3-di-Wsir*, “He who has been given by Osiris”; both variants are attested), or proper names written in *Verschleifung* incorrectly interpreted by editors⁴. Furthermore, in some cases it is possible to deduce that a specific anthroponym is indeed a ghostname thanks to the knowledge of its Egyptian prototype and meaning, but it is not possible to verify its reading because no image of the anthroponym can be found online or in the edition. Other mistakes editors should be attentive to are the incorrect reconstruction of cases and the resolutions of abbreviations, along with the consideration of toponyms or other types of words as anthroponyms⁵. We hope that the analysis of the different variants of some Egyptian proper names in Greek transcription can help editors of Greek texts to understand and interpret some aspects of Egyptian onomastics and avoid the creation of new inexistent anthroponyms.

¹ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “The Study of Egyptian Proper Names in Greek Transcription. Problems and Perspectives”, p. 411-412.

² For a list with the majority of identified ghostnames, cf. http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/list_all.php.

³ Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming; BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “New Ghostnames from Papyrological Documents”, forthcoming. In addition, other ghostnames have been identified after the composition of these articles.

⁴ Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.

⁵ For some examples, cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “The Study of Egyptian Proper Names in Greek Transcription. Problems and Perspectives”, p. 412.



P. Got. 6 (321 AD), Ro. 3-4: Πγεποντήριος => Ghostname for Πε[τ]ενοντήριος⁶
 (nominative Πετενόντηρις < *P3-dí-n3-nṯr.w*, “He who has been given by the gods”)



P. Got. 6 (321 AD), Ro. 27: Ψεντμήνιος => Ghostname for Ψενταμίνιος⁷
 (nominative Ψεντάμινις < *P3-šr-n-ta-Mn*, “The son of the one of Min”)

Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription have been accented in this dissertation according to the principles indicated by W. Clarysse⁸, who points out that Greek accent on foreign words followed the rules of Greek itself⁹. Thus, in anthroponyms in transcription with no Greek morphological ending,

⁶ In BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

⁷ In BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

⁸ Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Greek Accents on Egyptian Names”, p. 177-184.

⁹ Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Greek Accents on Egyptian Names”, p. 178: “First and foremost, we should **not** a priori accept that Greek accentuation of foreign words followed the accentuation of the foreign language”; “We dare to disagree here with Wackernagel and to affirm that the Greek accent depended first and foremost on the rules of Greek (...), as in the case with loan-words in most languages”.

no accent has been put; the accent of the proper names with a Greek morphological ending depends, on the other hand, on the type of declension of the specific anthroponym¹⁰. This system indicates the situation where the accent of the anthroponym would have been according to the rules of Greek, which seem to be different from those of Egyptian. Consequently, the position of Greek accent on Egyptian anthroponyms in transcription in this dissertation is usually not the same as that of Egyptian. In fact, in some names the Greek accents should be situated – according to the Greek rules of accentuation depending on the declension – in a syllable that appears to be unaccented or even proclitic in Egyptian¹¹. Thus, for example, in the names Πάμμουνις (< *Pa-Īmn*, “The one of Amun”) and Πετένεντηρις (< *P3-di-n3-ntr.w*, “He who has been given by the gods”), the Greek accent would have been proparoxytone and situated on the *alpha* and the *epsilon*, which are part of the Egyptian possessive *pa-* and the plural article *n3* – both of them proclitic¹² –, respectively, whereas Egyptian accent seems to have fallen on the penultimate syllable. Despite these differences in Greek and Egyptian accentuation, we have decided to follow W. Clarysse’s indications in this dissertation given that for most classical philologists and Greek papyrologists the accent is usually a kind of *visual need* on Greek words.

Since Egyptian anthroponyms are generally composed of words with a proper meaning (*elements* or *formants*)¹³, we decided to undertake the study of Egyptian names in transcription by analysing some of these elements as a whole according to their position within the anthroponyms. A given element can occur in maximum four positions in an anthroponym: absolute (cf. Ἀμμουν < *Īmn*, “Amun”), initial (cf. Ἀμεννεύς < *Īmn-iw*, “Amun has come”), middle (cf. Τααμεννεύς < *Ta-Īmn-iw*, “The one of Amun has come”) and final (Πάμμουνις < *Pa-Īmn*, “The one of Amun”). Given that the consonantal structure of Egyptian words is generally the same in all the positions, we considered that

¹⁰ Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Greek Accents on Egyptian Names”, p. 179: “The rules of Greek accentuation for substantives depend on the declension types to which a word belonged. When foreign words receive a Greek ending, they automatically become a part of a Greek declension type and **we can simply apply the rules of Greek accentuation** to them. The accents in our manuscripts are those of Byzantine copyists and scholars, not those of the original manuscripts of the classical authors themselves, since they did not yet use accents. Now it is clear that these Byzantines felt the accents to be dependent on the declension types”.

¹¹ On the probable situation of Egyptian accent in anthroponyms in Greek transcription, cf. Conclusions and Perspectives.

¹² On the proclitic character of the Egyptian possessive prefixes *Pa-* and *Ta-*, cf. FECHT, G., *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 125-127.

¹³ Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., VANDORPE, K., “Ancient Egyptian Onomastics”, p. 843: “As to their form, anthroponyms can be divided into sentence- and word-names”.

analysing some elements composing anthroponyms in Greek characters would reveal the different representations of the vowels – vocalisations – of Egyptian words, which are not noted in the Egyptian scripts previous to the Coptic period, and their possible changes according to their positions in the anthroponyms¹⁴. In some anthroponyms, however, distinguishing the composing elements is not easy. Thus, in the name *Pa-p3-ntr*, “The one of the god”, which is mostly rendered into Greek as Παπνούθιος, the possessive prefix *Pa-*, the masculine definite article *-p3-* and the substantive *ntr* can be well identified in both Egyptian and Greek transcription; in the name *P3-ḥm-ntr*, “The prophet priest”, which occurs as Φαντ in Greek transcription, the different Egyptian words seem integrated and indivisible in the Greek rendering and, for an adequate analysis, the complete name *P3-ḥm-ntr* would have to be considered as a single element. The establishment of the different elements composing a specific anthroponym should consequently be done according to the linguistic context and the characteristics of Greek transcriptions.

Even though Greek transcriptions of Egyptian names contribute to our knowledge of the development of Koine Greek characteristics and Egyptian phonetics, the most important contributions of transcriptions are likely related to the area of dialectology. In a monograph about Š3y, J. Quaegebeur demonstrated that the transcriptional variants of the formant Š3y with /o/ were especially frequent in the Delta and in the area between Oxyrhynchus and Lycopolis, whereas the variants with /a/ seemed to be attested mainly in the Fayum and in the area between Apollonopolis and the south limit of Egypt. Between the regions where the vocalizations with /a/ and with /o/ were predominant, some transitional areas, where both vocalizations are possible, were revealed. The study of other formants containing dialectal traces, such as the word *sn*, “brother”, and *ḥsy*, “blessed”, has already been undertaken.

In this dissertation, four main parts can be found:

I. Egyptian elements attested in one position;

¹⁴ This methodological approach seems to be in agreement with both the agglutinative and inflectional features of the Egyptian language (cf. for example Coptic ⲁ-ⲡ-ⲃⲟⲕ, “He went” – agglutinative –; but also ⲃⲟⲕ ⲃⲁⲕ= ⲃⲏⲕ, “to go” in *status absolutus, pronominalis* and in qualitative, respectively – inflectional –). Cf. CRYSTAL, D., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, p. 295, who points out that in inflecting languages “grammatical relationships are expressed by changing the internal structure of the words”, and in agglutinative languages “words are built up out of a long sentence of units, with each unit expressing a particular grammatical meaning”. A language can have both agglutinative and inflecting characteristics.

II. Egyptian elements attested in two positions;

III. Egyptian elements attested in three positions; and

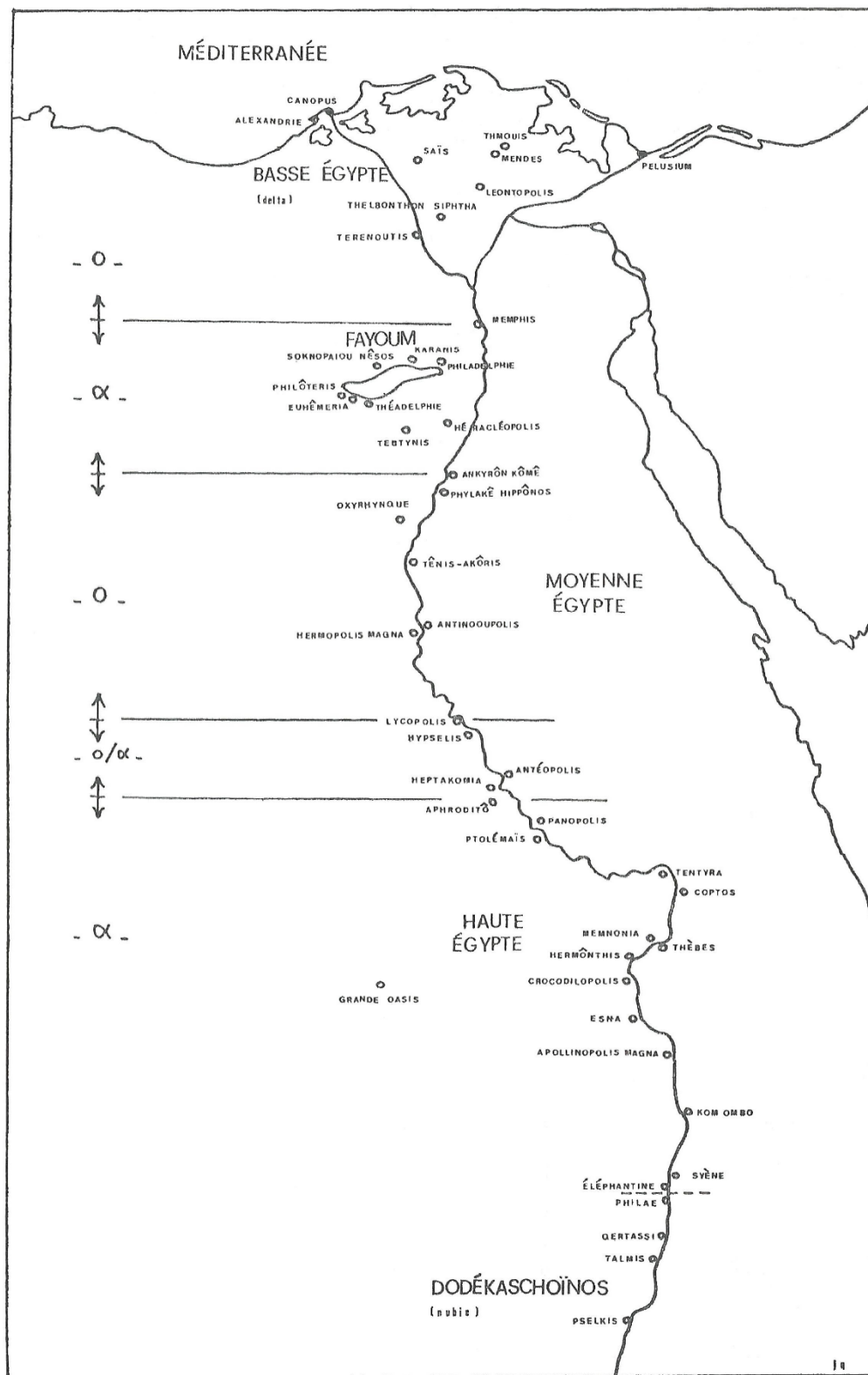
IV: Egyptian elements attested in four positions.

After the analysis of the more than 12000 Egyptian anthroponyms contained in the Trismegistos database, we have been able to delimit more than 400 formants composing Egyptian proper names attested in Greek transcription. Given the great number of Egyptian elements composing anthroponyms attested in Greek transcriptions, only representative examples with interesting linguistic features concerning the Egyptian or the Greek languages have been analysed in the different parts. A complete list with all the elements occurring in names in Greek transcription, with information on the positions in which they are attested, the most frequent Greek renderings according to their position in the names and the most frequent morphological ending for those attested in absolute and final positions, is however provided in Appendix IV.

The analysis of each Egyptian element attested in Greek transcription includes three main parts:

1. Attestations: Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription, hybrid names and derivations, anthroponyms with a prototype unknown.
2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread: a table is included with the number of variants attested for each nome.
3. Linguistic characteristics

**B. CARTE GÉOGRAPHIQUE
AVEC INDICATION DE L'ISOPHONE a/o**



QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 278

PART I

EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS ATTESTED IN ONE POSITION

Οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντως τὴν αὐτὴν διασώζει διάνοιαν μεθερμηνευόμενα τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἔστι τινὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰδιώματα, ἀδύνατα εἰς ἄλλο ἔθνος διὰ φωνῆς σημαίνεσθαι· ἔπειτα κἂν εἰ οἷόν τε αὐτὰ μεθερμηνεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε δύναμιν οὐκέτι φυλάττει τὴν αὐτὴν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ βάρβαρα ὀνόματα πολλὴν μὲν ἔμφασιν πολλὴν δὲ συντομίαν, ἀμφιβολίας τε ἐλάττονος μετέσχηκε καὶ ποικιλίας καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν λέξεων· διὰ πάντα δὴ οὖν ταῦτα συναρμόζει τοῖς κρείττοσιν.

IAMBLICHUS, *De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum* VII 5

CHAPTER 1

$$I_3 b_t$$

Ī3bṯ

1. ATTESTATIONS OF EGYPTIAN *Ī3bṯ* IN GREEK TRANSCRIPTION

Egyptian *Ī3bṯ* ¹, which can be both a substantive, “East”, and an adjective, “Eastern, oriental”², occurs in final position in 7 anthroponyms in Greek transcription; only two of these names, *P3-wr-Ī3bṯ* ³, “The great one of the East”⁴, and *Hr-Ī3bṯ* ⁵, “Horus of the East”, are however attested in demotic. The name with more attestations in transcription is *P3-wr-Ī3bṯ*, which occurs more than 250 times, whereas for the rest of the anthroponyms there are less than 10 attestations.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
<i>P3-wr-Ī3bṯ</i>	The great one of the East	Ποριεύθης ⁶	268	939
* <i>P3-rmt-n-Ī3bṯ</i>	The man of the East	Πρεμειβτε ⁷	1	27883
* <i>P3-rmt-n-p3-Ī3bṯ</i>	The man of the East	Πρεμπέειβθις ⁸	1	38488
* <i>P3-šr-n-Hr-Ī3bṯ</i>	The son of Horus of the East	Ψεγεράγεβθις ⁹	1	6398

¹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 178, n. 1.

² Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Ī, p. 13-16. The adjective *Ī3bṯ* or *Ī3bṯy* is a nisbe derived from the substantive *Ī3bṯ*. The Demotic spellings seem to have been confused in some attestations: along with *P3-wr-Ī3bṯ*, *P3-wr-Ī3bṯy* is also found (cf. TM Nam 939; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Ī, p. 14).

³ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 178, n. 1.

⁴ The name *P3-wr-Ī3bṯy* may refer to the prince of the East Pektur mentioned in Demotic literature, as pointed out by RYHOLT, K., “A Sesostri Story in Demotic Egyptian and Demotic Literary Exercises (O. Leipzig UB 2217”, p. 436-437: “Since the personal name Pektur was in popular use already before the Saite period, the Graeco-Roman occurrences of the name are not diagnostic. There can, however, be little doubt that the use of the title ‘Prince of the East’ (*p3-wr-Ī3bṯ*) as a personal name – also common in Greek as *Poregebthis* with variants – refers to Pektur (...). Again this is not surprising inasmuch as Pektur (...) was deified in later times, as a name such as *P3-dī-wr-Ī3bṯ* shows. That the personal name Pektur may often refer to the Pektur as well could be indicated by the occurrence of this name side by side with *p3-wr-Ī3bṯ* in an unpublished account of Roman date”.

⁵ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 789, n. 2.

⁶ In SB XX I 5061, col. 1, 10, the name Πορεμγέβθιος occurs. In this attestation Egyptian **P3-wr-n-Ī3bṯ*, with the genitive *n*, seems to have been represented.

⁷ In O. Strasb. I 637, 9: Πρεμειβτε.



⁸ In O. Petrie Mus. 504, 6: Πρεμπέειβθις

⁹ In P. Tebt. III 888, Ro. 9: Ψεγεραγέβθιος.

*Ns-Ḥr-ỉ3bt ¹⁰	He/She belongs to Horus of the East	Σέργεβθις ¹¹	1	24662
Ḥr-ỉ3bt	Horus of the East	Ἑρέγεβθις	6	328
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-wr-ỉ3bt	The daughter of the great one of the East	Σενποριεύθης	5	23346

2. TRANSCRIPTIONAL VARIANTS AND GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD

83.14 % of the anthroponyms containing *ỉ3bt* come from Thebes, although this element in transcription is also attested in other nomes of Upper Egypt (2.24 %) and the Fayum (14.60 % of the attestations). Of the 12 different variants attested for *ỉ3bt*, -ιευθ- occurs in 68.91 % of the attestations, and -εγεβθ- in 25.09 % of the transcriptions. The frequency of the rest of the variants is much lower: -ειβθ- is attested five times, -εγεθ- and -ειυθ- twice, and the others occur only once¹².

	00	U03	U04	U05	U09	U15
-αγεβθ-	1					
-γεβθ-			1			1
-εγβ-	1					
-εγβεθ-			1			
-εγεβθ-	37		29		1	
-εγεθ-		2				
-εγιβθ-			1			
-ειβθ-			3	1		
-ειγεβθ-			1			
-ειευθ-			2			
-ευθ-			1			
-ιευθ-			183	1		
Total attestations	39	2	222	2	1	1

¹⁰ The names beginning by *Ns-Ḥr-*, “He/She belongs to Horos...” are well attested. Cf. for example *Ns-Ḥr-wr* (TM Nam 179); *Ns-Ḥr-p3-ḥrd* (TM Nam 180).

¹¹ In O. Cairo 37, 3: Σέργέβθιος.

¹² The names Ποριε (O. Strasb. I 551, 2) – considered in the Trismegistos database as a rendering of *P3-wr-ỉ3bt* (cf. TM Nam 939) – and the incomplete Πορε[ιβθ]η (O. Bodl. II 1094, 1-2) have not been considered here.

3. LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS

	00	U03	U04	U05	U09	U15
-αγε-	1					
-γε-			1			1
-εγ-	1		1			
-εγε-	37	2	29		1	
-εγι-			1			
-ει-			3	1		
-ειγε-			1			
-ειε-			2			
-ε-			1			
-ιε-			183	1		
Total attestations	39	2	222	2	1	1

Representation of the group -iʒ- in Greek transcription

As it can be seen in the table *supra*, the group -iʒ- has been represented into Greek in more than 10 different ways. In the Fayum, it appears as -εγε- in 94.87 % of the attestations. In Upper Egypt, on the other hand, the most frequent rendering is -ιε-, which occurs in 80.70 % of the transcriptions, whereas in this area -εγε- represents 14.03 % of the renderings. The other transcriptional variants attested for *iʒbt* are minority: -ει-¹³ occurs 4 times; -γε-¹⁴, -εγ-¹⁵ and -ειε-¹⁶ twice; and -αγε-, εγι-, -ειγε- and -ε-, once¹⁷. The occurrence of α instead of ε in the name Ψεγεραγέβθιος (P. Tebt. III 888, Ro. 9) can probably be explained by dissimilation. The representation of Egyptian *aleph* after the *yod* is uncertain: it is not possible to know whether or not the *epsilon* that occurs in some attestations after γ, ει or ι represents indeed the *aleph* or the vocalisation of the word. Consonantal *yod* at the beginning of the term *iʒbt* appears, on the other hand, as ι in 68.91 % of the total attestations. 28.46 % of the renderings

¹³ In O. Wilcken II 1531, 2: Πόρειβθις; O. Bodl. II 949, 1: Πορείβθ(ις); O. Bodl. II 1025, 2: Πουρείβθου, from *Pʒ-wr-iʒbt*; and O. Petrie Mus. 504, 6: Πρεμπέειβθ(ις), from **Pʒ-rmt-n-pʒ-iʒbt*.

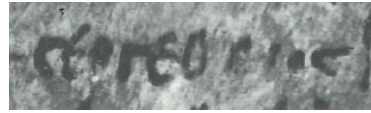
¹⁴ In O. Cairo 37, 3: Σεργέβθιος (< **Ns-Hr-iʒbt*); and SB XX 15061, col. 1, 10: Πορεμγέβθιος (< **Pʒ-wr-n-iʒbt*).

¹⁵ In P. Tebt. I 62, col. 10, 180: Πορέγβης; and O. Bodl. II 650, 5: Πορεγβέθ(ις) (< *Pʒ-wr-iʒbt*).

¹⁶ In O. Bodl. II 1679, 3: Πορειεύθ(ου); O. Wilcken II 559, 2: Πορειεύθου (< *Pʒ-wr-iʒbt*).

¹⁷ In P. Tebt. III 888, Ro. 9: Ψεγεραγέβθιος (< **Pʒ-šr-n-Hr-iʒbt*); O. Wilcken II 1403, 1: Πορέγυβθις – on the interchange of ε and ι in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 249-251 –; O. Bodl. II 530, 2: Πορειγέβθης; and O. Bodl. II 1920, 4: Πορ<ι>εύθ(ης) (< *Pʒ-wr-iʒbt*).

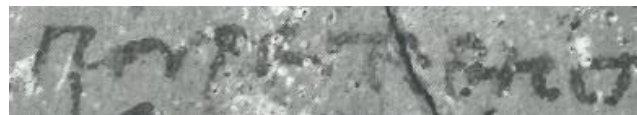
contain γ representing Egyptian *yod*¹⁸. The diversity of renderings of Egyptian *-iʒ-* can also be observed in Coptic: the initial part of the word $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon\beta\tau/\epsilon\iota\beta\tau$ can be represented as $\epsilon-$, $\epsilon\epsilon-$, $\epsilon\epsilon\iota-$, $\epsilon\iota-$, $\epsilon\iota\epsilon-$, $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota-$, $\epsilon\iota\eta-$, $\eta\epsilon\iota\eta-$, $\iota\epsilon-$ or $\iota\eta$ ¹⁹.



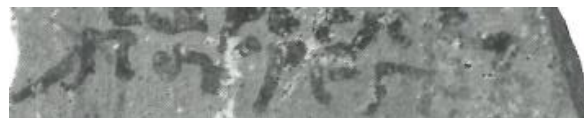
O. Cairo 37, 3: Σεργέβθιος



O. Petrie Mus. 504, 6: Πρεμπέιβθ(ις)



O. Elkab 59, 2: Πουρεγέθης



O. Elkab 59, 6: Πουρεγέθη[ς]

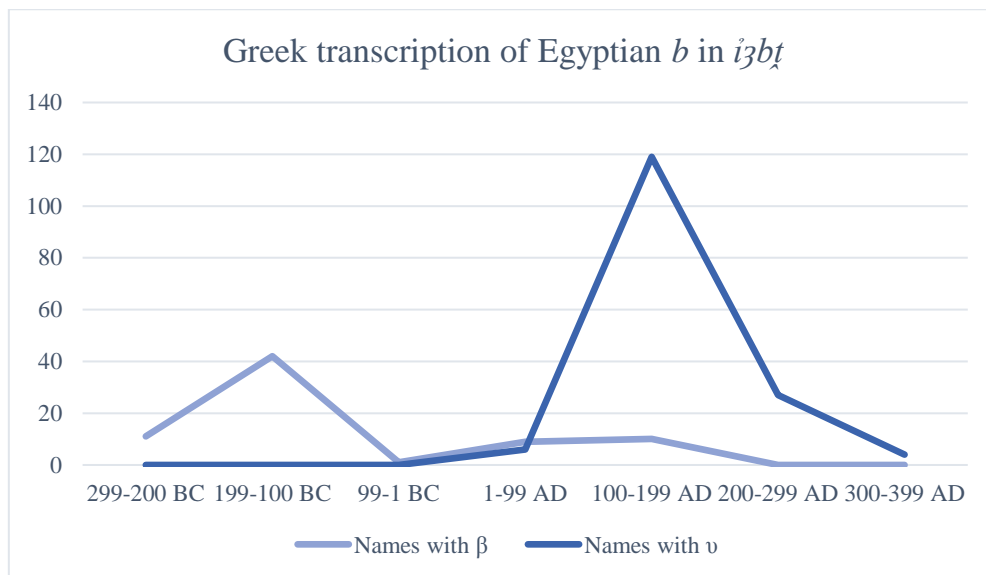
In 100 % of the attestations from the Fayum and 17.10 % (39) from Upper Egypt, Egyptian *b* has been represented as β , and in 82.01 % (187) from Upper Egypt as υ . In two attestations no *b* seems to have been rendered²⁰. The substitution of β by υ in some variants shows that, from a certain moment

¹⁸ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 17: “(ε)ι note la fricative prépalatale mouillée ou semi-voyelle /j/ sans qu’on puisse dire si celle-ci était très fermée comme le *yod* allemand (ex. *ja*) ou très ouverte comme le *yod* français (ex. *hier*). Normalement transcrite par ι en grec, elle peut aussi être rendue par γ”; GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 73; VERGOTE, J., *Phonétique historique de l’égyptien. Les consonnes*, p. 76-79. Also Egyptian *wau* is usually represented as γ in Greek characters. Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 16; GIGNAC, F. T., *ibidem*, p.75.

¹⁹ Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 76; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 40.

²⁰ In O. Elkab 59, 2: Πουρεγέθης; and 6: Πουρεγέθη[ς] (< *Pʒ-wr-iʒbʃ*).

onwards, the /b/ represented by Egyptian *b* and Greek β started to be pronounced as a bilabial fricative [β] and noted by υ, which in the renderings of *ιβητ* appears preceded by ε²¹. The chronology of the different attestations with β and υ helps to determine the period when Egyptian *b* began to be transcribed as υ as a reflection of its pronunciation as a bilabial fricative. Thus, as it can be seen in the graph below, the use of υ for the transcription of Egyptian *b* started during the first century AD, when the number of attestations with β and with υ is similar, and sharply increased during the following century²². No evidence of the transcription of *b* as υ can be found for the period previous to the first century AD.



²¹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 68-70: “β is frequently used to transcribe Latin consonantal *u* (υ). It is also occasionally substituted for, added to, or omitted in connection with the second element of an αυ or ευ diphthong. These phenomena indicate that β normally represents not the classical voiced bilabial stop /b/ but a bilabial fricative /β/”; “β is occasionally substituted for, added to, or omitted in connection with the second element of an αυ or ευ diphthong, mainly in the Byzantine period, when αυ/ευ = [αβ/εβ]”.

²² In figures, 11 attestations with β date from 299-200 BC, 42 from 199-100 BC, 1 from 99-1 BC, 9 from 1-99 AD and 10 from 100-199 AD. The last name with *ιβητ* transcribed with β is Ποπεμγέβθιος (SB XX 15061, col. 1, 10), dated from 200-399 AD. On the other hand, 6 attestations with υ date from 1-99 AD, 119 from 100-199 AD, 27 from 200-299 AD and 4 from 300-399 AD. This result is in agreement with GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 68, who points out that the interchange of β and υ due to a fricative pronunciation of β takes place “with increasing frequency from the first century A.D. on”.

In one attestation – the name Πορεγβέθ(ιος) (< *P3-wr-i3bʔ*)²³ –, ε has been noted between the letters representing Egyptian *b* and *ʔ*; if the reading of the anthroponyms is correct, it could represent the Egyptian /ə/ between both letters. Egyptian *ʔ* has been rendered as aspirated θ in all the attestations²⁴, except in one anthroponym – Πορέγβης, in P. Tebt. I 62, 180 – in which it has presumably not been rendered. Due to the faded ink, the reading of the name is in fact uncertain.



P. Tebt. I 62, 180: Πορέγβης (?)

4. CONCLUSION

The variety of renderings of the Egyptian group -*i3*- in Greek and Coptic seems to show the different attempts to represent consonantal *yod* – situated at the beginning of the word *i3bʔ* –, which did no longer exist in the Greek of the Graeco-Roman period²⁵; the different transcriptional variants do consequently not appear to reflect specific dialectal features²⁶. Greek transcriptions of Egyptian *b* as υ instead of β after ε show that, from the first century AD onwards, *b* began to be pronounced as a bilabial fricative [β]. Greek transcriptions of *i3bʔ* thus reflect this evolution of pronunciation

²³ In O. Bodl. II 650, 5. No image of the text is available.

²⁴ On the interchange of aspirated and voiceless stops, generally due to bilingual interference, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 86-96.

²⁵ Cf. LEJEUNE, M., *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, p. 165: “Le grec du premier millénaire n’a plus de phonème yod. Mais on doit en reconnaître encore l’existence à date mycénienne, encore qu’à l’initiale du mot (...), après voyelle (...) et après sonante (...) on constate, à divers indices orthographiques, que l’élimination était déjà en cours”.

²⁶ CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 76, and VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 40, who consider numerous variants as belonging to Sahidic.

characteristic of the Greek language²⁷ and confirm the starting date of this phenomenon in the Greek spoke in Egypt.

²⁷ Cf. LEJEUNE, M., *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, p. 231: “*εϋ* et *αϋ* ont résisté à l’assimilation (...). Cependant, la tendance à l’élimination des diphtongues s’est manifestée ici encore : cette fois, par différenciation des deux éléments, dont le second tend vers une prononciation nettement consonantique (spirante bilabiale, puis labiodentale). Dès le III^e siècle, en Béotie, plus tard dans d’autres parties du monde grec, des confusions graphiques entre -*εβδ*- et -*ευδ*-, -*αβδ*- et -*αυδ*-, etc., annoncent déjà la prononciation du grec moderne : *αυ*, *εϋ* se lisent aujourd’hui *af*, *ef* devant consonne sourde, *av*, *ev* devant sonore”.

CHAPTER 2


-i.îr- and *-i.îr-di-s*

-i.īr- and -i.īr-dī-s

1. EGYPTIAN *i.īr* IN MIDDLE POSITION


1.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

The Egyptian past participle form of the verb *iri*, “to make, to do, to act” – preceded by a prothetic yod²⁸ (cf. *i.īr* ²⁹) – appears nominalised by the definite article *p3/t3* in six Egyptian names in Greek transcription:

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
P3-i.īr-īmn	He who has been made by Amun	Παράμμων	47	10998
P3-i.īr-ntr	He who has been made by the god	Φερένουθις	18	903
*P3-i.īr-shy	He who has been made by the powerful one	Πίσιχις ³⁰	2	24763
P3-di-Ḥnsw-p3-i.īr-shy	The one who has been given by Khonsu, he who has been made by the powerful one	Πετεχεσπισείχιος, Πετεχεσπίσχιος ³¹	3	7947

²⁸ Cf. SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 112, 198-199); JOHNSON, J., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 118-120. On the use of the prothetic yod in participles and relative forms in late Egyptian, cf. NEVEU, F., *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, p. 140, 145. According to VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue*

copte, p. 45, *i.īr* is a “préfixe participial du passé” and “résidu du néo-égyptien  *i-ir*, se trouve uniquement dans quelques textes anciens” in Coptic.

²⁹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 338, n. 3.

³⁰ In O. Strasb. I 244, 3: Πετεχεσπ(οχράτη) Πισίχιος; and P. Charite 15, col. 1, 19: Πισίχεως. The resolution of the abbreviation Πετεχεσπ() in O. Strasb. I 244, 3 is uncertain, since the name Πετεχεσπισίχιος could also fit.

³¹ In O. Bodl. II 1510, 4 and 5: Πετεχεσπισείχιος(ς) and Πετεχεσπισείχιος, respectively; and O. Bodl. II 1525, 3-4: Πετεχεσπίσχιος(ς).

*Ta-p3- <i>i.ir</i> -ntr	The one of He who has been made by the god	Ταφέρνουφης ³²	1	28255
*T3- <i>i.ir</i> -Š3y	She who has been made by Shai	Τερεψάεις, Τερέψαις ³³	4	18087

1.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

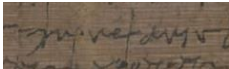
In all the transcriptional variants, the Egyptian formant *i.ir* is in the middle of the name. There are four different transcriptions for *i.ir*: -αρ- and -ερ-, attested in the Fayum and in Lower and Upper Egypt; -ερε-, in the Fayum, and -ι-, in Upper Egypt.

	00	L00	L16	U04	U09	U15	U19
-αρ- (?)	9	1				3	9
-ερ-	6		3		1		
-ερε-	14						
-ι-				6		1	
Total attestations	29	1	3	6	1	4	10

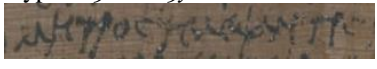
1.3. Linguistic characteristics

The Egyptian *r* of the formant *i.ir* is noted as ρ in Greek³⁴ except in the Greek transcriptions of the names *P3-*i.ir*-shy and P3-*dī*-Hnsw-p3-*i.ir*-shy. In these anthroponyms, *i.ir* is represented as -ι- (cf.

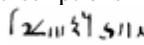
³² In *CRIPEL* V 1178, A 2-3: Ταφερνούφιος.

³³ In PSI VIII 908, col. 1, 2: Τερεψαις ; P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 7, 12: Τερεψάειν; P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 4, 2: Τερεψάιτο(ς); P. Mich. 2 121 Vo, col. 12, 14: Τερέψαιν; PSI 8 908, col. 1, 12: Τελέψαντις.

³⁴ There is, on the other hand, one attestation of the name Τελέψαντις (TM Nam 18087), from Tebtynis, whose derivation from the prototype *T3-*i.ir*-Š3y is not sure. On the other hand, its reading in PSI VIII 908, col. 1, 12 seems correct: μητρὸς

Τελέψαντις . If -ελε- is the representation of Egyptian -*i.ir*-, it would be a case of lambdacism, characteristic of Fayumic. TILL, W. C., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 7; GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 102-107.

Πίσιχις, Πετεχεσπισείχιος, Πετεχεσπίσχιος)³⁵; in this case, the ρ has not been written before σ probably owing to the omission of the liquid /r/ before the sibilant /s/³⁶ or the phonetic assimilation and simplification of the consonantal group -ρσ-: *-ιρσ-> *-ισσ-> -ισ-. In all the Greek transcriptions of the name *P3-i.ir-Īmn*, the linguistic formant *i.ir* is rendered as -αρ-³⁷. This vocalisation, α and not ε as in the transcriptions of other names, could be due to the regressive assimilation, influenced by the α that renders the yod of *Īmn* (cf. Παράμμων)³⁸. Similarly, in the names **P3-i.ir-shy* and *P3-di-Hnsw-p3-i.ir-shy*, *i.ir* is represented in the transcriptions with the vocalisation ι probably because of the regressive assimilation caused by the ι/ει of the vocalisation of *shy* (cf. Πίσιχις, Πετεχεσπισείχιος, Πετεχεσπίσχιος). For the segment *i.ir* of the names *P3-i.ir-ntr* and **Ta-p3-i.ir-ntr* in Greek transcription, the variants -ερ- and -ερε- are attested; for the name **T3-i.ir-Š3y*, however, only -ερ- is attested. The second ε in -ερε- probably notes the /ə/ pronounced between the end of the formant *i.ir* and the beginning of the next one.

³⁵ There is not doubt about the derivation of these Greek transcriptions from the Egyptian prototypes **P3-i.ir-shy* and *P3-di-Hnsw-p3-i.ir-shy*. This last name is attested in Demotic:  (image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 338, n. 3).


³⁶ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 107-108.

³⁷ In all the complete attestations attested of this name, *i.ir* is rendered as -αρ-: Παράμμων (P. Fouad 62, 6-7; SB XX 14468, col. 2, 42; BGU VII 1630 descr., col. 4, 50; P. Lond. V 1648, 15;...), Παράμμωνος/ Παράμωνος (SB XIV 12090, Ro. 20; CPR VI 3, 7; P. Oxy. I 43 Vo., col. 3, 20; P. Oxy. LIV 3758, Ro. 6; P. Oxy. XIV 1716, 6; P. Wisc. II 80, col. 6, 170; PSI XII 1223, Ro. 8; Stud. Pal. XXII 36, 3; SB 18 13880, 6;...), Παράμμωνι/ Παράμωνι (P. Oxy. I 116, Ro. 6; SB XX 15180, 1;...). These attestations allow to reconstruct this vocalization in the incomplete attestations: Π[α]ράμμων Π[α]ράμωνος (P. Oxy. Hels. 21, col. 2, 7); Π[αρά]μμ[ων] (BGU VII 1630 descr., col. 2, 7). The attestation Παράμμωv[ος], in P. Oxy. 43 3126, Ro. col. 1, 1, has not been included in this study, because owing to the reading of one single letter of the name, the reconstruction is not sure. On the derivation of these Greek transcriptional variants from the Egyptian prototype *P3-i.ir-Īmn*, attested in Demotic, cf. COLIN, F., “De la signification du nom ΠΑΡΑΜΜΩΝ”, p. 213-216.

³⁸ VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 46, considers the variant αρ as characteristic of Old Coptic, but at the same time he points out that in Old Coptic this variant is not attested for the verb *iri*. However, 7 attestations in Greek transcription of the name *P3-i.ir-Īmn* with -αρ- date from 100-199 AD, 1 from 200-299 AD and 8 from 300 AD onwards. On the other hand, 14 attestations of the variants -ερ-/ερε- date from 299-200 BC, 4 from 1-99 AD and 2 from 100 AD onwards. All the attestations with the transcription -ι- for *i.ir* date from 100 AD onwards. Consequently, we cannot agree with Vycichl in that point.


2. EGYPTIAN *-ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s* IN FINAL POSITION

2.1. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

The linguistic formant *ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s* ³⁹, “who has given him/her”, consisting of the past participle⁴⁰ of the verb *dĭ*, “to give”, and the dependent pronoun masculine and feminine *s*, is present in at least 10 names attested in Greek transcription. In most names the formant *ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s* is preceded by the name of a god or goddess; however, in the anthroponym Περταῖος⁴¹, not attested in Egyptian, the segment *ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s* seems to be anteceded – and nominalised – by the determinate article *p3*. According to the number of attestations in Greek transcription, the most popular name of this type was *Dḥwty-ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s*, “Thot is the one who has given him/her” (225 attestations), followed by far by *Īmn-ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s*, “Amun is the one who has given him/her” (28 attestations):

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
Īmn-ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s	Amun is the one who has given him/her	Ἀμορταῖος	28	42
Īnpw-ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s	Anubis is the one who has given him/her	Ἄνουπορταῖος ⁴²	2	62
Īs.t-ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s	Isis is the one who has given him/her	Ἐσερταῖς	6	7882
Wp-w3.wt-ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s	Upuaut is the one who has given him/her	Ὀφιερταῖος ⁴³	1	8088
B3st.t-ĭ.ĭr-dĭ-s	Bastet is the one who has given him/her	Ὀβεστέρταις, Ὀβοστόρταις	7	556

³⁹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 63.

⁴⁰ Cf. SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Grammatik*, (1975: 112, 198-199); JOHNSON, J., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 118-120. In some Demotic attestations the writing of this formant is abbreviated as  (image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 877, n. 11). On the Demotic writings of this type of names, cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Noms démotiques et *-ĭw*, *-m-ḥb* et *-ĭ.ĭr.dj-s*”, p. 11-24.

⁴¹ In SB III 6134, 1.

⁴² In P. Tebt. III 1003 Vo. descr., col. 2, 20 and 24: Ἄνουπορταῖος. The variant Ἄνουπορταῖος read by the editor in l. 24 has been identified as erroneous for Ἄνουπορταῖος. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.

⁴³ In SB XXIV 15972, col. II, 35: Ὀφιερταῖου.

*P3- <i>i.ir-di-s</i> (?)	He who has given him/her (?)	Περταῖος ⁴⁴	1	5038
Mw.t- <i>i.ir-di-s</i>	Mut is the one who has given him/her	Μουθέρτετος ⁴⁵	1	479
*Hr-š=f- <i>i.ir-di-s</i>	Herishef is the one who has given him/her	Ἀσφόρτεις ⁴⁶	1	29706
Hnsw- <i>i.ir-di-s</i>	Khonsu is the one who has given him/her	Χεσερταῖος, Χεσόρταῖος	9	123
Sbk- <i>i.ir-di-s</i>	Sobek is the one who has given him/her	Σοκορταῖος, Σοκορότης ⁴⁷	5	8014
Dḥwty- <i>i.ir-di-s</i>	Thot is the one who has given him/her	Θοτορταῖος	225	1397

2.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

There are 17 different transcriptional variants for the formant *i.ir-di-s*, of which at least 10 are attested in the Fayum, 3 in Lower Egypt and 12 in Upper Egypt⁴⁸. The most attested variant in both the Fayum and Upper Egypt is -ορται/-ορταις: 168 cases are found in the Fayum (88.09 % of the attestations) and 90 in Upper Egypt, where this variant constitutes 89.10 % of the attestations.

	00	L01	U01	U02	U04	U05	U06	U10	U13	U15	U19	U20
-αρταις					1							
-εμταις	1											
-ερταις	2											
-ερται-	8		1						1			

⁴⁴ In SB III 6134, 1: Περταῖος.

⁴⁵ In SB XX 14344, 1: Μουθέρτετος.

⁴⁶ In BGU XIV 2426, 2: Ἀσφόρτεις



⁴⁷ In O. Narm. Dem. III 144, 2-3 and 5; SB XII 10861, fr. B 21: Σοκορταῖος; SB XII 10861, fr. E 77: Σοκορταῖος; and P. Ryl. Gr. II 72, descr.: Σοκορταῖς.

⁴⁸ The names Χεσορ() and Οβεζ(), attested incomplete in O. Bodl. I 31, 3 and P. Petrie III 124 a-b, b col. 2, 8 and col. 3, 9, and considered as variants of *Hnsw-i.ir-di-s* and *B3st.t-i.ir-di-s* in the Trismegistos database, have been excluded of this study. Similarly, the name Σορταῖος, attested twice in CPR XXIII 3-4 and 8, and considered as transcriptions of *Is.t-i.ir-di-s* in the database has not been included here, since both attestations are not complete (cf. Σορ]ταῖος and Σορτ[αῖος]) and their derivation from the prototype *Is.t-i.ir-di-s* is uncertain.

-ερταις	3	1			1							
-ερτε-					1							
-ερτοις					1							
-ορθαι-	1									1		
-οροτης	2											
-ορται-	120	1			53	1	1	3	3	2	2	9
-ορταιεις					1							
-ορταις	28			1	10					1		4
-ορταις												1
-ορτις					1							
-ορτοται-		1										
-ται-	2											1
-υρται-	1											
Total attestations	168	3	1	1	69	1	1	3	4	4	2	15

2.3. Linguistic characteristics

The *r* of the Egyptian formant *ỉ.ỉr* has been transcribed in Greek as ρ except in the names Ἑσέμταις⁴⁹ and Ἀμυνταῖος⁵⁰, probably because of an error of the scribe in the first case and owing to a phonetic interconsonantal omission in the second one. The vocalisation of *ỉ.ỉr* appears as ε in 8.33 % of the attestations of the Fayum and in 4.95 % of the names from Upper Egypt, and as ο in 89.88 % of the anthroponyms with the formant *ỉ.ỉr-di-s* from the Fayum and in 96.03 % of the cases from Upper Egypt. The number of attestations with ε and ο for each nome is shown in the next table:

	00	L01	L20	U01	U02	U04	U05	U06	U10a	U13	U15	U19	U20
ε	14	1		1		3				1			
ο	151	2	1		1	65	1	1	3	3	4	4	15

⁴⁹ In P. Count. 49 Ro., 6. The reading of the name seems correct:



⁵⁰ In SB I 4425, col. 3, 1 and 13 and Stud. Pal. XX 20, 15.

Even though the Coptic prefix *ερ-* has been considered as characteristic of Sahidic, Sub-Akhmimic and Bohairic⁵¹, and *-ερ-/ερε-* is the most frequent rendering of Egyptian *ỉ.ỉr* in the names of the type *P3/T3-ỉ.ỉr-X*, “He/She who has been made by X”⁵², as it can be deduced from the table the variant *-ερ-* as rendering of *ỉ.ỉr* in the names with the formant *ỉ.ỉr-di-s* cannot be justified by any geographical reason, since it is attested in the Fayum and Lower and Upper Egypt, and chronology does not appear to be helping either⁵³.

The names in which *-ερ-* is found as representation of *ỉ.ỉr* are: all the transcriptional variants of *Ỉs.t-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* (Ἐσερτάεις, Ἐσέρταις, Ἐσέροις⁵⁴), the only attestation in transcription of *Wp-w3.wt-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* (Ὀφιερταῖος), one variant of *B3st.t-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* (Ὀβεστέρταις⁵⁵), the Greek rendering Περταῖος, the only Greek transcription of *Mw.t-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* attested (Μουθέρετρος), most transcriptional variants of *Hnsw-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* (Χεσέρταιος, Χεσερταῖς, Χενσερταῖς⁵⁶) and five attestations of *Dḥwty-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* (Θοτερταῖος), 2.22 % of the Greek transcriptions of this name. On the other hand, the rendering *-ορ-* for Egyptian *ỉ.ỉr* appears in 78.57 % of the transcriptions of *Ỉmn-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* (22 attestations of the variants Ἀμορταῖος, Ἀμόρταις and Ἀμονόρταισις), in the two attestations of *Ỉnpw-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* in Greek transcription (Ἀνουπορταῖος, Ἀνυπορταῖος), in the all transcriptions of *B3st.t-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* except in one case, in the only transcriptional variant of **Hr-ṣ=f-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* attested (Ἀσφόρταις), in three transcriptions of *Hnsw-ỉ.ỉr-di-s*, in all the transcriptional variants of *Sbk-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* (Σοκορότης, Σοκορταῖος and Σοκόρταις) and in 219 attestations in Greek transcription of *Dḥwty-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* (97.33 % of the transcriptions of this name).

⁵¹ VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 45; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 57. In these dictionaries, a Coptic variant *ορ-* is not mentioned.

⁵² Cf. *ỉ.ỉr*.

⁵³ As in the case of the names with the variant *-ορ-* as transcription of *ỉ.ỉr*, most names with *-ερ-* date from 299-200 (8 attestations) and 199-100 BC (7 attestations). The names ending by *ỉ.ỉr-di-s* do not seem to be especially frequent in the Roman period: only 4 variants with *-ερ-* and less than 25 with *-ορ-* dating from 1 AD onwards are attested.

⁵⁴ In the variant Ἐσέμταις the ε as rendering of Egyptian *ỉ.ỉ* is also present. On the other hand, in the Trismegistos database two attestations of the variant Σορταῖος, in CPR XXIII 3-4 and 8, have been considered as transcriptions of *Ỉs.t-ỉ.ỉr-di-s*. These variants have not been included in this study, because they are incomplete (cf. Σορ[ταῖου and Σορ[αίου]) and their derivation from the prototype *Ỉs.t-ỉ.ỉr-di-s* is not sure.

⁵⁵ The one of P. Gurob 22, col. 2, 39. The rest of the transcriptional variants of this name are: Ὀβοστόρταις, Οὐβοστορταῖος, Ὀβοσθόρταις and Οὐβοστόρταις.

⁵⁶ However, this name appears three times as Χεσορταῖος in PSI VI 560, 9, P. Cairo Zen. IV 59745, Ro. col. 2, 49 and P. Cairo Zen. II 59292, Ro. col. L, 361.

As it can be observed, the notation -ερ- or -ορ- of Egyptian *i.ir* seems to depend more on each specific name than on any other reason: all the transcriptions of *Is.t-i.ir-di-s* and most Greek variants of *Hnsw-i.ir-di-s* are written with -ερ-, whereas most Greek representations of *Imn-i.ir-di-s*, *B3st.t-i.ir-di-s* and *Dḥwty-i.ir-di-s*, alongside all the transcriptions of *Inpw-i.ir-di-s* and *Sbk-i.ir-di-s*⁵⁷, have been noted with -ορ-. The single case in which the name *B3st.t-i.ir-di-s* has been written with -ερ- (cf. Ὀβεστέρταις instead of Ὀβοστόρταις, Οὐβοστορταῖος, Ὀβοσθόρταις or Οὐβοστόρταις) is the only one in which the vocalisation of *B3st.t* has been noted as ε: Ὀβεστέρταις. This fact shows that the election of -ερ- or -ορ- as representation of *i.ir* is not due to a dialectal reason, but the phonetic progressive assimilation of both vocalisations. The phonetic fusion of the end of a previous linguistic formant – or the notation of its reduced form – and the beginning of *-i.ir-di-s* in some variants (cf. Ἀμορταῖος or Ἀμόρταις as transcriptions of *Imn-i.ir-di-s*; or Θορταῖος or Θόρταις for *Dḥwty-i.ir-di-s*) also points in that direction. Exceptional cases such as Χεσόρταιος (instead of Χεσέρταιος) could be explained by analogy with other names ending by -ορταῖος/-ορταις. The variability of representations of the vocalisation of Egyptian *i.ir*, which can be noted as -ερ- or -ορ-, but also as -αρ- or -υρ- in rare cases⁵⁸, or even not noted⁵⁹, shows, alongside its phonetic weakness, the fact that it constituted an unaccented syllable of the names ending by *-i.ir-di-s*.

In all the transcriptional variants with the formant *i.ir-di-s*, Egyptian *d* has been represented as τ except in two cases – the names Θοτορθαῖος and Θωτορθαῖος –, in which it appears as θ⁶⁰. The verb *di* has been noted as -τα(ι)-/-τα(ει)- in 98.21 % of the attestations from the Fayum, in the ones from Lower Egypt⁶¹ and in 93.06 % of the transcriptions from Upper Egypt. The vocalisation α is, in fact, among others, the one of the Coptic verb † in pronominal status (†, †- τα(α)=)⁶². In some names the

⁵⁷ In addition, in the two attestations of the variant Σοκορότης, both attested in ODN III 144, *i.ir* has been transcribed as -ορo-, with a second o after the ρ.

⁵⁸ Cf. Ἀμενάρτεις in O. Strasb. I 525, 9; Ἀμυρταῖος, in SB V 8306, 7 and P. Lond. VII 2077, Ro. 2. This last form is probably due to the phonetic fusion of the vocalisations of the formants *Imn* and *-i.ir-di-s*.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ἀμυνταῖος in SB I 4425, col. 3, 1 and col. 3, 13, and probably in Stud. Pal. XX 20, 15, in which the form Ἀμυν[τα]ίου has been reconstructed.

⁶⁰ On the interchange of aspirated and voiceless stops, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 87-96.

⁶¹ In the name Θορτο(ταίου), attested in P. Ross. Georg. II 42, col. 4, 17a, there is a metathesis of ρ and τ. It has not been included here for the transcriptional analysis of *-i.ir-di-s* since it is abbreviated.

⁶² Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 392.

variants -θα(ι)-, -τη- and -τει- (with two attestations each), alongside -τε-, -ταιει- and -τι- (with one attestation each), occur⁶³. From the transcriptional variants of *i.îr-di-s* attested, it is not possible to know, on the other hand, if the -(ι)ς, which is also interpreted as a morphological ending, reflected the dependant pronoun -s of the formant *i.îr-di-s* in some way. The fact that most names ending by *i.îr-di-s* have been given the ending -ος and follow the declension of the Greek themes in -ο⁶⁴ show that the final -s, imperceptible in other cases than the nominative, was not strongly pronounced in Egyptian⁶⁵. Probably for this reason, the abbreviations of the last part of the names finishing by *i.îr-di-s* occur in Demotic writing.

3. CONCLUSION

Egyptian *-i.îr-* is mostly rendered as -ερ- or -ερε-, whereas the best attested variant of *i.îr-di-s* in transcription is -ορταις. In most attestations, Greek ο in the variant -ορταις is however due to assimilation with a vowel of the same timbre that preceded (cf., for example, Ὄβοστόρταις as rendering of *B3st.t-i.îr-di-s*, “Bastet is the one who has given him/her”, or Θορτάιος as transcription of *Dḥwty-i.îr-di-s*, “Thot is the one who has given him/her”). This assimilation of the vocalisation of *i.îr-di-s* with the vocalisation of a previous element reveals that the syllable in which *-i.îr-* was situated in *-i.îr-di-s* was unaccented in Egyptian.

⁶³ The name [Ἑσ]επτό(ιτος), in O. Petrie Mus. 401, 2, has been excluded of the study of this part since it is abbreviated and its reconstruction is uncertain. On the other hand, The prepronominal forms τεε=, τεεε=, τεεετ=, τηι=, τει=, or τειει= are also attested. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 392. As a consequence, it is not possible to know whether the transcriptional variants reflect the different prepronominal forms of the verb *di* or they are due to bilingual interference. In fact, αι, ε, η, ει, αιει and ι are interchangeable in the κοινή. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, p. 189-193, 235-262, 278-286. The variant -τε- is found in the name Μουθέρετος, in SB XX 14344, 1; in this case, it is not possible to know if the second τ in -τετ- belongs to a morphological ending created by analogy with other Greek nouns ending by -τος or if it is part of the verb *di* in *pronominalis status*.

⁶⁴ In the tables of the different transcriptions attested, the variants with a clear morphological ending (e. g. -ος) have been represented with a hyphen (cf., for instance, -επται-, for a name ending by -επταῖος, but -επταις, when it is not possible to know if -ις was the reflect of the Egyptian *-i-s* or a morphological ending added).

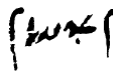
⁶⁵ Similarly, in the case of the names ending by -ις attested in other cases than the nominative, the /s/ does not seem to be pronounced: cf. the name Ἑσεπτάειν in P. Mich. V 238 Ro., col. 3, 152. Only the variant Ἀμονόρταισις, in UPZ II 175 a, col. 2, 33, reflects a clear pronunciation of the dependant pronoun -s or a recharacterization of the morphological ending.

CHAPTER 3

$$Ht(.w)$$

Ht(.w)

1. ATTESTATIONS OF *Ht(.w)* IN FINAL POSITION

The Egyptian term *ht* ⁶⁶, “*chet* demon” or “combatant demon”⁶⁷, is attested in singular in 4 anthroponyms, and in plural in 7 personal names in Greek transcription. This substantive only seems to appear in the anthroponyms in final position. The best attested names are *P3-ht*, “The *chet* demon”; *Pa-n3-ht.w*, “The one (masc.) of the *chet* demons”; and *Ta-n3-ht.w*, “The one (fem.) of the *chet* demons”.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
P3-ht ⁶⁸	The <i>chet</i> demon	Πεχύτης	59	795
		Πέχυτις	5	23132
*P3-šr-n-p3-ht	The son of the <i>chet</i> demon	Ψενπεχύτης ⁶⁹	1	28512
*P3-šr-n-n3-ht.w	The son of the <i>chet</i> demons	Ψενεχάτης ⁷⁰	1	29600
		Ψενέχωτις ⁷¹	1	971
*P3-šr-n-ta-n3-ht.w	The son of the one of the <i>chet</i> demons	Ψεντανεχάτης ⁷²	2	13049
Pa-n3-ht.w ⁷³	The one of the <i>chet</i> demons	Πανεχώτης,	326	727 +
		Πανεχάτης ⁷⁴	2	29596
		Παχοίτης	13	10431

⁶⁶ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 209: *P3-ht*, n. 4. On the Demotic graphic variants of this term, cf. PESTMAN, P. W., “Jeu de déterminatifs en démotique”, p. 32-34.

⁶⁷ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p. 167: “designation of class of spirits serving either as divine emissaries or as divine protectors associated with sacred places”.

⁶⁸ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 209.

⁶⁹ In O. Deiss. 40, 1-2: Ψ[εν]πεχύτο(υ).

⁷⁰ In P. Flor. III 327, col. 1, 10: Ψενεχάτου.

⁷¹ In P. Count. 52 Ro., 21: Ψενέχωτις.

⁷² In *CRIPEL* III 435, A 2-3: Ψεντανεχάτης; and presumably in *Short Texts* II 783, 1: Ψεντανεχ(άτου?).

⁷³ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 382-383.

⁷⁴ The anthroponyms ἄπ[α Ν]εχάτο(υ) and κ(αί) ἄπα Νεχάτου, in SB XVI 12371, 2 and 14 respectively, have been identified as ghostnames by FOURNET, J.-L., GASCOU, J., “Liste des petitions sur papyrus des V^e-VII^e siècles”, p. 191.

Pa-ḥt ⁷⁵	The one of the <i>chet</i> demon	Πάχοιτις ⁷⁶	1	17399
Ns-n3-ḥt.w	He/She belongs to the <i>chet</i> demons	Σνέχητις (?) ⁷⁷	1	1121
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥt	The daughter of the one of the <i>chet</i> demon	Σενπεχύτης ⁷⁸	1	23344
		Σέμπχοιτις ⁷⁹	1	38597
*T3-šr.t-n-n3-ḥt.w	The daughter of the <i>chet</i> demons	Σιννεχώτης ⁸⁰	1	29930
		Σενέχατις ⁸¹	1	23322
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-n3-ḥt.w	The daughter of the one of the <i>chet</i> demons	Σενπανεχάτης	4	12055
Ta-n3-ḥt.w	The one of the <i>chet</i> demons	Τανεχωτάριον	2	26419
		Τανέχωτις	43	1268

2. TRANSCRIPTIONAL VARIANTS AND GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD

The anthroponyms containing *ḥt(.w)* are attested in all the geographical areas of Egypt, and especially in Thebes and the Fayum⁸². For the singular form two transcriptional variants are found (-χοιτ- and -χυτ-), whereas the plural *ḥt.w* has been represented in more than 5 different renderings.

	00	L14	L16	U01	U02	U04	U05	U07	U09	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
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⁷⁵ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 407.

⁷⁶ In BGU IX 1891, col. 1, 19: Πάχοιτος. The spelling of the name Πάχοιτις that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/bgu;9;1891> is incorrect.

⁷⁷ In O. Bodl. I 349, 1: Σνεχήτιος. OSING, J., *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen II*, p. 753 considers that this Greek form is a transcription of *Ns-n3-ḥt.w*, which is not completely sure. Cf. also EVRARD-DERRIKS, C., QUAEGBEUR, J., “La situle décorée de Nesnakhietou au Musée Royal de Mariemont”, p. 43-44.

⁷⁸ In O. Theb. Gr. 137, 6: Σενπεχύτης.

⁷⁹ In SB III 7267, Ro. 1: Σέμπχοιτι (in dative).

⁸⁰ In P. Oxy. XIV 1686, Ro. 3: Σιννεχώτου.

⁸¹ In O. Bodl. I 307, 5: Σενεχάτιος.

⁸² The following names are abbreviated or have been totally or partially reconstructed and have not been considered here: Πανε[σάτ]ης (P. Cairo Isid. 9, 245), Παν[έσων]τι (P. Mil. Vogl. II 101, 29), Πανεχ(άτου) (O. Petrie Mus. 273, 1), [Πεχύτ]η (P. Grenf. I 11, col. 1, 8), Πεχ(ύτου) (O. Bodl. II 1074, 2), Πεχ(ύτου) (O. Bodl. II 1837, 12), Πανεχ[ώ]τη[ς] (P. Mil. Vogl. II 98, col. 2, 40), Τανε[χώτην] (CPR I 2, 11), Ψεντανεχ(ώτου(?)) (*Short Texts* II 783, B 1), Πανεχ(ώτου) (P. Pher., col. 8, 201), Πανεχ(ώτου) (P. Pher., col. 12, 301).

-χοιτ-	1			1	1	19									
-χουτ-	1				1	44								1	
Total attestations	2			1	2	63								1	

Singular *h* in Greek transcription

	00	L14	L16	U01	U02	U04	U05	U07	U09	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
-κατ-								1							
-σατ-	25								2						1
-σαυτ- (?)	5														
-χαθ-						1									
-χατ-	1		1	1	1	83	1	1	30	5	21	1			
-χητ- (?)						1									
-χωθ-	2											1			
-χωτ-	27	1										19	4	95	5
Total attestations	60	1	1	1	1	85	1	2	32	5	21	21	4	95	6

Plural *h*.w in Greek transcription

3. LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS

Egyptian *h* is represented as *χ* in 54.23 % (32) of the attestations from the Fayum, the two renderings attested for Lower Egypt, and in 98.82 % (337) of the anthroponyms from Upper Egypt. In one transcription from the Diospolites (U07)⁸³, appears as *κ*⁸⁴. In 29 attestations (49.15 %) from the Fayum and 3 from Upper Egypt⁸⁵, it has been represented as *σ*. Whereas the transcriptions with *χ* as rendering of *h* date from both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods, the anthroponyms with *σ* are only attested for the Roman period⁸⁶. This fact, which also applies to the transcriptions of *h* in

⁸³ In P. Bon. 11, fr. n, 7: Πανέκατις (225-200 BC).

⁸⁴ The name Πανεκώτης, in P. Cornell 38, 9, has been corrected to Πανεχώτης at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.corn;38>:



Cf. also P. Cornell 38, 16: Πανεχώτης. In both attestations the *χ* is clearly visible.

⁸⁵ In SB I 3442, Ro. 2-3: Πανίσατι; and Vo. 2: Πανίσατι, from the Oxyrhynchites; and in P. Mich. XII 647, 2: Πανισάτης, from the Herakleopolites.

⁸⁶ The first transcriptions of *h*.w with *σ* might be in P. Mil. Vogl. II 101, 3: Πανέσαντις; 5: Πανεσαύτ[εως]; 14: Π[α]νέσαντιν; 25: Π[α]νέσαντις – if these names derive from *Pa-nj-h*.w – and date from 118 AD.

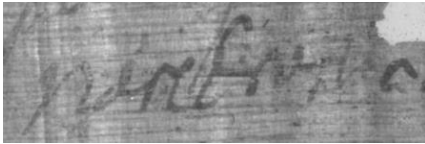
other Egyptian elements, such as *nht*, “to be strong”, seems to be in agreement with J. Vergote’s hypothesis on the prepalatalisation of *h*: in Roman times Egyptian could represent [ʃ] and not [ç] as in the precedent period⁸⁷. The lack of symbols in Greek to represent the phonetic value of *h* appears to have led the scribes to transcribe it as *χ/κ* and hesitate between *χ/κ* and *σ* in the Roman period.



SB I 3442, Ro. 2-3: Πανίσατι



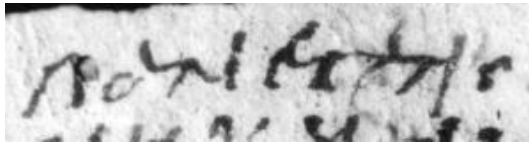
SB I 3442, Vo. 2: Πανίσατι



P. Cairo Isid. 9, Ro. col. 7, 138: Πανεσάτης



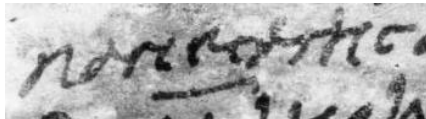
P. Laur. I 11 Ro., fr. B, 17: Πανεσάτις



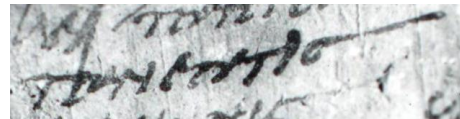
O. Mich. I 247, 1 : Πανεσάτις



O. Mich. 1 255, 5: Πανεσάτης



O. Mich. 1 503, 2: Πανεσάτης



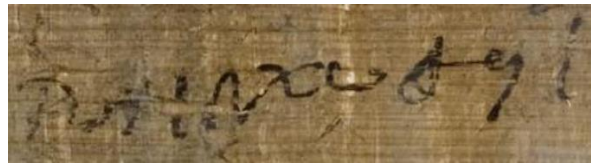
O. Mich. I 580, 2: Πανεσάτις

⁸⁷ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Les consonnes*, p. 67: “Sous le Nouvel Empire, la seconde prépalatalisation affecte *h* [x₃] qui devient *yod* sourd [ç] dans la plupart des mots (...). Pendant la période gréco-romaine, enfin, la confusion, si fréquente dans l’histoire des langues, entre *yod* sourd et la chuintante, affecte aussi le [ç] issu de *h* qui se transforme en [ʃ]. Au début de cette période cependant il est encore [ç] chez les Grecs, ne possédant ni le *yod* sourd ni la chuintante, le traduisent par *χ* ou par *κ*. Ils transcrivent par conséquent des noms comme *Nht=f-ir.w* par *Νεχθφερῶς* ou *Νεκθερῶς*. En copte ce nom prendra la forme *νωπτερωϣ* qui sera transcrite par *Νιστερῶς*”.

Egyptian ḥ ⁸⁸ has been represented as τ in all the attestations⁸⁹ except in four⁹⁰, in which the aspirated stop θ is found instead⁹¹.




O. Petrie Mus. 269, 3: Πανεχάθιος



P. Sarap. 1 bis, Ro. 8: Πανεχώθι

Singular ḥt and plural ḥt.w are written in Greek transcription with different vocalisations. The plural .w represented in the Demotic script does no longer seem to be a feature distinctive of plural in the oral speech, since it is not reflected in Greek transcriptions. At least in the case of ḥt(.w) , the distinction between singular and plural appears to be based on different vocalisations since the first attestations of ḥt(.w) in Greek transcription in the third century BC. For singular ḥt , two different vocalisations are attested: υ, which occurs in 68.65 % (46) of the attestations; and οι, which – as phonetic equivalent of υ – is found in 31.34 % (21) of the transcriptions⁹². As it can be seen in the

⁸⁸ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Prologue, p. 7 : “Demotic scribes fairly consistently distinguished between “regular” t [<] and the “tall” t [

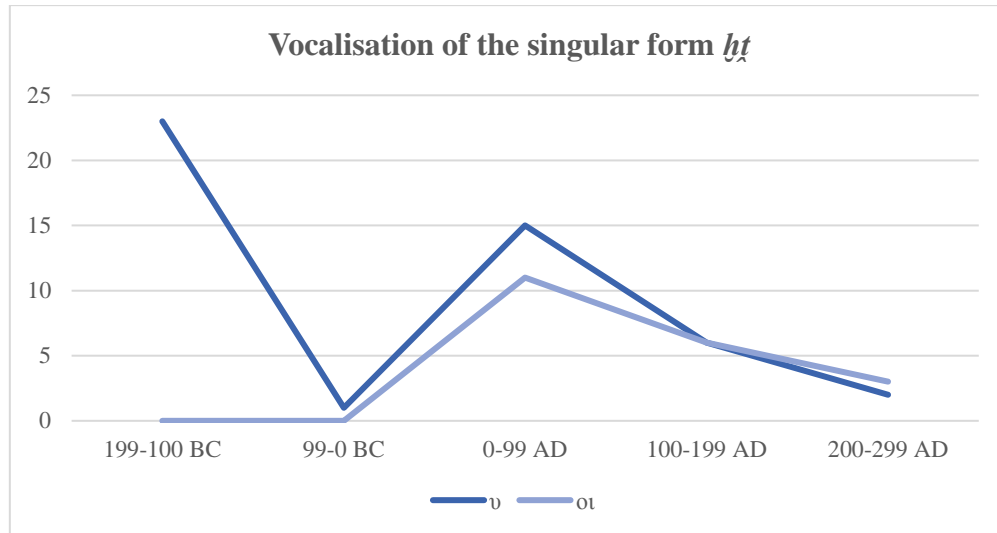
⁸⁹ On the phonetic value of t/ṭ , cf. VERGOTE, J., *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Les consonnes*, p. 24-28.

⁹⁰ In O. Petrie Mus. 269, 3: Πανεχάθιος; P. Count. 6, 590: Θανέχωθις; P. Count. 20, 7: Θανέχωθις; P. Sarap. 1 bis, Ro. 8 (p. 275): Πανεχώθι.

⁹¹ On the interchange of voiceless and aspirated stops in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, p. 86-95.

⁹² Cf. HOLM, C. E., *Griechisch-ägyptische Namenstudien*, p. 15-16.

graph below, all the transcriptions of *ḥt* with *οι* date from the Roman period⁹³. This is in agreement with F. T. Gignac's observation that the interchange of *υ* and *οι* occurs unconditionally in papyri from the first century AD⁹⁴.



Except 4 uncertain anthroponyms with the vocalisation *αυ*⁹⁵ and one with *η*⁹⁶, all the transcriptions of *ḥt.w* appear vocalised with *α/ω*. The geographical distribution of the *α/ω* variants seems clear: from Elephantine (U01) to the Lycopolites (U13), the diagloss *α* is found; and from the Hermopolites (U15) to the Herakleopolites (U20), *ω* predominates⁹⁷. In the Hermopolites one attestation with *α* could occur in BGU XVII 2677, 4: Ἀμμωνιανὸς Πανεχάτιος ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει. In this attestation,

⁹³ In figures, 23 attestations with *υ* date from the second century BC, 1 from the first century BC, 15 from the first century AD, 6 from the second century AD and 2 from the third century AD; and 11 transcriptions with *οι* date from the first century AD; 6 from the second century AD; and 3 from the third century AD.

⁹⁴ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 197: “This is the most frequent interchange in the papyri next to the interchanges of *ει* with *ι* and of *αι* with *ε*. It occurs unconditionally from the first century A.D. on”.

⁹⁵ Cf. P. Mil. Vogl. II 101, 3: Πανέσωντις; 5: Πανεσάυτ[εως]; 14: Π[α]νέσωντιν; 25: Π[α]νέσωντις (118 AD). All the attestations with the variant *-σων-* are in P. Mil. Vogl. II 101, for which no image is currently available. The impression is that these anthroponyms could be ghostnames for Πανέσωντις.

⁹⁶ In O. Bodl. I 349, 1: Συνεχίτιος, for which no image is available. According to OSING, J., *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* II, p. 753, this Greek form is a rendering of *Ns-n3-ḥt.w*. Since this would be the only attestation with the vocalisation *η*, the equivalence between the Greek and the Demotic names proposed by J. Osing is doubtful. Cf. also EVRARD-DERRIKS, C., QUAEGEBEUR, J., “La situle décorée de Nesnakhetiou au Musée Royal de Mariemont”, p. 43-44.

⁹⁷ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “À propos de Teilouteilou, nom magique, et de Têroutêrou, nom de femme”, p. 25-26, n. 30, 31.

however, the α of Πανεχάτιος is not completely certain and it could also be read as an ω⁹⁸. The reading of the attestation presumably with α in the Herakleopolites – in P. Mich. XII 647, 2: Πανισάτης – is uncertain. In Lower Egypt two attestations, with α⁹⁹ and with ω¹⁰⁰, seem to be found. 44.06 % (26) of the transcriptions from the Fayum have the vocalisation α, and 48.33 % (29) have ω.



BGU XVII 2677, 4: Ἀμμωνιανὸς Πανεχάτιος (?) ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει




P. Mich. XII 647, 2: Πανισάτης (?)

The distribution of the α/ω variants for *hṯ.w* (cf. the map *infra*) is the same than those of other Egyptian elements, such as *sn*, “brother” (cf. the map *infra*), or the name of the Egyptian god of fate *Šzy* (cf. the map *infra*), as pointed out by A. Martin and G. Nachtergaele:

“Les recherches d’onomastique menées par J. QUAEGBEUR, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l’onomastique* (...), p. 275, ont montré qu’il « existe un rapport direct entre la langue parlée et la vocalisation dialectale des noms propres ». En appliquant ce principe méthodologique à l’alternance α/ω que présentent les noms du type Πανεχάτης/Πανεχώτης, nous avons pu affirmer ci-dessus, à propos de Πανεχώτης (n° 6,

⁹⁸ In BGU XVII 2677, 4: Ἀμμωνιανὸς Πανεχάτιος ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει;

⁹⁹ In PSI III 231, 3: [Πα]νεχάτην. The name is almost illegible in the image available: , and as a consequence a reading with ω cannot be excluded.

¹⁰⁰ In SB XXIV 16069, 2: Πανέχωτις. Cf. MARTIN, A., NACHTERGAEL, G., “Papyrus du Musée du Caire. II”, p. 108-114, and, especially, p. 113-114 (“La diffusion des noms Πανεχάτης/Πανεχώτης *et sim.*”).

ligne 2), que le militaire portant ce nom n'était pas originaire du nome Pathyrite. Il apparaît, en effet, à l'examen des occurrences recensées dans la *DDBDP*, que les formes en - ω - et les formes en - α - se répartissent en deux zones géographiques distinctes (...). Les formes en - ω - se situent en Moyenne Égypte, dans la zone qui s'étend du nome Arsinoïte au nome Hermopolite, tandis que les formes en - α - sont caractéristiques de la Haute Égypte, de Lycopolis (ou Ptolémaïs?) à Pathyris (...). L'alternance vocalique α/ω telle qu'elle se répartit entre la Moyenne et la Haute Égypte, est un élément à verser au dossier des aires dialectales de la vallée du Nil. On pourrait la reporter sur la carte des dialectes coptes pour constater que la vocalisation des noms en - α - est propre à l'akhmimique de la région thébaine, et que celle des noms en - ω - est commune au sahidique et au fayoumique. Sur la portée de l'alternance a/o en copte, cf. J. QUAEGEBEUR, pp. 259-261. Ajoutons que la diffusion géographique de l'isophone peut orienter, vers le nord ou le sud du pays, la localisation d'un papyrus dont la provenance est inconnue. Quand la provenance est connue, elle permet de résoudre correctement des abréviations telles que $\Pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\chi()$, $T\alpha\nu\epsilon\chi()$, etc.¹⁰¹.

The comparison of the diagloss a/o for $h\bar{t}.w$, sn ¹⁰² and $\check{S}y$ confirms that Akhmimic and Sub-Akhmimic were the dialects between Elephantine (U01) and Antaiopolis (U10), and that, after a transitional area between Antaiopolis and Lycopolis (U13)-Hermopolis (U15), Sahidic was spoken at least until Oxyrhynchus (U19)¹⁰³. The o/ω variant was also characteristic of Bohairic, the dialect of the Delta. The occurrence of some attestations with o/ω in some areas of Upper Egypt where the α variant would be expected can be explained because the diagloss a/o is only valid until the end of the fifth century AD¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰¹ MARTIN, A., NACHTERGAEL, G., "Papyrus du Musée du Caire. II", p. 113-114.

¹⁰² On the different renderings of $(P\check{z})-sn.w$, "The two brothers", in Greek, cf. VAN MAELE, B., *De Egyptische naam "de twee broers" in Griekse transcriptie*.

¹⁰³ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 253-261. According to QUAEGEBEUR, J., *ibidem*, p. 249, another transitional zone was situated between Memphis and Herakleopolis. This area is not reflected in the attestations of $h\bar{t}.w$, possibly because they are less numerous than those of $\check{S}y$.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 255: "L'isophone que nous venons de tracer n'est valable que jusqu'à la fin du 5^e siècle. Il paraît qu'à partir du 6^e siècle il y ait un certain flottement entre les vocalisations o et α dans la Moyenne Égypte".

The alternance of the α and the o/ω variants in the Fayum that can be appreciated for $h\tau.w$, sn and $\check{S}y$ has not been, however, satisfactorily explained. The variant ω is not characteristic of Fayumic as pointed out by A. Martin and G. Nachtergaele¹⁰⁵: the Fayumic variant of sn appears to be $c\alpha n$ in Coptic¹⁰⁶. The explanation of J. Quaegebeur¹⁰⁷ that o could represent the $/\partial/$ in $\Psi o v$ - $\Sigma o v$ - ($< (P\check{z})$ - Sn - in initial position) in unstressed syllables is not convincing, given that the α and the o/ω alternate in both accented and unaccented syllables¹⁰⁸: both $\Pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ and $\Pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\chi\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ($< Pa-n\check{z}-h\tau.w$) are well attested for the Fayum.

Chronology seems to explain the presence of both variants with α and o/ω in the Fayum. Whereas between Elephantine (U01) and Hermopolis (U15) the transcriptions of $h\tau.w$ with α are well attested for both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods (cf. the graph below)¹⁰⁹, the first transcription of $h\tau.w$ with α ¹¹⁰ in the Fayum dates from the second century AD; the variants with ω , on the other hand, are well attested from the third century BC until the third century AD.

¹⁰⁵ MARTIN, A., NACHTERGAEL, G., “Papyrus du Musée du Caire. II”, p. 114.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. TILL, W. C., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 8; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 190; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 342-343.

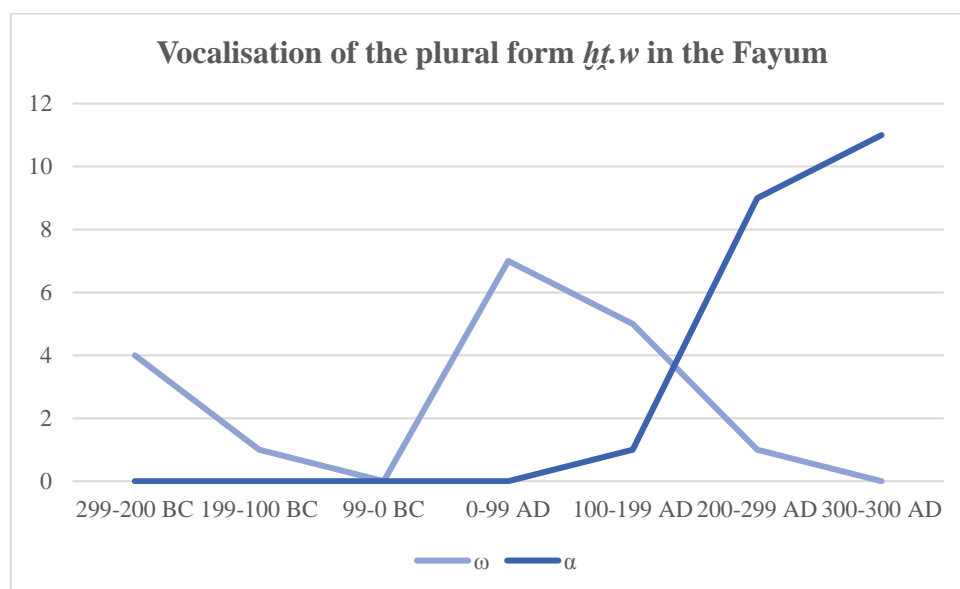
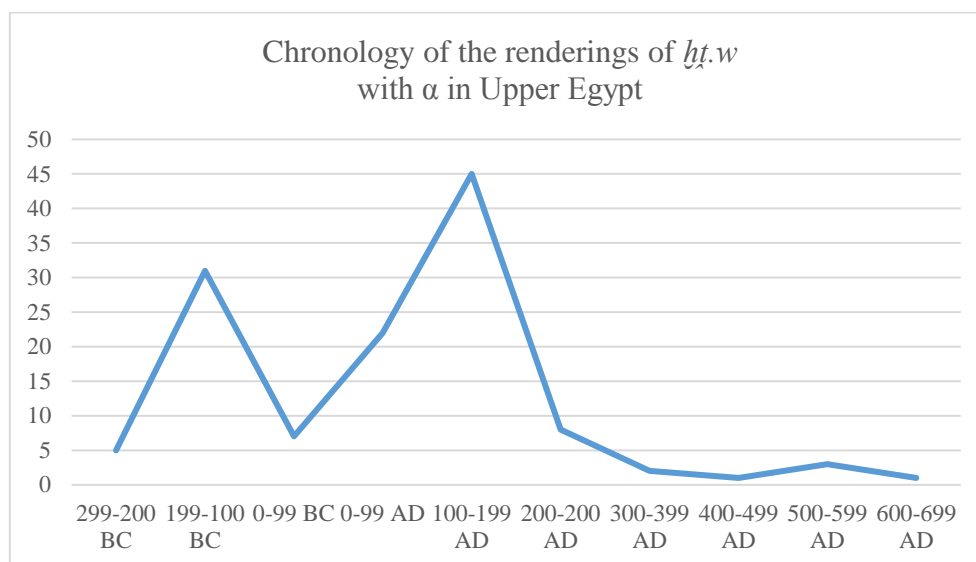
¹⁰⁷ QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Een nieuwe onderzoeksmethode naar de Oud-egyptische dialekten”, p. 165.

¹⁰⁸ In addition, Egyptian $/\partial/$ is generally represented as ε/o . Cf. LACAU, P., *Phonétique égyptienne ancienne*, p. 131; QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 235-236. On the variation of o/ω in the transcriptions of sn and $\check{S}y$, cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *ibidem*, p. 258: “Nous avons l'impression que dans certains cas ω pourrait être une variante de o ”. The impression here is that ω was generally noted when the syllable was stressed and o when it was unstressed. Since $h\tau.w$ is only attested in final position, the syllable $-\chi\alpha\tau/-\chi\omega\tau-$ seems to have been stressed and for this reason there are no variants with o . Cf. also VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte Ia*, p. 23-24: “L'opposition entre SB o : AA₂F α a fait supposer que le second est un $/A/$ postérieur $/\partial/$ et que le premier est un $/O/$ ouvert $/\partial/$ (...). Ceci est confirmé par les transcriptions grecques qui, avec une régularité remarquable, rendent le o copte par ω . Le o - ω grec avait, dans la langue classique, la valeur $[\partial:]$; on l'a donc choisi pour son timbre en faisant abstraction de sa quantité”. Nevertheless, the confusion of o and ω , as it is found in Koine Greek, cannot be excluded in some attestations. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, p. 277: “The confusion of o and ω indicates that the sounds originally represented by these symbols became identified in $/o/$ after the loss of quantitative distinction. This identification came about elsewhere in the Koine by the beginning of the Roman period”.

¹⁰⁹ In figures, 5 attestations date from the third century BC; 31 from the second century BC; 7 from the first century BC; 22 from the first century AD; 45 from the second century AD; 8 from the third century AD; 2 from the fourth century AD; 1 from the fifth century AD; 3 from the sixth century AD; and one from the seventh century AD.

¹¹⁰ In P. Strasb. Gr. IX 866, col. 2, 7: $\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$.

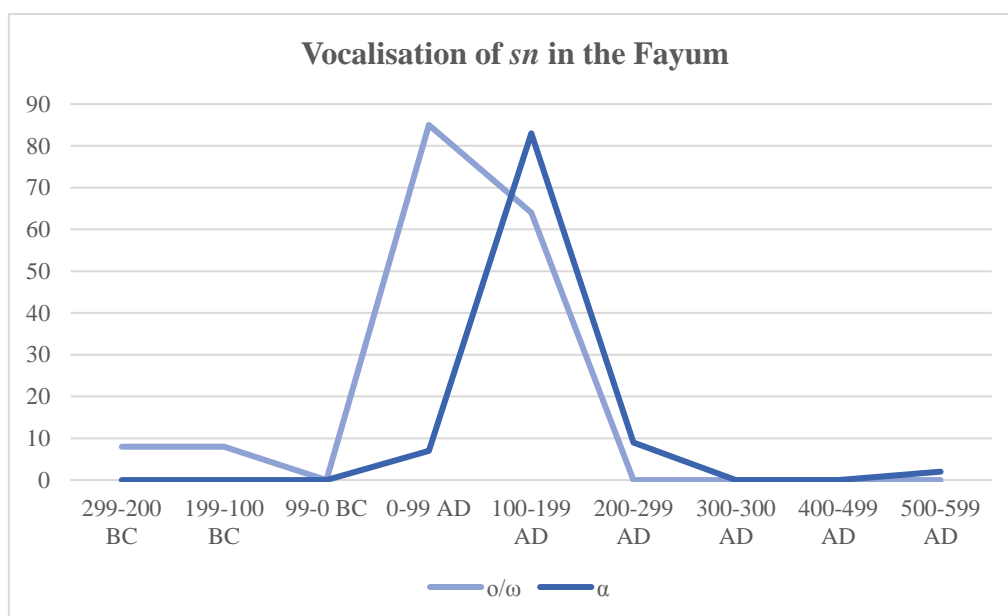
As it is possible to see in the graph below, the variants with α seem more numerous than the ones with ω in the third and the fourth centuries AD¹¹¹.



¹¹¹ In figures, 4 attestations with ω date from the third century AD; 1 from the second century AD; 7 from the first century AD; 5 from the second century AD; 1 from the third century AD; and 1 rendering with α from the second century AD; 9 from the third century AD; and 11 from the fourth century AD.

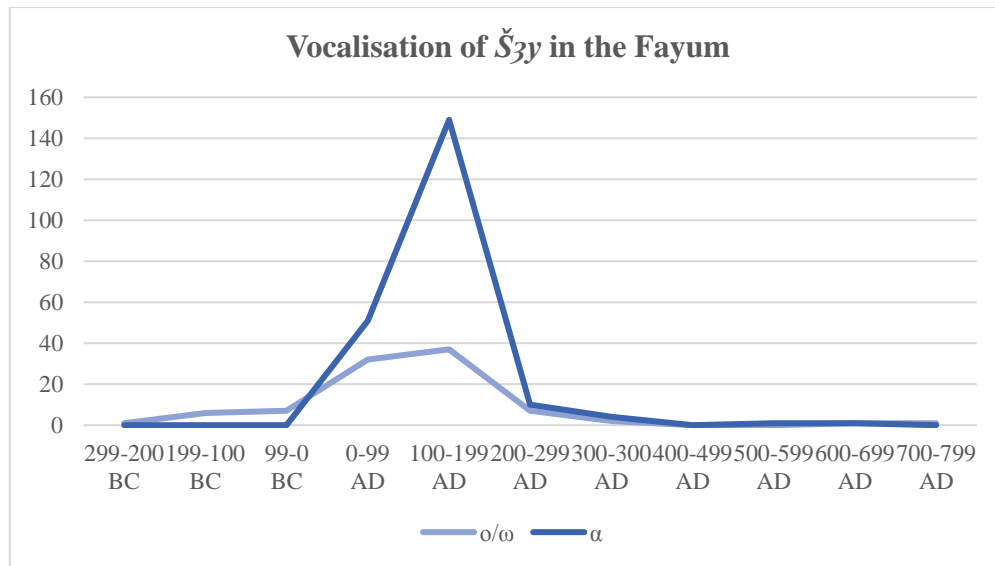
Likewise, the o/ω variants of *sn* are attested between the third century BC and the second century AD; the α variants, on the other hand, start to appear in the first century AD. In the second century AD, the α variants are better attested than the transcriptions with o/ω¹¹².

The chronology of the renderings of Ṣȝy with α and with o/ω seems also to be in agreement with the trends described *supra*: whereas the o/ω variants are attested between the third century BC and the fourth century AD, the renderings with α seem first be attested in the first century AD and develop in the second century AD¹¹³.



¹¹² In figures, 8 attestations with o/ω date from the third century BC; 8 from the second century BC; 85 from the first century AD; and 64 from the second century AD. On the other hand, 7 transcriptions with α date from the first century AD; 83 from the second century AD; 9 from the third century AD; and 2 from the sixth century AD.

¹¹³ In figures, 1 attestation with o/ω date from the third century BC; 6 from the second century BC; 7 from the first century AD; 32 from the first century AD; 37 from the second century AD; 7 from the third century AD; 2 from the fourth century AD; and possibly one from the seventh century AD and other one from the eighth century AD. On the other hand, 51 transcriptions with α date from the first century AD; 149 from the second century AD; 10 from the third century AD; 4 from the fourth century AD; one from the sixth century AD; and one from the seventh century AD.



The attestations with α for *sn* and Šꜣy dating from the Ptolemaic period have been identified as ghostnames, do not have an image available or their readings are uncertain. A list of these attestations is provided below:

- Ανέμπψαις (TM Nam 21139), in O. Tebt. 15 descr., dated from 25 BC-25 AD¹¹⁴: the representation of *pꜣ*-Šꜣy in the last part of the name is uncertain¹¹⁵.



- Ἀρσάει (TM Nam 296) (nominative Ἀρσάεις < *Hr*-Šꜣy, “Horos-Shai”), in SB XVIII 13618, 1, dated from 197 BC: no image of the text is available.
- Ἀρσάις Ἀρσάιτος (TM Nam 296) (< *Hr*-Šꜣy, “Horos-Shai”), in P. Tebt. I 121, Ro. col. 8, 109: no image is currently available for this text. The date is uncertain, but the *terminus post quem* could be 94 or 61 BC.

¹¹⁴ Cf. also the abbreviated names Ἀνεμ(ψάιτος) and Ἀνεμψ(άιτος) in O. Tebt. 6, 1 and 8, 1, respectively.

¹¹⁵ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 233.

- Ἀρψάιτος (TM Nam 296) (nominative Ἀρψαῖς < *Hr-Šzy*, “Horos-Shai”) – with a dot under the *alpha* –, in P. Tebt. III 870, fr. 1 29, dated from BC 166 (?): this anthroponym seems to be a ghostname for Ἀρψοῖτος, with the first *omicron* linked to the *iota*.



- Ἀρψάιτος (TM Nam 296) (nominative Ἀρψαῖς < *Hr-Šzy*, “Horos-Shai”) – with a dot under the *alpha* –, in P. Tebt. III 1084 descr., col. 3, 74, dated from 225-175 BC: the *alpha* cannot be clearly seen.



- Πετσαίου (TM Nam 17885) (nominative Πέτσαιος, presumably from a prototype *Pz-di-Šzy*, “He who has been given by Shai”¹¹⁶), in P. Tebt. I 96, Ro. 23a: the reading between Πε- and -ίου is uncertain and the letters -τσα- have been edited with dots.



¹¹⁶ Cf. TM Nam 882.

- Τάψαις (TM Nam 1296) (< *Ta-p3-Š3y*, “The one of Shai”), in P. Count. 23, col. 10, 127, dated from BC 254-231: the second *alpha* is not clearly visible. An *omicron* linked to the previous *psi* and to the following *iota* – as it appears in the name Θορτόμμιν[ις in l. 129 – would not be impossible.



P. Count. 23, col. 10, 127: Τάψαις

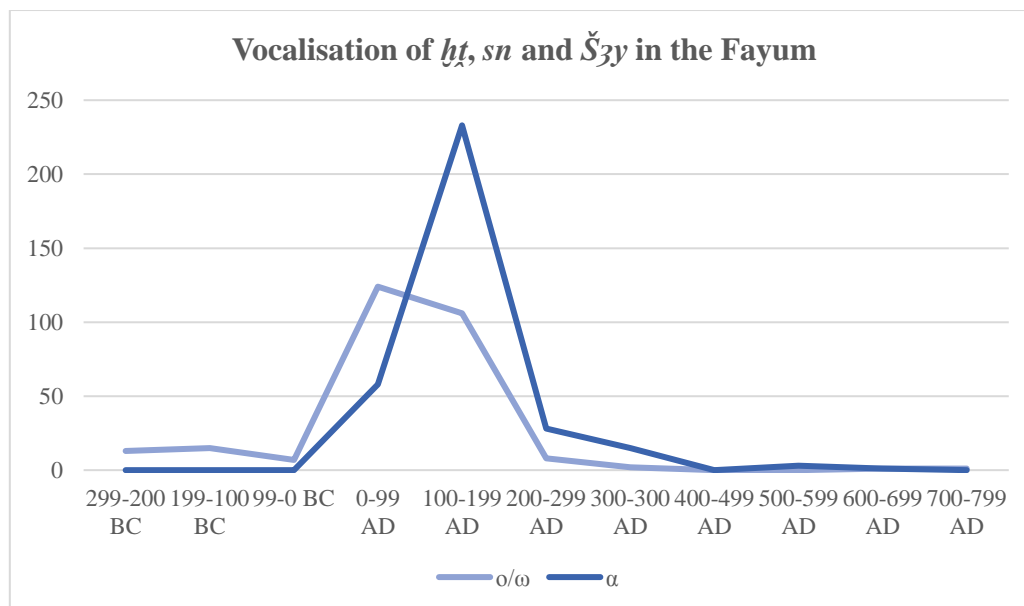


P. Count. 23, col. 10, 129: Θορτόμμιν[ις

- Τνεφέρσαιτι – with a dot under the *alpha* – (TM Nam 1433) (nominative Τνεφέρσαις < *T3-nfr-Š3y*, “The one with good fate”), attested in SB XX 14477 (= P. Trophitis 7), 24, for which 159 BC is the *terminus post quem*: no image of the text is available.
- Ψάιτι (TM Nam 949) (nominative Ψάις < *P3-Š3y*), in P. Fay. 13, 3, dated from 170 BC (?): no image of the document is available. The date proposed is however uncertain.
- Ψάνσνωτος (TM Nam 953) (nominative Ψάνσνως < *P3-sn-sn.w*, “The two brothers”), in P. Tebt. III 1014 descr., 13, dated from the second century BC: this anthroponym is clearly a ghostname for Ψόνσνωτος.

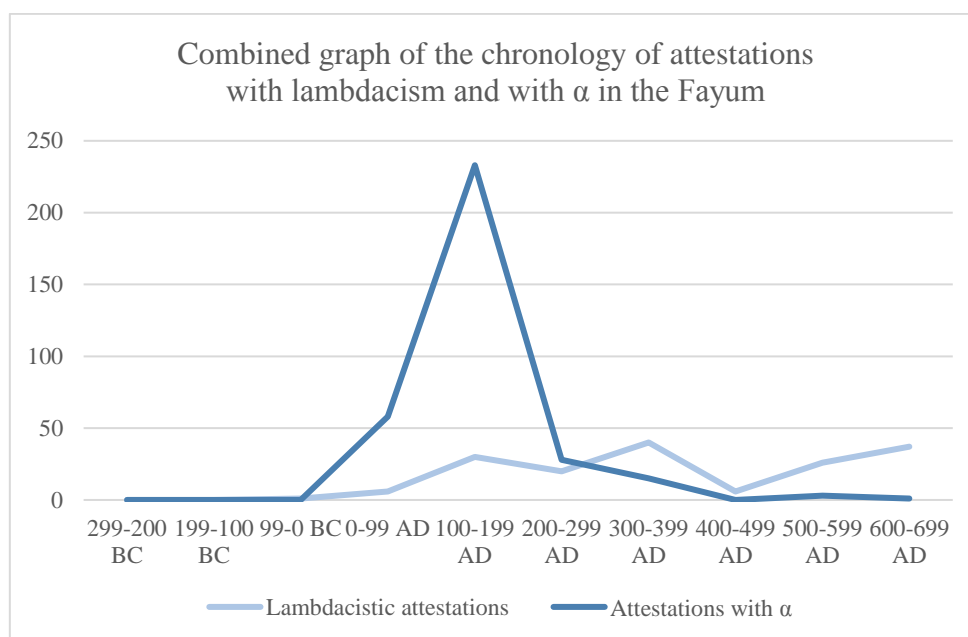


The total number of attestations for the three elements *ḥt*, *sn* and *Šzy* with *o/ω* and *α* in each century in the Fayum can be seen in the graph below¹¹⁷. The transcriptions with *o/ω* are attested from the third century BC until the fourth century AD. The renderings with *α*, on the other hand, emerge in the first century AD and develop in the second century AD. In the first two centuries AD both renderings, with *o/ω* and *α*, seem to coexist, but in the first century AD the transcriptions with *o/ω* are more frequent and in the second century AD the variants with *α* double those with *o/ω*. Also in the third and fourth centuries AD the renderings with *α* are more frequent than those with *o/ω*. The reading of *α* in the attestations dated from the Ptolemaic period is uncertain: some of these anthroponyms are ghostnames, for others no image is available, and for some of them the reading is not sure. This leads to think that before the first century AD there was only the *o/ω* variant in the Fayum.



¹¹⁷ In figures, 13 renderings with *o/ω* date from the third century BC; 15 from the second century BC; 7 from the first century BC; 124 from the first century AD; 106 from the second century AD; 8 from the third century AD; 2 from the fourth century AD; one from the seventh century AD; and one from the eighth century AD. On the other hand, 58 transcriptions with *α* date from the first century AD; 233 from the second century AD; 28 from the third century AD; 15 from the fourth century AD; 3 from the sixth century AD; and 1 from the seventh century AD.

The comparison of the chronology of the diagloss *a/o* in the Fayum with that of lambdacism (cf. appendix II and the graph below) – two of the features of Fayumic – reveals that this dialect originated in the first century AD and develop in the following three centuries. Before the appearance of Fayumic, the isogloss *o* characteristic of Sahidic and Bohairic is also found in the Fayum. This leads to think of the possibility that Sahidic could have been spoken in the Fayum before the development of Fayumic¹¹⁸.

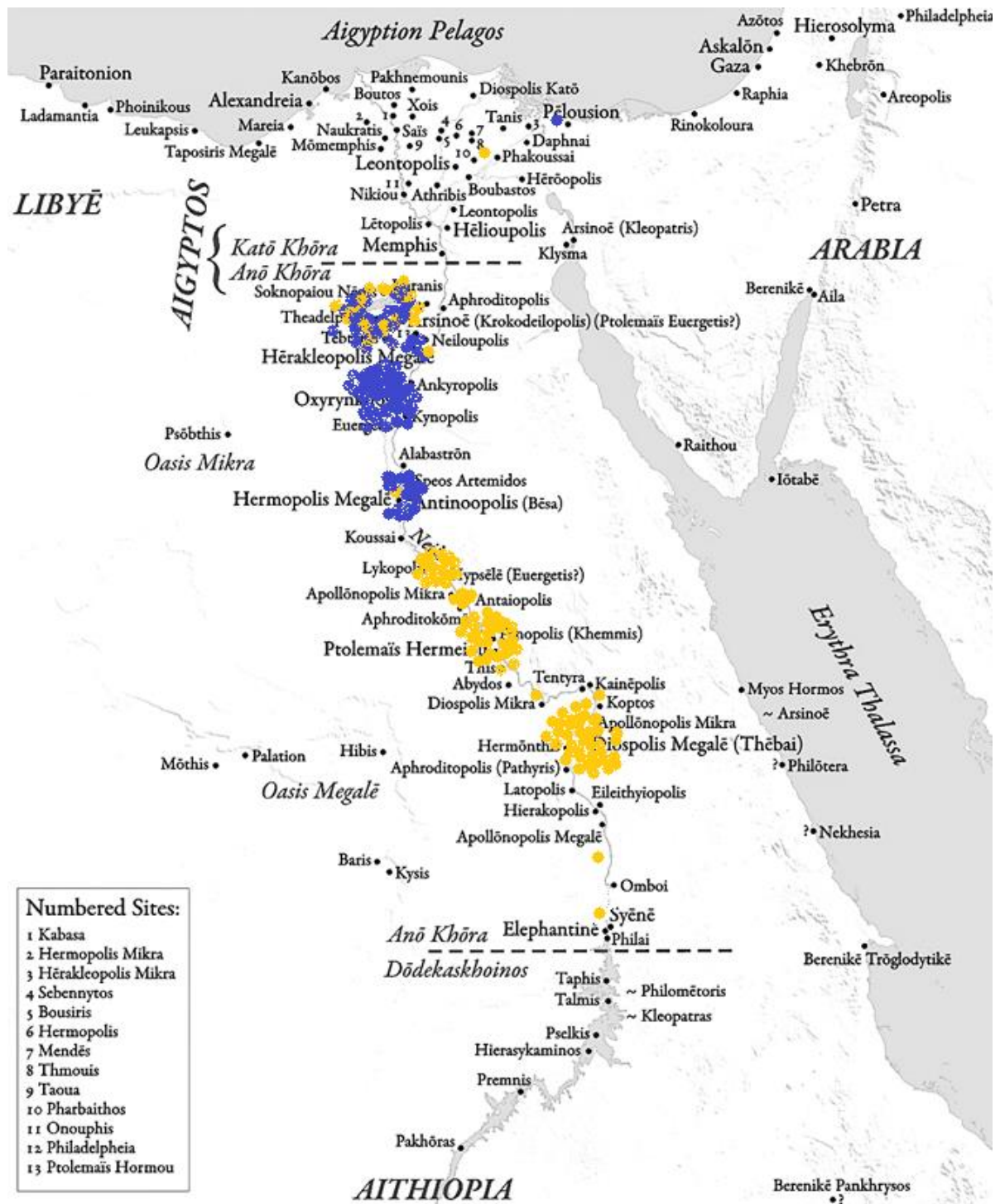


4. CONCLUSION

In the transcriptions dated from the Ptolemaic period, *h* and *t* are generally rendered by χ and τ , respectively. The representation of *h* as σ in some attestations from the Roman period seems to

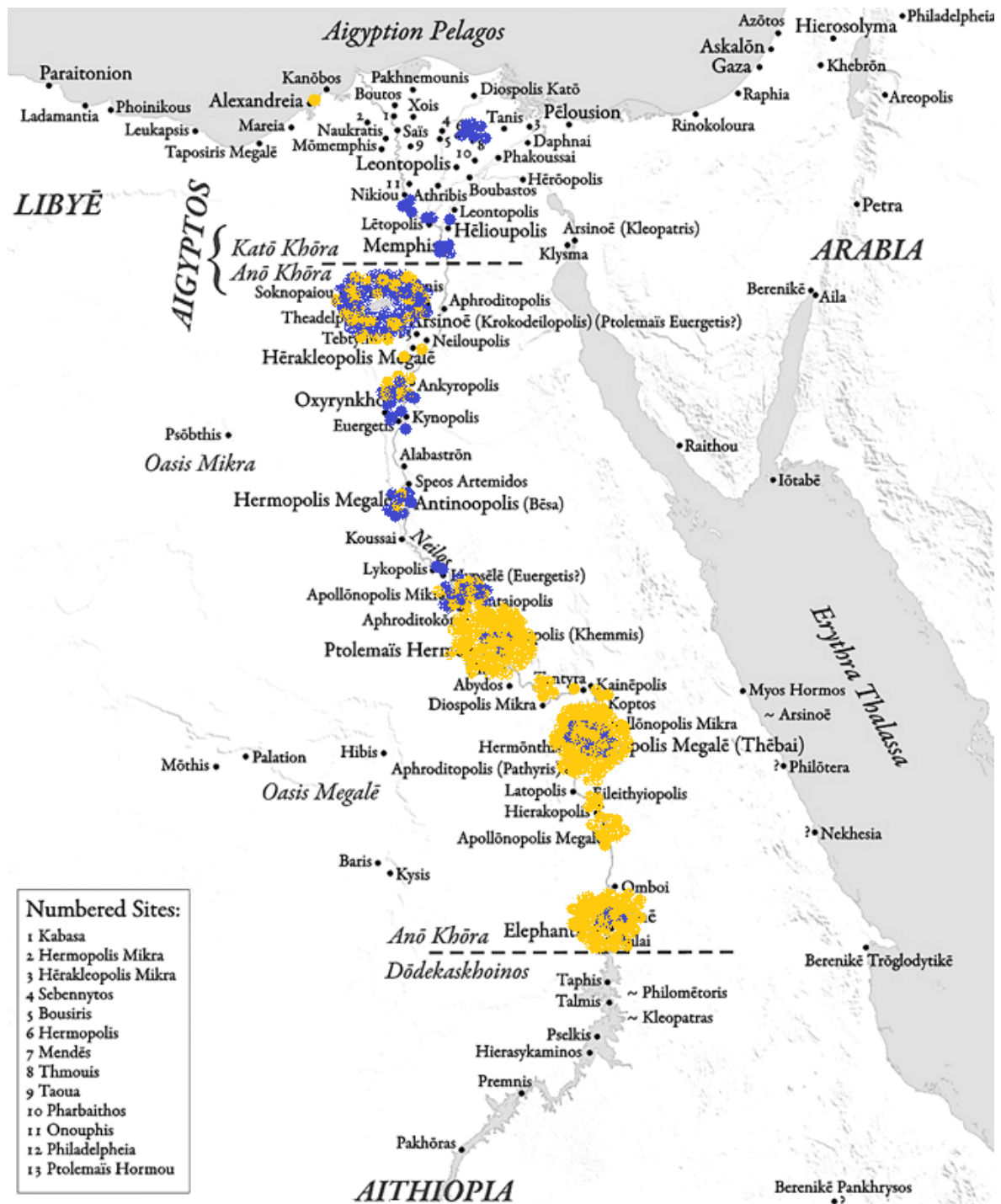
¹¹⁸ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 255: “Quand nous transposons ces données sur la carte, nous avons l'impression que les deux régions où domine la vocalisation *o* ne se rejoignent pas. Ceci s'explique par le fait que l'onomastique de la région memphite est mal représentée dans notre documentation. D'autres sources semblent indiquer que nous pouvons intégrer Memphis dans l'aire du sahidique”. Cf. also VERGOTE, J., “Les dialectes dans le domaine égyptien”, p. 242. Fayumic seems to share dialectal features with Sahidic, such as the vocalisation α for *h*_{sy}, “blessed, saint”. Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Een nieuwe onderzoeksmethode naar de Oud-egyptische dialecten”, p. 164-165; BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “The Ancient Egyptian Dialects in Light of the Greek Transcriptions of Egyptian Anthroponyms”, forthcoming.

support J. Vergote's hypothesis on the prepalatalisation of *h*. Greek transcriptions of Egyptian *ḥt(.w)* reveal a different vocalisation for this Egyptian word in singular or plural. In singular, the Egyptian vowel pronounced is transcribed as *υ*, which can be represented as *οι* in the attestations from the first century AD onwards. In the attestations in plural, the dialectal diagloss *a/o*, which can also be found in the renderings of the name of the god *Šꜣy* and in *sn*, "brother", in singular, occur. Thus, the *α* variant is exclusively found for the area between Elephantine and Lycopolis. Between Hermopolis and Herakleopolis, the renderings with *ω* predominate, whereas in the Fayum both vocalisations are possible. However, the chronology of the *α* and *ο/ω* transcriptional variants of *ḥt.w*, *Šꜣy* and *sn* from the Fayum shows that the *α* variant, characteristic of the Fayumic dialect, is only certainly found from the first century AD onwards; the *ο/ω* variants, on the other hand, are found for both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods. This fact, together with the emergence of Fayumic lambdacism in the same period, shows that certain linguistic features of Fayumic can only be found from the first century AD onwards and that the origin of this dialect consequently dates from Roman times.



Map with the representation of the α/ω variants for $h\tau w$

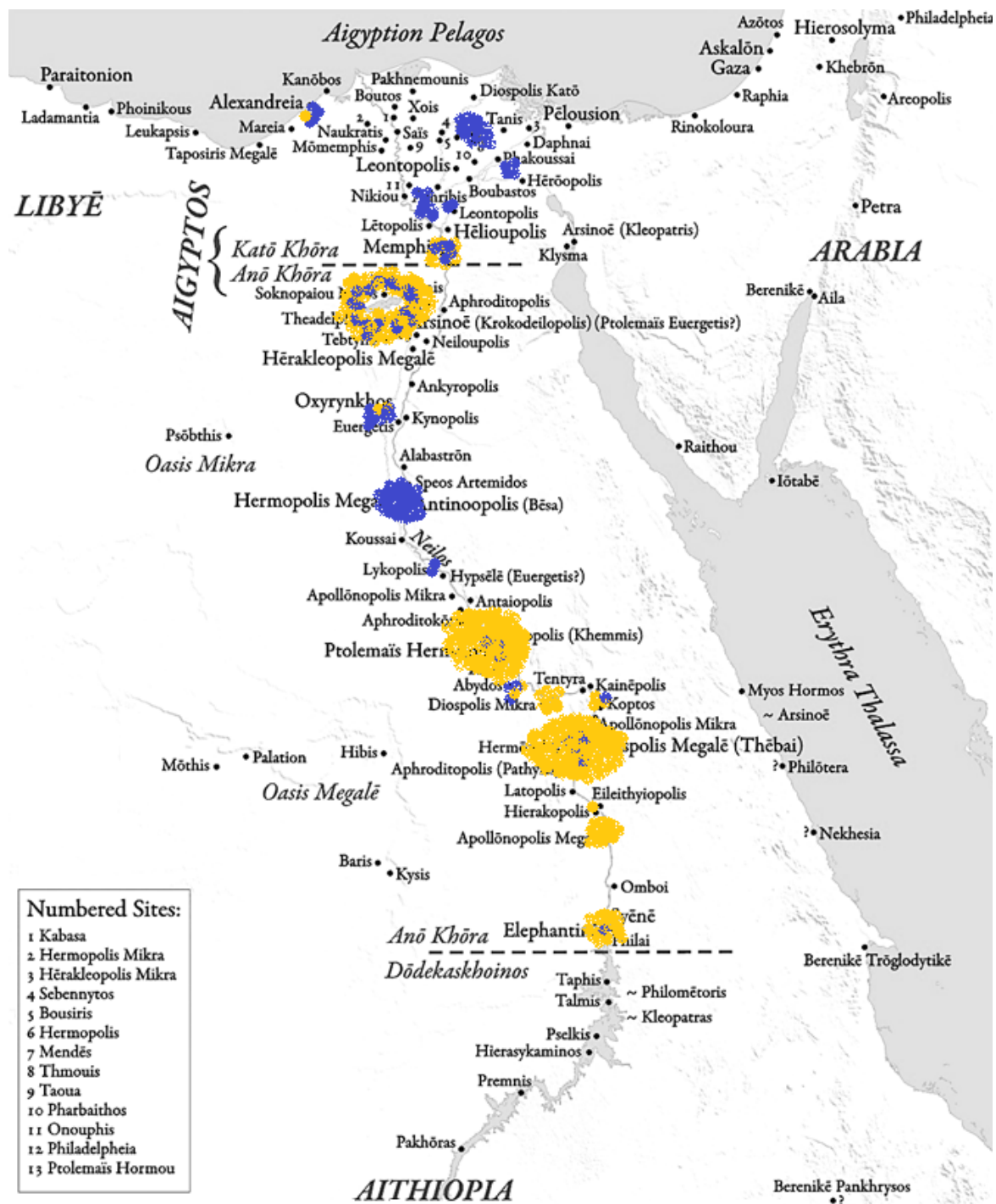
● Attestation with α ● Attestation with ω



Map with the representation of the *a/o* variants for *sn*, “brother”¹¹⁹

● Attestation with *α* ● Attestation with *o/ω*

¹¹⁹ The numbers of the different attestations with *α* and with *o/ω* for *sn* and *šy* for each geographical area reflected in the maps have been obtained from the anthroponyms containing these elements introduced in the Trismegistos database before July 2015.



Map with the representation of the *a/o* variants for Š₃y

● Attestation with α

● Attestation with o/ω

PART II

EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS ATTESTED IN TWO POSITIONS




Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀνάπλασιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα μυρία τοῖς μεθισταμένοις ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος συνεκπεσόντα μέχρι νῦν παραμένει καὶ ξενιτεύει παρ' ἑτέροις, ὧν ἓν τὴν ποιητικὴν ἀνακαλουμένην διαβάλλουσιν ὡς βαρβαρίζουσιν οἱ γλώττας τὰ τοιαῦτα προσαγορεύοντες.

PLUTARCHUS, *De Iside et Osiride* 61

CHAPTER 1

P_3-šr-n-/T_3-šr.t-n-

P3-šr-n-/T3-šr.t-n-

A great number of anthroponyms in Greek transcription start by the Egyptian elements *P3-šr-(n)-* ¹²⁰, “The son of ...”, or *T3-šr.t-(n)-* ¹²¹, “The daughter of ...”, which were used to express filiation¹²² from the late New Kingdom onwards, when the development of the definite article *p3/t3* in Late Egyptian occurs¹²³. However, the element *S3* (masc.) ¹²⁴ / *S3.t* (fem.), “Son/Daughter”, which was characteristic of Middle Egyptian for the expression of filiation, was also used in Demotic¹²⁵ and appears fossilised in some Greek transcriptions of Egyptian proper names¹²⁶. Even though *P3-šr-(n)-* and *T3-šr.t-(n)-* in composition only occur in initial and middle position, *(p3)-šr/(t3)-šr.t* are also attested in absolute position and the word *šr* occurs in final position.

▪ The element *(P3)-šr/(T3)-šr.t* in non-composition

Egyptian **P3-šr*, “The son”, appears as $\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ in 92 Coptic attestations¹²⁷. Except one name attested in P. Bal. II 174, 5, from the Monasterion of Apa Apollo (nome 13 of Upper Egypt), all the attestations come from Thebes. Likewise, the anthroponym **šr*, “Son”¹²⁸, without definite article, is attested in

¹²⁰ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 225, *P3-šr-İmn-İpy*, n. 14.

¹²¹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1116, *T3-šr.t-İs.t*, n. 7.

¹²² Cf. *Short Texts* II, p. 923: “In the early Roman period, a new use of this name pattern evolves, no longer celebrating the relation to a divinity, but rather to an ordinary human being, possibly a relative or a parent”. On the expression of filiation and possible genealogical relations with *P3-šr-n-/T3-šr.t-n-*, cf. JENNES, G., “*P3-šr* + Personal Name: An Expression of Genealogical Relations?”, p. 132-141; *Short Texts* II, p. 901-906; 922-932. In Coptic, filiation is expressed, among other ways, by the equivalent $\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ \mathfrak{n} (abbreviated $\pi\omega\epsilon$ $\mathfrak{n}/\pi\omega\mathfrak{h}$ \mathfrak{n}). Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Filiation the Egyptian Way in Greek Documents”, p. 280.

¹²³ Cf. RANKE, H., *PN* II, p. 237-238.

¹²⁴ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 900, *Sy-İmn*.

¹²⁵ Cf. MUHS, B., “Linguistic Hellenization in Early Ptolemaic Thebes”, p. 798-799; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter S, p. 14-21.

¹²⁶ The most frequent variant in transcription is $-\sigma\iota-$. It appears in Old Coptic as $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{i}-$. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 182; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 317. In Demotic and Greek transcription, *s3* is usually related to a god (cf. for example: TM Nam 298: *Ḥr-s3-İs.t*, “Horos son of Isis” > Ἀρσησις; TM Nam 444: *M3-t-R-s3-Sbk*, “Marres, son of Sobek” > Μαρσισουχος; TM Nam 300: *Ḥr-s3-Sbk*, “Horos, son of Sobek” > Ὀρσισουχος; TM Nam 1119: *S3-Sbk*, “Son of Sobek” > Σισουχος).

¹²⁷ Cf. TM Nam 27724.

¹²⁸ Cf. TM Nam 12130.

Coptic as ⲱⲏⲣⲉ in two documents from Thebes¹²⁹, as Ⲭⲏⲣⲉ in a text also from Thebes¹³⁰, and in Greek characters as Σηⲣⲉ in a document from Aphroditō (U10)¹³¹. On the other hand, the Egyptian word *šr* appears as -ⲱⲏⲣⲉ in Coptic in two attestations of the name ⲡⲕⲟϥⲱⲏⲣⲉ (< **P3-gwy-šr*, “The little son”)¹³² coming from the Hermopolites (U15). All these anthroponyms contain the representation of Egyptian *šr* characteristic of the Sahidic, Akhmimic and Sub-Akhmimic dialects¹³³.

The Coptic proper name ⲧⲱⲉⲉⲣⲉ (**T3-šr.t*, “The daughter”) is, on the other hand, attested in two anthroponyms from Thebes¹³⁴. This anthroponym seems to be attested in Greek transcription in the names Τσέρης¹³⁵ (three attestations) and Τσεⲣⲉ¹³⁶ (one attestation). Likewise, these names seem to reflect the variant characteristic of the Sahidic, Akhmimic and Sub-Akhmimic dialects¹³⁷.

1. *P3-ŠR-N*- IN INITIAL POSITION

1.1. Attestations

A. Greek transcriptions of Egyptian anthroponyms

Egyptian *P3-šr-n*- is attested at the beginning of more than 170 anthroponyms in Greek transcription. Names such as *P3-šr-n-Ġmn*, *P3-šr-n-Ġs.t*, *P3-šr-n-Mnṯ*, **P3-šr-n-nṯr* and *P3-šr-n-Hnsw* have more than 200 attestations each.

¹²⁹ In O. Crum 191, 6 – in this ostrakon, it is not sure if ⲱⲏⲣⲉ is an anthroponym or the word for “son” –, and in O. Brit. Mus. Copt. I, p. 131 pl. 90, Vo. 5.

¹³⁰ In O. Crum ST 53, 11.

¹³¹ In CPR XXII 57, 6.

¹³² In CPR IV 48, 1 and CPR IV 48, 24 (TM Nam 27701).

¹³³ Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 584; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 269. No variant with Ⲭ- appears as characteristic of a specific dialect in these dictionaries; it consequently seems a confusion of both Coptic consonants.

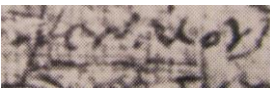
¹³⁴ In P. Pisentius 28, Ro. 12; Vo. 1 (cf. TM Nam 27492).

¹³⁵ In P. L. Bat. XIX 15, 5, of unknown provenance; and in P. Lond. V 1724, 10 and 75, from Syene.

¹³⁶ In P. Münch. I 13, 72, from Syene.

¹³⁷ Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 585; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 269.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
P3-šr-n-...	The son of... (incomplete and abbreviated names)	Πσενφα()	1	38501
		Ψεν..., Ψεν...	216 23	954 + 12997
		Ψενα()	18	23744
		Ψεναρ()	1	38995
		Ψεναφ()	1	35390
		Ψενελο()	1	34532
		Ψενεφιλ[1	6408
		Ψενθ()	3	39000
		Ψενθαλ()	1	34568
		Ψενιχ()	1	32861
		Ψενμ()	3	39003
		Ψενμο()	2	39005
		Ψενμου() ¹³⁸	2	30372
		Ψενμω()	2	39008
		Ψεννο()	1	34541
		Ψενο()	2	39009
		Ψενομ()	1	39010
		Ψεντ()	2	39022
		Ψεντο...	1	39026
		Ψεμφενα()	1	39030
		Ψενφιλ()	1	34540
		Ψενχ(), Ψενχ()	3 4	6407 + 26931
		Ψενω...	2	39032
		Ψιγαλ()	1	39038
		Ψιγα()	1	39040
*P3-šr-ʿ3	The great son	πωηρεω ¹³⁹	1	27837
P3-šr-n-İy-m-ḥtp	The son of Imhotep	Ψενιμούθης	7	978
P3-šr-n-İmn	The son of Amun	Ψενάμουνης	696	963
P3-šr-n-İmn-m-İp.t	The son of Amun in Apis	Ψεμένωφης	26	962
P3-šr-n-İnpw	The son of Anubis	Ψενένουφης	106	965

¹³⁸ In O. Bodl. II 425, 1: Ψενμου() and P. Coll. Youtie I 26, 14: Ψενμου() . This name could be abbreviated for Ψενμούθης/-ιος (< P3-šr-n-Mwt, “The son of Mut”) or for Ψένμουνης (< P3-šr-n-m3y, “The son of the lion”).


¹³⁹ In O. Crum ST 158, 2-3: πωηρεω.

P3-šr-n-İhy	The son of Ihi	Ψεναιῆς ¹⁴⁰	6	961
P3-šr-n-(t3)-ih.t	The son of the cow	Ψεναιῆς ¹⁴¹	2	23739
P3-šr-n-İs.t	The son of Isis	Ψένησις	401	976
*P3-šr-n-İs.t-wr.t	The son of the great Isis	Ψενεσοῦηρις, Ψενσόηρις ¹⁴² Ψενεσο(ῶηρις) ¹⁴³ (abbreviated names)	8 7 3	13002 + 26286 38998
*P3-šr-n-İkš	The son of the Kushite	Ψένχυσις ¹⁴⁴ (?)	1	34099
P3-šr-n-İtm	The son of Atum	Ψενάτυμις	111	968
P3-šr-n-ʿ3-phṯ	The son of the Great of strength	Ψενάπαθης	26	966
*P3-šr-n-ʿhm-ḥm	The son of the little eagle	Ψενχόμημις ¹⁴⁵	1	34160
P3-šr-n-š3-ihy	The son of Asychis	Ψενάσουχης	17	967
P3-šr-n-Wp-w3.wt	The son of Wepwawet	Ψενόπωις, Ψενόφωις	2	985
*P3-šr-n-wr(.t)	The son of the great one	Ψένουρις, Ψενεούηρις	5 2	8272 + 29755
P3-šr-n-Wsir	The son of Osiris	Ψενόσιρις	256	986
*P3-šr-n-Wsir-wr	The son of the great Osiris	Ψενοσορόηρις ¹⁴⁶	1	25903
P3-šr-(n)-Wsir-Bḥ	The son of Osiris-Bouchis	Ψενοσόρβουχης ¹⁴⁷	3	13783
*P3-šr-n-b3-ʿnh	The son of the living <i>ba</i>	Ψενβίηγχις, Ψενβίηγχος	2	12999
P3-šr-n-B3st.t	The son of Bastet	Ψενόβαστις	174	984
P3-šr-n-byk	The son of the falcon	Ψένβηκις	4	12998

¹⁴⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 227; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Ī, p. 210-211.

¹⁴¹ In the bilingual text P. Bürgsch. 14, Vo. 5 (= P. Eleph. Gr. 6 = P. Eleph. Dem. 6): Ψεναιῆς. In P. Eleph. Dem. 6, 11, the name *P3-šr-(n)-t3-ih.t* occurs. Even if in the Demotic attestations the feminine definite article *t3* is noted, it does not seem to be represented in Greek. This name in Greek transcription is also attested in I. Thèbes à Syène 140, 1: Ψεναιῆς. Cf. also below the name *P3-šr-n-t3-ih.t*; its Greek renderings contain the representation of the article (cf. TM Nam 994: Ψινταῆς). Egyptian *ih(.t)* appears in Coptic as εζε (Sahidic, Bohairic), εζη (Fayumic). Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 64; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 50.

¹⁴² The name Ψενσόηρις has been considered as a Greek rendering of **P3-šr-n-Wsir-wr*, “The son of the great Osiris” in the Trismegistos database. However, we think that this name and its variants are the transcriptions of **P3-šr-n-İs.t-wr.t*, “The son of the great Isis”. Cf. the name Σόηρις (< *İs.t-wr.t*) in TM Nam 190.

¹⁴³ In O. Petrie Mus. 276, 1: Ψενεσο(ῶηρις) , and possibly also in O. Wilcken II 1462, 1: Ψενεσο() and O. Wilcken II 1591, 1: Ψενεσο().

¹⁴⁴ In I. Syr. 1296, 2-3: Ψένχ[υ]σις. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 309: “Ψενχῦσις est à rapprocher de Πακῦσις, « l’Éthyopien »”.

¹⁴⁵ In SB I 1097, 1-2, from Elephantine: Ψενχομήμως. The name *ʿhm-ḥm* is attested in Philae. Cf. TM Nam 36427.

¹⁴⁶ In O. Bodl. II 1858, 4: Ψενοσορο(ῆρις).

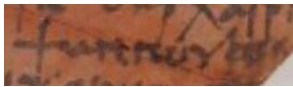
¹⁴⁷ The anthroponym Ψενοερμούχιος, read by the editor of SB VI 9237, col. 3, 47, has been identified as a ghostname for Ψενοσόρβουχης. Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Theban Personal Names and the Cult of Bouchis”, p. 32 (note 44).


*P3-šr-n-bl	The son of the blind one	Ψ<v>βελλῆς (?) ¹⁴⁸	1	28437
*P3-šr-n-Bs	The son of Bes	Ψέμβησις, Ψενβήσιος, Ψενοβῆς (?) ¹⁴⁹	2	23745 + 23764
*P3-šr-n-p3y-Hr	The son of this one of Horos	Ψενπίρις ¹⁵⁰	1	23769
*P3-šr-n-p3-ḥm	The son of the eagle	Ψενπάχουμις	5	39223
P3-šr-n-p3-wr	The son of the great one	Ψενπούρις, Ψενπούρις ¹⁵¹ , Ψινπούρης (?) ¹⁵²	29 2 1	992 + 7510 + 13088
*P3-šr-n-p3-byk (?)	The son of the falcon	Ψενέμβηκις ¹⁵³	1	28247
*P3-šr-n-p3-ftw-Mnt	The son of the four Montus	Ψενφομώνθης	2	13065
P3-šr-n-p3-mw.t	The son of death	Ψενεφομῶς ¹⁵⁴	1	13004
P3-šr-n-p3-mr-ih	The son of the supervisor of cattle	Ψενπελάιος ¹⁵⁵	1	988

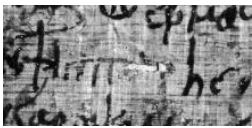
¹⁴⁸ In SB XII 11212, 1-2: Ψιβελλῆτος.

¹⁴⁹ In P. Princ. I 2, col. 7, 21: Ψενοβῆς. The Egyptian prototype of the name Ψενοβῆς is not complete clear. It might belong to *P3-šr-n-Bs but also could be a hypocoristic for P3-šr-B3st.t, “The son of Bastet” (cf. TM Nam 984).

¹⁵⁰ In CRIPEL II 245, A 1: Ψενπίριος.

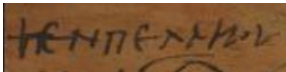
¹⁵¹ In O. Petrie Mus. 495, 9, the name Ψενπούρη[ε]ως  is correctly read; the reading Ψεννουήρε[ε]ως that is found on the Trismegistos database, <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;20;15176> and in COCKLE, W. E. H., “List of Names from Coptos”, p. 277-278, should be corrected. Cf. COCKLE, W. E. H., *ibidem*, p. 278: “For Ψεννουήρις compare P.Columbia I recto 1 b col. 3, 25 (Theadelphia A.D. 134-5). I.Ko.Ko. 78 (Paneion of Wadi Hammamat) and Plates 15,1 and 42,2 *ibid.* suggest that SB V 8619 Ψεννουή(ρις) = CIG III 4716 d 43 – appendix is a misread second transcription of Ψενπουή(ρις) and should be deleted”. On the other hand, the anthroponym Ψεννουήρεως

read in P. Col. II 1 Ro (1 b), col. 3, 25  has been identified as a ghostname for Ψενπουήρεως. The form Ψενπουήρεως is actually attested, and correctly read, in P. Col. II 1 Ro (2), col. 4, 25.

¹⁵² In SB XX 14669, col. 5, 162: Ψινπούρης .

¹⁵³ In O. Edfou II 297, 1-2: Ψενεμπήκιος.

¹⁵⁴ In P. Count. 6, 109: Ψ[ε]νεφομῶς. Cf. P. Count 6, p. 213: “an *addendum onomasticis*, but the etymology is straightforward. Compare the women’s names Σενεφομῶς (I.45) and Σενεπμοῦς (NB). The demotic equivalence Pa-šr-n-p3-mwt is well attested (DNB I, 236)”. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 236: “Der Sohn des Todes”. Cf. VYČICH, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 107-108; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 159-160: in Coptic mw.t appears as moy in all the dialects.

¹⁵⁵ In SB I 5212, 1: Ψενπελάιος . In SB I 5212 this name has been read as Ψενπελέκου. The reading is however correct in HARRAUER, H., *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie* I, p. 40.

*P3-šr-n-p3-nḥt	The son of the strong one	Ψένπηνηχθις ¹⁵⁶	6	13035
P3-šr-n-p3-ntr	The son of the god	Ψενπνούθης, Ψενπνούθης ¹⁵⁷	96 2	991 + 30310
P3-šr-n-p3-R ^c	The son of Ra	Ψενπρής	1	10260
*P3-šr-n-(p3)-ftw ¹⁵⁸	The son of the four	Ψενφοῦς	13	13066
*P3-šr-n-p3-ḥtr	The son of the twin	Ψενφατρής	1	25734
P3-šr-n-p3-ḥy	The son of the high one	Ψένπχυς ¹⁵⁹	3	10263
*P3-šr-n-p3-ḥt (?)	The son of the chet demon	Ψενπεχύτης ¹⁶⁰	1	28512
*P3-šr-n-p3-Š3y	The son of Shai	Ψένψαις	3	13069
*P3-šr-n-p3-t3	The son of the land	Ψέμπτως ¹⁶¹	1	27858
P3-šr-n-p3-twtw	The son of the statue	Ψένπτουθις ¹⁶² , Ψενπτούωθις, Ψέμπτυτις	23 1 1	10274 + 18132 + 18018
*P3-šr-n-p3-di- Wsir-ns-mtr	The son of He who has been given by Osiris, who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Ψινπετόρζμητις ¹⁶³	1	18099

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Πνῆχθις/Πνίχθης (< P3-nḥt, “The strong one”) in TM Nam 929.

¹⁵⁷ The name Ψηρπνούθης, read by the editor in P. Got. 6, 4 and 22-23, has been identified as a ghostname for Ψενπνούθης, a Greek rendering of Egyptian P3-šr-n-p3-ntr, “The son of the god”. Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., Worp, K. A., “Lese Früchte”, p. 186.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. GALLAZZI, C., Worp, K. A., “Un piccolo archivio tebano su ostraka”, p. 191: “presentano la variante Ψενφοῦς dell’onomastico Ψεντφοῦς, che è ricorrente in questa mano. Essa, infatti, alterna alla forma più usuale Ψεντφοῦς quella meno frequente Ψενφοῦς e persino un insolito Ψενφοῦς, ovviamente a causa della difficoltà prodotta dalla trascrizione in greco del demotico P3-šr-t3-ḥf.t (cfr. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* I 4, 265)”. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 319: 209, 240γ1 (Sahidic, Bohairic), “« serpent », nombreuses variantes graphiques”; QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 268.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 238; DE MEULENAERE, H., “Quatre noms propres de base époque”, p. 147-148; DEVAUCHELLE, D., “À propos du papyrus de Genève D 229”, p. 73-75.

¹⁶⁰ O. Deiss. 40, 1-2: Ψ[εν]πεχύτο(υ).

¹⁶¹ In SB XVIII 13192, 4: Ψεμπῶτος.

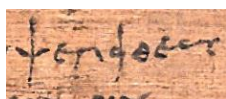


¹⁶² The name Ψενπτούως, attested in O. Claud. I 83, col. 1, 3, included in TM Nam 10274, does not probably belong to this prototype, since the second *t* is not represented in Greek characters. All the Greek transcriptions attested of the name P3-šr-n-p3-twtw come from the nome of Thebes. The names Ψενπτούωθις (O. Heid. 41, 2, from the nome of Thebes) (TM Nam 18132) and Ψέμπτυτις (O. Deiss. 37, 1, also from the nome of Thebes) (TM Nam 18018) also belong to this prototype: in fact, O. Heid. 41 and O. Heid. 35, which contains the name Ψένπτουθις, in the second line, are bilingual texts with the Demotic name P3-šr-n-p3-twtw written in the first line. Cf. also VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 224: 209γ1 (Sahidic) 240γ1 (Bohairic); CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 447. According to these attestations, the Egyptian word *twtw* in Achimimic, the dialect of Thebes, was pronounced similarly, if not the same way, to the Sahidic variant.

¹⁶³ In O. Wilcken II 172, 4: Ψινπ[ετορζ]μητις, partially reconstructed.

*P3-šr-n-p3-di-Hr	The son of He who has been given by Horos	Ψενπάτευρις, Ψενπάτυρις ¹⁶⁴	2	18222
*P3-šr-n-p3-dw	The son of the child	Ψεμφθεύς ¹⁶⁵	1	27231
*P3-šr-n-pa-İnpw	The son of the one of Anubis	Ψενπάνουπις ¹⁶⁶	1	39013
*P3-šr-n-pa-İs.t	The son of the one of Isis	Ψανπάησος ¹⁶⁷	1	26195
*P3-šr-n-pa-‘w	The son of the one of the great one	Ψενπαούς	2	13029
P3-šr-n-pa-n3	He who has been given by Amun in Apis (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	Ψενπανᾶς	1	10277
P3-šr-n-pa-İp	The son of the one of Apis	Ψενπάαπις ¹⁶⁸	1	10278
P3-šr-n-pa-İnm	The son of the one of Khnum	Ψενπάχνουμις	4	10281
*P3-šr-n-pa-t3-sbt	The son of the one of the hill	Ψενπάτσεβτις ¹⁶⁹	1	25928
*P3-šr-n-pa-t3-Rnn.t	The son of the one of Thermuthis	πωνπατερμουγε ¹⁷⁰	1	27727
*P3-šr-n-pa-Ḍm3	The son of the one of Djeme	Ψενπάσημις	1	39014
P3-šr-n-Pth	The son of Ptah	Ψεμφθεῶς	9	993
P3-šr-(n)-m3y	The son of the lion	Ψένμουις	1	25793

¹⁶⁴ In O. Deiss. 28, 2: Ψενπάτευρις, partially reconstructed; and O. Edfou III 456, 1: Ψενπατύριος.



¹⁶⁵ In PSI V 544, 20: Ψεμφθεῶς. Cf. the name Φθεῶς (TM Nam 18646). Cf. *Short Texts* II, p. 435-436, n. 806, A 3 and B 2: Φθεῶς is the Greek equivalent to Demotic P3-dw. Cf. p. 436: “the transliteration by *t3w* (..), which is plainly still correct for this names’ writings in the Ptolemaic period, is probably to be replaced by *dw* here, an unetymological writing of a word whose etymology ‘kid’ was clearly still known, as the animal det. shows”. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter D, p. 22; Letter T, p. 10-11.

¹⁶⁶ P. Tebt. III 851, 99: Ψενπάνουπις.

¹⁶⁷ In O. Douch III 282, 6: Ψανπάησος.

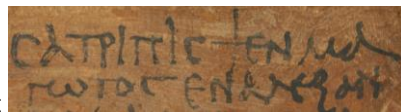


¹⁶⁸ In O. Claud. II 220, 1: Ψενπάαπις.

¹⁶⁹ O. Leiden Gr. 285, Ro. 8: Ψενπατσεβ(ι)ος. On the different vocalisations of *sb.t* (feminine), “hill” (Sahidic, Achmimic and Fayumic ⲥⲓⲃⲧ), and *sbt* (masculine), “wall” (Sahidic and Bohairic ⲥⲟⲃⲧ), cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 184-185; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 322-323.

¹⁷⁰ In P. Hermitage Copt. 12, 10: πωνπατερμουγε.

*P3-šr-n-m3'-wī3	The son of The sacred bark is true	Ψενμάγωγς ¹⁷¹	2	25866
P3-šr-n-Mw.t	The son of Mut	Ψενμούθης, Ψενενμούθης ¹⁷² , Ψεμωθ ¹⁷³	14 1 1	982 + 26495 + 34630
P3-šr-n-Mn	The son of Min	Ψένμινις	148	980
*P3-šr-n-mn-3pd	The son of the gooseherd	Ψιμανωβετ ¹⁷⁴	32	13083
P3-šr-n-mnh	The son of the excellent one	Ψεμονχής, Ψενονχής ¹⁷⁵	93 1	979 + 19588
P3-šr-n-Mnṯ	The son of Montu	Ψενμώνθης, Ψέμουνθις (?) ¹⁷⁶	293 1	981 + 34092
*P3-šr-n-Mnṯ-p3-lyn	The son of Montu the smith	Ψενμοντπλή(νιος) ¹⁷⁷	1	39007
*P3-šr-n-Mnṯ-pa-lyn	The son of Montu, the one of the smith	Ψενμοντπάπληνις ¹⁷⁸	1	13018
*P3-šr-n-Mnṯ-Ḳš	The son of Montu (the) Kushite	Ψενμοντέकुσις	3	23760
*P3-šr-n-Mnṯ-k3-mw.t=f	The son of Montu, the bull of his mother	Ψενμοντκάμητις	1	13017
*P3-šr-n-mrš	The son of the red one	Ψίμερσις ¹⁷⁹	1	28279



¹⁷¹ In SB I 1205, 1-2: Ψενμάγωγς; and SB I 5502, Ro. 2: Ψενμάγωγς. Cf. *M3'(.t)-wī3.t* > *Mάγωγς* (TM Nam 22391) in the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 546, A 1 and B 1. Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, Korrr., p. 182, n. 577; HOFFMANN, F., “Die Lesung des demotischen Wortes für ‘Götterbarke’”, p. 39-51.

¹⁷² In SB I 4340, 4: Ψενενμούθου.

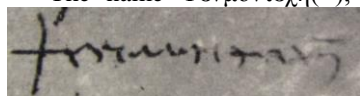
¹⁷³ In P. Sorb. 1 68, 3: Ψεμωθ().

¹⁷⁴ Cf. VYCIHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 115-116: *MANE* (Sahidic, Achmimic), *MANI* (Bohairic, Fayumic), “berger”; “il s’agit sans doute d’un *part. actif* du *mny* « paître »”; p. 248-249: *ωBT* (Sahidic, Sub-Achmimic), “« oie » ou une autre espèce de volaille”. Cf. also CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 173-174; 518; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter M, p. 94-96.

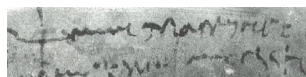
¹⁷⁵ In O. Elkab 36, 1: Ψεγονχή[ους]. Cf. O. Elkab, p. 61: “Dans Ψεγονχήους le premier un semble certain, même s’il n’y a aucun doute qu’il faille comprendre Ψεμονχήους”.

¹⁷⁶ The name Ψέμουν[θ]ις, attested in I. Syr. 488, 1, has been partially reconstructed by the editor and, consequently, its spelling is not completely sure. Cf. ibidem, p. 108: “C’est une variante de Ψεμώνθης”. The vocalisation ou instead of ω is on the other hand doubtful for a rendering of *Mnṯ*.

¹⁷⁷ The name Ψενμοντεχη(), in P.Heid. III 287, has been corrected to Ψενμοντπλή(νιος) in O.Heid. 398, 2:



¹⁷⁸ In O. Heid. 159, 1: Ψενμοντπαπλήνιο(ς)



¹⁷⁹ In *CRIPPEL* V 1195, 2-3: Ψιμέρσιος.

P3-šr-n-Mhy.t	The son of Mehit	Ψεμεμοῦς, Ψενομοῦς ¹⁸⁰	11	956
*P3-šr-n-n3-m3y.w	The son of the lions	Ψεμεμεγῦς	5	973
P3-šr-n-n3-ntr.w	The son of the gods	Ψενέντηρις	23	974
*P3-šr-n-n3-ht.w	The son of the <i>chet</i> demons	Ψενέχωτις, Ψενεχάτης	1 1	971 + 29600
*P3-šr-n-(n3)-twtw	The son of the statue(s)	Ψεμετουῶτις ¹⁸¹	2	17928
P3-šr-n-Ni.t	The son of Neith	Ψενείθης	6	972
*P3-šr-n-nfr	The son of the good one	Ψόνουφις	11	18036
*P3-šr-n-Ns-mtr-p3- ‘3	The son of He who belongs to the great sacred emblem of Khnum	Ψενθμένπως ¹⁸²	1	35201
*P3-šr-n-Nhs	The son of the Ethiopian	Ψενάσεις ¹⁸³	1	34284
*P3-šr-n-nhy	The son of the protector	Ψένουχις ¹⁸⁴	1	
*P3-šr-n-nht=f	The son of His strength	Ψενεχοῦτης ¹⁸⁵	1	983
*P3-šr-n-nht-nb=f	The son of His master is strong	Ψεννεκτένιβις ¹⁸⁶	1	35526
*P3-šr-n-nht-s-İnpw	The son of May Anubis protect him/her	Ψενχθάνουφις ¹⁸⁷	1	23796
*P3-šr-n-ntr	The son of God	Σενοῦθιος,	897	1085 +

¹⁸⁰ On the equivalence of the Demotic name and the Greek renderings, cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 250.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *supra*, *P3-šr-n-p3-twtw. It is not possible to know if the prototype represented here is *P3-šr-n-twtw or *P3-šr-n-n3-twtw, with contraction of the *n* of *p3-šr-n* and the one of the plural article in one single *nu*. The *epsilon* between the *nu* and the first *tau* seems to indicate that there is a plural article represented, but the representation of the plural article is not sure, since the *epsilon* can also represent a glide.

¹⁸² In SB I 724, 3-4: Ψενθμένπωτ[ο]ς. Cf. the name Ζμέντπως (< *Ns-mtr-p3- ‘3, “He/She who belongs to the great sacred emblem of Khnum”) (TM Nam 9409).



¹⁸³ In P. Col. VIII 230, col. 1, 33: Ψ[ε]νάσειν. Cf. the name *P3-Nhs* > Πνᾶς/Πνᾶσις (TM Nam 930). Cf. WINNICKI, J. K., “Völkernamen als Personennamen im Spätpharaonischen und Griechisch-Römischen Ägypten”, p. 171-177.

¹⁸⁴ In O. Douch IV 425, 2: Ψένουχις. Greek -νουχις/-νουχίς has been identified as the rendering of *nhy*, “protector”, thanks to the name Σόκνουχις (< *Sbk-nhy*, “Sobek is protector”) (TM Nam 1131). Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter N, p. 113 Cf. Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉ; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 151 ; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 241-242.

¹⁸⁵ This anthroponym appears reconstructed as Ψενεχοῦ[του] on <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lond;3;676>. In P. Lond. III. 676, 6-7 it has been edited as Ψενεχου[. Its equivalence with a prototype *P3-šr-n-nht=f is consequently possible but not completely sure.

¹⁸⁶ In P. Ryl. Gr. IV 667, fr. 2 7: Ψεννεκτένει.

¹⁸⁷ In O. Wilcken II 1387, 1: Ψενχθάνουφις. Cf. the name *Nht=s-İnpw* > Νεχθάνουφις (TM Nam 509).

		Ψεβνούθιος ¹⁸⁸	1	30305
*P3-šr-n-rmt	The son of the man	Ωενρωμε ¹⁸⁹	1	31183
*P3-šr-n-hb	The son of the ibis	Ψέναιβις ¹⁹⁰	1	18083
P3-šr-n-Hry=w	The son of They are happy	Ψενεριεύς	10	10299
*P3-šr-n-H'py	The son of Hapy	Ψένωπις ¹⁹¹	1	25740
*P3-šr-n-Hw.t-Hr	The son of Hathor	Σοναθυρ ¹⁹²	1	38671
P3-šr-n-Hr	The son of Horos	Ψένυρις	31	977
		Ψενόριος ¹⁹³	1	13027
		Ψινουρ ¹⁹⁴	3	28382
*P3-šr-n-Hr-...	<i>Incomplete names</i>	Ψαναρθ... ¹⁹⁵	1	12963
		Ψεναρθ(...) ¹⁹⁶	1	20720
*P3-šr-n-Hr-izbty	The son of Horus of the East	Ψεγεράγεβθις ¹⁹⁷	1	6398
*P3-šr-n-Hr-wd3	The son of the healthy Horos	Ψεναρνώτης	4	23743
		Ψινάρως ¹⁹⁸	1	25859

¹⁸⁸ Cf. P. Lond. IV 1374, Vo. 15: Ψεβο[υ]θ(ίου).

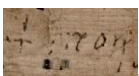


¹⁸⁹ In O. Crum 68, 5: Ωενρωμε.

¹⁹⁰ In SB VIII 9795, 3: Ψέναιβις.

¹⁹¹ In SB V 7815, 12: Ψενώπεω[ς].

¹⁹² In UPZ II 187, 23: Σοναθυρ (?). The reading of this name is not completely sure, but the lack of image of the document in the edition does not allow to check the spelling of the name.

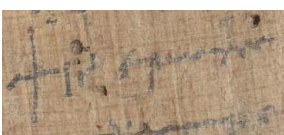
¹⁹³ In SB XX 14782, 1: Ψενόριος.

¹⁹⁴ In P. Oxy. XLVIII 3400, Ro. 8 , 9  and 26 .

¹⁹⁵ The reconstruction Ψαναρθί[ηγγις] in O. Eleph. DAIK 114, 4 is doubtful, as the editor indicates with the question mark.

¹⁹⁶ This name, attested in O. Leiden Gr. 329, 4: Ψεναρθ(), has been considered as a transcription of *P3-šr-n-Hr-p3-byk*, “The son of Horos the falcon” on the Trismegistos database. However, this equivalence is not completely sure, since this name could also represent other prototypes. Cf., for instance Ψεναρθ(αίθιον) (< **P3-šr-n-Hr-Bhd.t*, “The son of Horos of Bejdet”).

¹⁹⁷ In P. Tebt. III 888, Ro. 9: Ψεγεραγέβθιος.

¹⁹⁸ In P. Tebt. III 1039 descr., col. 1, 9: Ψινάρωτος .

*P3-šr-n-Ḥr-m-Pe	The son of Horos in Pe	Ψεναρόμπαις ¹⁹⁹	1	28557
P3-šr-n-Ḥr-mḥ=f	The son of Horos, the pillar of his mother	Ψεναρέμηφις ²⁰⁰	1	26621
*P3-šr-n-Ḥr-r.r=w	The son of Horos is against them	Ψενάραυς ²⁰¹	1	18611
*P3-šr-n-Ḥr-s3-Is.t	The son of Horos, son of Isis	Ψεναρσίησις	2	23742
P3-šr-(n)-ḥtr	The son of the twin	Ψενατρῆς	1	10321
*P3-šr-n-Ḥy	The son of Khonsu (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	Ψενέχοις	1	30179
*P3-šr-n-ḥm	The son of the younger	Ψένχημις ²⁰²	1	6406
P3-šr-n-Ḥnsw	The son of Khonsu	Ψένχωνσις	352	970
*P3-šr-n-Ḥnsw-p3-i.ir-shy	The son of Khonsu, the powerful one	Ψενχεσπίσιχις ²⁰³	1	23795
*P3-šr-n-Ḥnsw-Dḥwty	The son of Khonsu-Thoth	Ψενχεσθώτης ²⁰⁴	1	29581
P3-šr-n-Ḥnm	The son of Khnum	Ψένχνουμις,	56 1	969 + 17977

¹⁹⁹ In SB X 10270 (34), 2: Ψεναρόμπαιτι. Cf. the name *Ḥr-m-Pe* > Ἀρόμπαις (TM Nam 15335), well attested in SB X 10270.

²⁰⁰ In *CRIPEL* 4, 700, B 1; cf. also *Short Texts* II, p. 441, n. 811, A 3. Cf. the name *Ḥr-(iwn)-mḥ=f* > Ἀρέμηφις (TM Nam 258). Cf. On the variants and translation of this name, cf. QUAEGEUR, J., “Three Bilingual Mummy Labels Mentioning Children of Apollônios and Senaremēphis”, p. 165-166. Cf. p. 166: “That *Ḥr-mḥ=f* is to be considered a non-etymological orthography of Ἀρεμήφις = *Ḥr-iwn-mw.t=f* is therefore deduced from the presense of the Greek form (...) and from the combination of this variant, on the basis of the identification of persons, with the orthographies in which it was possible to recognize the local form of Horus”.


²⁰¹ In O. Douch I 45, 1: Ψενάραυς. Cf. however FOURNET, J. L., “Quittances de loyer du *topos* d’apa Michel d’Antaiopolis”, p. 50-52: “Ἀραοῦς est la forme peu courante d’un nom connu sous diverses vocalisations: Ἀποοῦς, Ἀραῦς, Ἀραουῦς. On trouve à Aphrodité/Aphroditō plusieurs de ces formes concomitamment: Ἀποοῦς (...), Ἀραοῦς. On peut se demander s’il faut rattacher à ce nom la forme Ἀρηοῦς que l’on rencontré dans le Cadastre du même village (...). L’étymologie permettrait de répondre à cette question, mais elle n’est pas claire. Les formes coptes enregistrées par Hasitzka, *NB Kopt.* (ⲗⲁⲣⲁⲩⲩ, ⲗⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ) incitent à pourvoir ce nom, comme je le fais, d’un esprit rude, contrairement aux *NB* et *Onomasticon*. Cela pourrait orienter du côté d’un nom théophore d’Horus. E. Lüddeckens fait justement remonter Ἀρηοῦς (en même temps que Ἀρεοῦς, Ἀρεῦς, Ἀρεῶς et Ἀρηῦς) à l’égyptien *ḥr-iw* “Horus est venu” (*NB Dem.* 790). Mais cette étymologie ne me semble pas rendre bien compte des formes Ἀρρῶς et Ἀρρῶς. Mais mon collègue Michel Chauveau me propose une solution plus séduisante: il ferait remonter ce nom à l’ég. *ḥr-’w* “Horus l’ancien” (*NB Dem.* 792, qui ne donne pas d’équivalences grecques). L’élément *’w* se retrouve en effet dans des noms égyptiens où il est translittéré -αυς (par exemple, dans des étiquettes de momie, *Pa-n3-wr-’w* ou *Ta-n3-wr-’w* rendus en grec respectivement Παγγοραῦς et Τανγοραῦς). Cela incite à penser qu’il y aurait eu deux noms différents, d’un côté *ḥr-’w* transcrit Ἀποοῦς, Ἀρα(υ)(ο)ῦς; de l’autre *ḥr-iw* transcrit Ἀρη(ο)ῦς, Ἀρεοῦς, etc.”.

²⁰² In O. Wilcken II 1262, 1: Ψενχήμει.

²⁰³ In O. Strasb. I 436, 2: Ψενχεσπ..., reconstructed into Ψενχεσπ[ισί]χιος on <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.stras;1;436>. Cf. the name *P3-di-Ḥnsw-p3-i.ir-shy* > Πετεχεσπίσιχις (TM Nam 7947). Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), DN, p. 338; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 275: ⲡⲓⲱⲓ (Bohairic), and ⲉⲣⲡⲓⲱⲓ (Bohairic), “être puissant, dominer, régner”. Cf. also CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 59.

²⁰⁴ In O. Bodl. II 2398, 6: Ψενχεσθώτου. Cf. the name *Ḥnsw-Dḥwty* > Χεσθώτης (TM Nam 127).

		Ψένχνουβις ²⁰⁵		
*P3-šr-n-Š3y-Š3y (?)	The son of Shai-Shai (?)	Ψονσαίσαις ²⁰⁶	1	25775
*P3-šr-n-Qlwd	The son of Kolluthis	Ψενκόλλωθις, Ψενκόλλωτις	1 1	10313 + 18188
P3-šr-n-Gbk	The son of Geb	Ψένκηβικις	99	10314
*P3-šr-n-gl3.t	The son of the lame one	Ψενκαλῆς ²⁰⁷	4	25727
*P3-šr-n-gl-hb ²⁰⁸	The son of the one who betakes himself/herself to the ibis	Ψενκάλειβις, Ψενκάλιβις	1 1	23757 + 23758
*P3-šr-n-t3	The son of the land	Ψέντως ²⁰⁹	1	25870
*P3-šr-n-t3-i.īr-ḥw3	The son of She who has been made by... (meaning uncertain)	Ψεντερεύς ²¹⁰	9	13055
P3-šr-n-t3-iḥ.t ²¹¹	The son of the cow	Ψινταῖς	50	994
P3-šr-n-t3-isw	The son of the sheep	Ψιντέσως ²¹²	1	958
*P3-šr-n-t3-Īšwr(.t)	The son of the Syrian	Ψεντέσαυρις ²¹³	5	13056


²⁰⁵ In O. Leiden Gr. 19, 6: Ψενχάνου(βις) . The name Ψεβχανού(βιος) that can be found at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.leid;19> is erroneous and should be corrected. This seems to be a ghostname for Ψένχνου(βις), but the original ostrakon needs to be seen to confirm this.

²⁰⁶ In *CRIPPEL* IV 692, A 1: Ψονσαίσαιτος. On the name Σαίσαις (TM Nam 13498), cf. QUAEGERBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 190-191.

²⁰⁷ Cf. the name *Gl3* > Καλῆς (TM Nam 391). Egyptian *gl3* appears in Coptic as ⲉⲁⲗⲉ (masculine, Sahidic and Bohairic), ⲉⲁⲗⲏ (feminine, Sahidic and Bohairic). Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 337; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 807.

²⁰⁸ Cf. the name *Gl-hb* > Κάλιβις (TM Nam 392); LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1032-1033. Cf. also VITTMANN, G., “Drei thebanische Urkunden aus dem Jahre 175 v. Chr. (Papyri Louvre E 3440 A + B und Berlin P 3112)”, p. 124-125; CLARYSSE, W., “Notes de prosopographie thébaine”, p. 237; WINNICKI, J. K., “*Pkalasiris*, ein fremder Gott im römischen Ägypten und die Personennamen auf *Kal*”, p. 176-177. In *status nominalis* the verb *gl* appears as ⲉⲁⲗⲉ- in Sahidic. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 336-337; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 807-809.

²⁰⁹ In O. Bodl. II 1943, 5: Ψέντωτος.

²¹⁰ In P. Flor. III 279, 5, the variant Ψεντερηούτι  appears. The prototype of this name has been reconstructed thanks to the bilingual mummy label *Short Texts* II 597, 2, in which the name Τερεῦτος and its Demotic prototype *T3-i.īr-ḥw3* occur (A 1 and B 1). The Demotic term *ḥw3* seems to mean “increase, excess, profit” (cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p. 68), but a meaning of the anthroponym “The son of She who has been made by the excess/profit” is doubtful.

²¹¹ Cf. also *supra* the name *P3-šr-n-(t3)-iḥ.t*, without the feminine definite article *t3*.

²¹² In P. Hibeh I 164 descr.: Ψιντέσωτος. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 263; DE CENIVAL, F., “Deux papyrus inédits de Lille avec une révision du P. dém. Lille 31”, p. 16.

²¹³ Cf. the name *T3-Īšwr* > Τέσαυρις (TM Nam 12514).

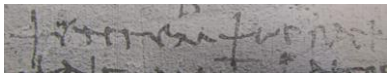
P3-šr-(n)-t3-ḥm/ *P3-šr-n-ta-ḥm	The son of the female eagle/ The son of the one of the eagle	Ψεντάχουμις	7	17867
P3-šr-(n)-t3-wnš.t	The son of the female wolf	Ψένταυνσις ²¹⁴ , Ψεντούωνσις	1 15	17698 + 6417
*P3-šr-n-t3-whr.t	The son of the female dog	Ψεντούωρις ²¹⁵ , Ψεντούωρις ²¹⁶	5 1	13061 + 25885
*P3-šr-n-t3-byk.t	The son of the falcon	Ψέντβαικις	11	19397
P3-šr-n-t3-msy- 3.t	The son of the Great of births	Ψενθμεσίως, Ψενοτμοσειούς ²¹⁷	40 1	10318 18480
*P3-šr-n-t3-msh.t	The son of the female crocodile	Ψεντέμψως ²¹⁸	1	13057
*P3-šr-n-t3-rmt.t-n- ...	The son of the woman of... (incomplete names)	Ψεντρεμπ...	3	26817
*P3-šr-n-t3-rm.t-n- Iy-m-ḥtp	The son of the woman of Imhotep	Ψεντρεμμιούθης ²¹⁹	1	28768
P3-šr-n-t3-Rnn.t	The son of Thermuthis	Ψενθερμούθης	23	23753
		Ψενθερμουθάριος ²²⁰	1	29428
*P3-šr-n-t3-hkr.t	The son of the woman of Arabia	Ψενθάκωρις	2	18053
P3-šr-(n)-t3-ḥf.t	The son of the snake	Ψεντφοῦς, Ψενθφοῦς ²²¹	83	10319
P3-šr-(n)-t3-ḥsy(.t)	The son of the blessed one	Ψενθασιῆς,	3	10320 +
		Ψενετασιῆς ²²²	1	23748

²¹⁴ In the bilingual text in *Short Texts* II 733, 1, where it renders Demotic *P3-šr-n-t3-wnš.t*, “The son of the female wolf”.

²¹⁵ Cf. the name *P3-whr* > Πούωρις (TM Nam 943). The word *whr* appears as ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲣ in Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic). Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 242; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 510-511.

²¹⁶ In SB X 10270 (27), 1: Ψεντούώριος (nominative Ψεντούωρις). The spelling of the name Ψεντούώριος that can be found in the Trismegistos database is incorrect and should be corrected. This name also appears in SB X 10270 (26), 1-2: Ψεντούώριος (included in TM Nam 13061).

²¹⁷ This name, attested in the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 570, 3 (A 2 and B 1), is a rendering of Egyptian *P3-šr-(n)-t3-ms- 3*.

²¹⁸ In P. Bingen 99, 2: Ψεντέμψως . Cf. P. Bingen, p. 381: “Le nom du fils est constitué de Psen- et de Tempsôs, “le fils de Tempsôs”; il est *add. onomasticis*; le simple Tempsôs, nom de femme, est attesté sous la forme Τεμσῶις (*Onomasticon*, p. 314)”. For the different transcriptions of **T3-msh.t*, “The female crocodile”, cf. TM Nam 6301. Cf. also QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 235-237.

²¹⁹ In O. Bodl. II 518, 1: Ψεντρεμμιού(θου).

²²⁰ This name has been partially reconstructed. Cf. SB XXIV 16000, col. 20, 653: Ψενθερμουθ[αρ]ίου.

²²¹ Cf. *supra*, *P3-šr-n-p3-ḥf*.

²²² In SB X 10478, 2: Ψενετασιῆς. In this attestation the second *epsilon* probably represents a glide between the *n* of the genitive and the *t* of the feminine article.

*P3-šr-n-t3-ḥtr.t	The son of the twin	Ψενθατρῆς, Ψενταθρῆς	35 1	23751 + 25724
*P3-šr-(n)-t3-s.t-n-ḥm3	The son of the seller of salt	Ψενστανμοῦς ²²³	3	10322
*P3-šr-n-sn.t-sn.ty	The son of the two sisters	Ψεντσενεσοντε ²²⁴ , Ψεντσονέσονθις, Ψεντσονεσοντιο, Ψενσονέσενθις ²²⁵	3 1	25978 25944
P3-šr-(n)-t3-špšy(.t)	The son of the noble one	Ψένσαιψις ²²⁶	30	10324
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-...	<i>Incomplete names</i>	Ψενσεν..., Ψεντσεν...,	7 1	39018 + 39027
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Īy-m-ḥtp	The son of the daughter of Imhotep	Ψενσενιμούθης	1	23776
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Īw=f-ḥ	The son of the daughter of He will live/May he live	Ψενσενεπώνυχος	1	26336
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Īmn	The son of the daughter of Amun	Ψενσενάμουνης	3	23771
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Īnpw	The son of the daughter of Anubis	Ψενσενάνουπις	1	17774
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Īs.t	The son of the daughter of Isis	Ψενσέννησις	4	23775
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-ʿ3-phṯ	The son of the daughter of the Great of strength	Ψενσεναπαθῆς ²²⁷	1	39019
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Wn-nfr	The son of the daughter of Onnophris	Ψενσενόννωφρις	1	23779
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Bs	The son of the daughter of Bes	Ψενσένβησις	1	17871
P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-(n)-p3-ʿl	The son of the daughter of the shrewmouse	Ψενσενπέλις	9	10325
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)-p3-ḥm	The son of the daughter of the eagle	Ψενσενπάχουμις	8	10326

²²³ On the equivalence of the Demotic name and the Greek transcriptions, cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 266. Egyptian *s.t*, “person”, appears in Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic) as *ca* and *ḥm3*, “salt”, as *μογ*. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 181, 299.

²²⁴ In *Short Texts* II 741, B 1: Ψεντσενεσοντε. The Demotic equivalent appears in A 1 as *P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-sm3-t3.wy* (?), with question mark; cf. however QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Le nom propre Tsonesontis”, p. 161-165.

²²⁵ In SB I 801, 3: Ψενσονεσένθιος. Cf. the names (*T3*)-*sn.t-snw.t* > Σενεσόντις (TM Nam 13471) and *T3*-*sn.t-sn.ty* > Τσονεσόντις/Τσονέσενθις (TM Nam 1446). Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 929; QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Le nom propre Tsonesontis”, p. 158-172.

²²⁶ The term *špšy(.t)* appears in old Coptic as *ϥανϥι*. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 268. The equivalence between the Egyptian term and the Greek transcriptions is certain thanks to several mummy labels. Cf. *Short Texts* II, p. 1031.

²²⁷ Cf. O. Elkab 101, 3: Ψενσεναπαθή(ος).

*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3y-Š3y	The son of the daughter of Shai	Ψενσενπίσαις ²²⁸	2	25763
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-wr	The son of the daughter of the great one	Ψενσενπόρις	5	13043
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-ftw-Mnṭ	The son of the daughter of the four Montus	Ψενσενφομώνθης	12	13045
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-lyn	The son of the daughter of the smith	Ψενσένπληνις, Ψενσένπληνις ²²⁹	6 3	13042 + 25914
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-p3-ḥtr	The son of the daughter of the twin	Ψενσενφατρής	2	32116
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-n-p3-sn-sn.w	The son of the daughter of the two brothers	Ψενσενψάνσνως	4	10328
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-gyl	The son of the daughter of the stranger	Ψενσενγκοίλι ²³⁰	1	34112
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-di-İs.t	The son of the daughter of He who has been given by Isis	Ψενσενπέτησις	1	25929
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr-(n)-p3-di-Mn	The son of the daughter of He who has been given by Min	Ψενσενπετέμινις	4	10329
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-ḏw	The son of the daughter of the child	Ψενσενφθεύς ²³¹	1	25837
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-...	The son of the daughter of the one of... (<i>incomplete name</i>)	Ψενσενπα[²³²	1	25935
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-Mnṭ	The son of the daughter of the one of Montu	Ψενσενπαμώνθης	2	13040

²²⁸ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II, n. 621, A 2-3 and B 1.

²²⁹ The name Ψενσάπληνις, read by the editor in P. Lips. I 97, col. 7, 1 and col. 15, 16, has been identified as a ghostname for Ψενσένπληνις. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

²³⁰ In P. Lond. I 125 Ro., col. 1, 11: Ψονσυν .. κοίλι, which on <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lond;1;125> appears corrected into Ψενσενγκοίλι. Cf. the name P3-gyl > Πκύλις/Πκοίλις (TM Nam 608) in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 279: “Der Fremde”. Cf. also JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter G, p. 8; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 336-337; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 807-809.

²³¹ In *CRIPPEL* II 115, A 2: Ψενσενφθεῦτος. Cf. the name Φθεύς < P3-ḏw (TM Nam 18646). Cf. *supra*, the name *P3-šr-n-p3-ḏw.

²³² In O. Theb. Gr. 140, 6: Ψενσενπαή[ριος. On the trismegistos database this name has been considered as a transcription of *P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-iry, “The son of the daughter of the companion”, following the reconstruction of the editor. However, this name could also be reconstructed as Ψενσενπαή[σιος, which be a rendering of *P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-İs.t, “The son of the daughter of the one of Isis”.

*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-ḥ3.t	The son of the daughter of the heart	Ψενσενπάης ²³³	1	26275
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Mw.t	The son of the daughter of Mut	Ψενσενμούθης	16	23778
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)-Mnt	The son of the daughter of Montu	Ψενσενμώνθης	5	10331
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-nfr(.t)	The son of the daughter of the good one	Ψενσένουφης ²³⁴	1	23780
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr	The son of the daughter of Horos	Ψενσένυρις	17	13044
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-wr	The son of the daughter of the great Horos	Ψενσενάργηρις	1	26769
P3-šr-n-t3-šr-n-Ḥr-wd3	The son of the daughter of Horos is prosperous	Ψενσεναρώτης	11	10333
P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-pa-Is.t	The son of the daughter of Horos, the one of Isis	Ψενσεναρπάησις	4	23773
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Mn	The son of the daughter of Min	Ψενσέμινις, Ψενσέμμινις, Ψενσένμινις	3	19474
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)-mnḥ	The son of the daughter of the excellent one	Ψενσενμενχῆς	3	10330
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-...	The son of the daughter of Horos... (incomplete name)	Ψενσεναρπα ²³⁵	1	23772
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-pa-Is(.t)	The son of the daughter of Horos, the one of Isis	Ψενσεναρπάησις	4	23773
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-rnp.t (?)	The son of the daughter of Horos of the year (?)	Ψενσενάρεμφις ²³⁶	1	17839

²³³ In *CRIPEL* III 354, 2: Ψενσενπάη<το>ς.

²³⁴ In O. Ont. Mus. II 280, 1: Ψενσενούφις.

²³⁵ In O. Elkab 59, 3: Ψενσεναρπα[γάθης. On the Trismegistos database this name has been considered as a rendering of *P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-pyt, “The son of the daughter of Horos the Libyan”, following the reconstruction of the editors. However, this anthroponym could also be reconstructed as Ψενσεναρπά[ησις, from an attested prototype P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-pa-Is.t, “The son of the daughter of Horos, the one of Isis”.

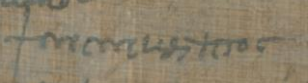
²³⁶ In *CRIPEL* IV 980, A 1: Ψενσενάρεμφις. The Egyptian prototype of this name is uncertain, and the lack of image in the edition does not allow to check the reading. A prototype *P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-rnp.t is not, however, impossible: cf., for instance, Is.t-rnp.t, “Isis of the year/Isis is rejuvenation” > Ἐσέρεμφις (TM Nam 178), among other transcriptional variants. Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Eseremphis. Une Isis de haute époque en vogue dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine”, p. 67-75. This name could also be interpreted as Ψενσεν<π>αρέμφις or Ψενσεν<τ>αρέμφις, rendering of *P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa/ta-rnp.t, “The son of the daughter of the one of the year”. Cf. the name *Pa-rnp.t > Πάρεμφις (TM Nam 753) and other variants; and *Ta-rnp.t > Τάρεμφις (TM Nam 1298) and other variants.

*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n- Hr-Š ₃ y	The son of the daughter of Horos- Shai	Ψενσεναρέσαις ²³⁷	1	25782
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n- Qlnd	The son of the daughter of Kollanthas	Ψενσενκολανθαῖς ²³⁸	1	28286
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n- k ₃ -mw.t=f	The son of the daughter of the bull of his mother	Ψενσενκάμητις ²³⁹	7	13041
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n- Kldw ₃	The son of the daughter of Kolluthos	Ψενσενκολλούθης	2	23777
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n-gl ₃	The son of the daughter of the lame one	Ψενσενκαλῆς ²⁴⁰	1	25735
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n-t ₃ - msy- ʿ ₃ .t	The son of the daughter of the Great of births	Ψενσενθμεσίως ²⁴¹	1	25690
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n- Twtw	The son of the daughter of Totoes	Ψενσεντιθοῆς	14	18412
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -gl ₃ .t	The son of the lame one	Ψεντκαλῆς ²⁴²	1	25695
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -gl-hb	The son of She who betakes herself to the ibis	Ψεντκάλιβις	15	23790
P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -di-t ₃ - Rpy.t	The son of She who has been given by Tryphis	Ψεντατέτριφίς	4	10345
*P ₃ -šr-n-ta-Īw=f- nh	The son of the one of He will live	Ψεντάπουνχίς	1	34294
P ₃ -šr-n-ta-Īmn	The son of the one of Amun	Ψενθαμουν ²⁴³ , Ψενθάμουινις	2 10	33967 + 995

²³⁷ In CPR XVII.2 12, 10: Ψενσεναρέσαις . On the name Hr-Š₃y and its Greek transcriptions (TM Nam 296), cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 223-224.

²³⁸ In *CRIPEL* III 473, A 2-3: Ψενσενκολανθαῖς.

²³⁹ Cf. the name *K₃-mw.t=f* > Κάμητις in TM Nam 393.

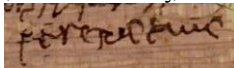
²⁴⁰ In SB XXIV 16000, col. 1, 20: Ψενσενκαλῆτος .

²⁴¹ The name Ψενσενθμεσίως , attested in CPR XVII.2 20, 3, has been partially reconstructed and consequently it is not completely sure.

²⁴² In UPZ II 180 a, col. 34, 5: Ψεντκαλέους. Cf. the name Τκαλῆς (TM Nam 1659). Cf. *supra*, *P₃-šr-n-t₃-šr.t-n-gl₃.

²⁴³ In *CRIPEL* V 1082, 3: Ψενθαμουν and SB I 754, 1: Ψενθαμουν. These attestations do not have a Greek morphological ending. The reconstructed nominative Ψενθαμοῦς that is found in the Trismegistos database is consequently erroneous and should be corrected.

*P3-šr-n-ta-mn-n=s	The son of She whom they brough ashore	Ψενταμόννησις	1	28159
*P3-šr-n-ta-Imn-rwš	The son of the one of Amun takes care	Ψενταμένρωσις	2	17860
*P3-šr-n-ta-In-hr.t	The son of Onuris	Ψεντάνουρις	1	25932
P3-šr-n-ta-İr.t-İhr-r.r=w	The son of the one of The eye of Horos is against them	Ψεντανάραυς	23	10336
*P3-šr-n-ta-İs.t	The son of the one of Isis	Ψενθάησις	112	39406
P3-šr-n-ta-İs.t-ħw3	The son of the one of the generous Isis (?)	Ψεντασεύς ²⁴⁴ , Ψεντεισεύς ²⁴⁵	6 2	25634 + 10337
*P3-šr-n-ta-‘w	The son of the one of the great one	Ψενταοῦς	1	13050
*P3-šr-n-ta-wgš.t	The son of the one of the Kushite	Ψεντούαζις	3	30145
*P3-šr-n-ta-B3st.t	The son of the one of Bastet	Ψενταύβαστις	6	996
*P3-šr-n-ta-byk.(t)	The son of the one of the falcon	Ψεντάβηκις	1	18095
*P3-šr-n-ta-Bs	The son of the one of Bes	Ψενταβῆς ²⁴⁶ , Ψεντάβησις, Ψνονταβῆς ²⁴⁷	1 2	26671 + 13047
*P3-šr-n-ta-p3-ym	The son of the one of the lake	Ψενταπίαμις, Ψενταπίαμις ²⁴⁸	10 1	13051 + 39023
*P3-šr-n-ta-p3-‘l l	The son of the one of the shrewmouse	Ψενταπέλαλις	4	19403
P3-šr-n-ta-p3-ħr-nfr	The son of the one of the beautiful face	Ψενταφένουφις ²⁴⁹	2	23787
*P3-šr-n-ta-p3-Š3y	The son of the one of Shai	Ψενταψάεις, Ψεντάψαις, Ψεντάψως	2 1	18100 + 25853
*P3-šr-n-ta-m3y.w	The son of the one of the lions	Ψενταμιεύς	5	25641

²⁴⁴ In P. Oslo III 107, 2: Ψεντασέως; P. Oslo III 107, 13: Ψεντασεῦτο(ς); *CRIPEL* II 89, A 1: Ψεντασήου; P. Oxy. LIX 3983, 8: Ψεντασέως ; *Short Texts* II 699, B 2: Ψεντασεῦτος; and in the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 698 (A 3 and B 1), in which Ψεντασεῦτος corresponds to P3-šr-n-ta-İs-ħw3.

²⁴⁵ The two attestations are in the bilingual texts *Short Texts* II 725 B 1-2: Ψεντασήιος; and 743 B 2: Ψενταησύιος.


²⁴⁶ In *CRIPEL* V 1091, 1: Ψενταβῆς. The form of nominative Ψενταβῆ that can be found in the Trismegistos database should consequently be corrected.

²⁴⁷ In *CRIPEL* IV 976, 1: {ψ}Ψονταβῆς, with dittography of ψ.

²⁴⁸ In BGU I 183, Ro. 40: Ψενταπίαμιος. The spelling of the name Ψενταμίαμις that is found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/bgu;1;183> is erroneous and should be corrected.

²⁴⁹ On the equivalence of the Demotic and the Greek forms, cf. the bilingual mummy labels in *Short Texts* II 872 (A 4 and C 2) and 600 (A 2 and B 3).

*P3-šr-n-ta-m3y-ḥs	The son of the one of the fierce looking lion	Ψενταμίωσις	1	25754
*P3-šr-n-ta-my	The son of the one of the cat	Ψένταμις ²⁵⁰	1	18201
*P3-šr-n-ta-Mn	The son of the one of Min	Ψενθάμινις, Ψεντάμινις ²⁵¹	5 1	17732+ 25874
*P3-šr-n-ta-mtr	The son of the one of the sacred emblem of Khnum	Ψενταμητ	1	35388
*P3-šr-n-ta-n3-ḥt.w	The son of the one of the chet demons	Ψεντανεχάτης, Ψεντανεχώτης	2	13049
*P3-šr-n-ta-ns-Bs	The son of the one of Bes	Ψενταζβῆς	5	23784
*P3-šr-n-ta-rnp.t	The son of the one of the year	Ψενταρέμφιος	1	25880
*P3-šr-n-ta-hb	The son of the one of the ibis	Ψένθαιβις	2	18052
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḥp	The son of the one of Apis	Ψεντεαπις	1	31140
*P3-šr-n-ta-ḥnw	<i>Meaning uncertain</i>	Φεντανεύς	1	34013
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḥr	The son of the one of Horos	Ψενθάουρις, Ψιντάουρις	1 3	17699 + 25899
*P3-šr-n-ta-ḥr	The son of the one of the face	Ψεντάως	2	25598
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḥr-p3-š3y	The son of the one of Horos-Shai	Ψεντάρψαις,	1	25760
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḥnm	The son of the one of Khnum	Ψεντάχνουμις	1	30144
*P3-šr-n-ta-Sy	The son of He who has been given by Osiris (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	Ψινθάσαις, Ψένθασις, Ψενδασι	2 1 1	17920 + 18062 + 10343
*P3-šr-n-ta-sn.(w)t	The son of the one of (the) sister(s)	Ψεντάσνως	1	25592
P3-šr-n-ta-t3-Rpy.t	The son of the one of Tryphis	Ψεντάτριφις	39	7512
*P3-šr-n-ta-Twtw	The son of the one of Totoes	Ψοντατιθοῆς	1	18738
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḍm3	The son of the one of Djeme	Ψεντάσημις	6	13052
*P3-šr-n-tyw (?)	The son of the five (?)	Ψεντειοῦς ²⁵²	1	26698

²⁵⁰ In O. Ont. Mus. II 266, 3: Ψένταμις  Cf. the name *Ta-my*, “The one of the cat”, as presumable prototype of Τάμις (TM Nam 13857).

²⁵¹ The anthroponym Ψεντήμιος, read by the editor of Got. 6, Ro. 27, has been identified as a ghostname for Ψεντάμινις. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

²⁵² In O. Bodl. II 1845, 3: Ψεντειοῦτο(ς). The prototype of this name is uncertain, and the lack of an image of the document in the edition does not allow to check the reading. *P3-šr-n-tyw could be proposed, since Greek -τειοῦς fits well as rendering of Egyptian *tyw*, “five”. Cf. the name *P3-wr-tyw*, “The great of five” > Πορτιοῦς/Πορπειοῦς (TM Nam 940), among other

P ₃ -šr-n-Twtw	The son of Totoes	Ψεντιτουῆς	17	998
*P ₃ -šr-n-twtw	The son of the statue	Ψέντουτις ²⁵³	1	17696
*P ₃ -šr-n-Tb ₃	The son of Apollonopolis	Ψένθβως ²⁵⁴ , Ψεντέβως ²⁵⁵ , Ψένδβως ²⁵⁶ , Ψενθβούς	3 5 1 9	23752 + 23788 + 25593 + 13005
*P ₃ -šr-n-Tn	The son of Tynis	Ψέντυνις ²⁵⁷	1	18040
P ₃ -šr-n-Dḥwty	The son of Thoth	Ψενεθώτης	136	997
P ₃ -šr-n-Dd-ḥr- (iw=f/s-‘nh) ²⁵⁸ (abbreviated name)	The son of the face says: (‘He/She will live’)	Ψενθέως ²⁵⁹	1	26527

A. Hybrid names in Greek transcription

More than 15 anthroponyms are composed of Egyptian *P₃-šr-n-* and a Greek anthroponym. They are all listed in the table below:

Base name	LGNP (volume: page)	Hybrid name	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἀγάπη	II: 6; III.A: 6; IV: 4; V.B: 4	ΣΑΝΔΑΓΑΠΗ ²⁶⁰	19	27451

transcriptional variants. In Coptic *tyw* appears as ⲧⲟϥ. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 223; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 440.

²⁵³ In O. Wilb. 21, 1, from Thebes: Ψέντουτις. Cf. supra, the name **P₃-šr-n-p₃-twtw*, with masculine article.

²⁵⁴ Cf. also the names *P₃-ḥm-rmt-Tb₃*, “The eagle of the man of Apollonopolis” > Παάρτβως and other transcriptional variants (TM Nam 7255); *Ḥr-my-Tb₃*, “Horus, who is in Apollonopolis” > Ἀρμάτβως (TM Nam 8775). Egyptian *Tb₃* appears in Coptic as ⲧⲃⲱ (Sahidic) or ⲑⲃⲱ (Bohairic). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 210; <http://www.trismegistos.org/place/269>.

²⁵⁵ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in VLEEMING, S. P., II, p. 389-390, n. 761, A 2 and B 2: Ψεντέβωτος as rendering of *P₃-šr-Tyb*, “The son of the panther”. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 274: “für *P₃-šr-t₃-be*”.

²⁵⁶ In *CRIPEL* IV 796, 2: Ψένδβως.

²⁵⁷ In P. Flor. III 329, col. 5, 37: Ψέντυνις.

²⁵⁸ Cf. TM Nam 10353.

²⁵⁹ In O. Strasb. I 319, 3: Ψενθέως. It is not possible to determine if this name is in nominative or if a nominative *Ψενθεύς should be reconstructed. On the other hand, the name Ψινθεός, in P. Grenf. I 65, 1, could be a hybrid Graeco-Egyptian anthroponym. Cf. below the Greek name Θεώ in the list of hybrid anthroponyms. Therefore, two different proper names may have been included in TM Nam 26527.

²⁶⁰ The name Τσαναγάπη included in TM Nam 27451 is feminine.

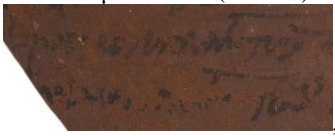
Αιέλουρος	I: 18	Ψενταΐλουρος ²⁶¹	1	28705
Ἄμμων	I: 32; IV: 21; V.B: 23	Ψενάμμων ²⁶²	1	963 ²⁶³
Ἀπόλλων	I: 52; IV: 36; V.A: 46	Ψεναπόλλων	2	19014
Ἀπολλώνιος	I: 53-55; II: 45-48; III.A: 51-52; III.B: 48-49; IV: 37-39; V.A: 48-55; V.B: 41-47	Ψενμοντεαπολλώνιος ²⁶⁴	3	39006
Ἀπολλώζ/- ῶς	Ἀπολλώζ: I: 56; III.A: 52; V.A: 56; V.B: 47 Ἀπολλῶς: IV: 39; V.B: 47	Ψεναπολλώζ/-ῶς ²⁶⁵	1	38994
Ἄρης	I: 58; II: 50; III.A: 54; V.A: 59; V.B: 50	Ψενσενάρης ²⁶⁶	1	25730
Ἄρτεμις	I: 82-83; II: 66; III.A: 73; III.B: 67; IV: 50-51; V.A: 74; V.B: 66-67	Ψενάρτεμις, Ψεναρτέμεις	9	8264
Ἀχιλλᾶς	I: 97; II: 85; III.A: 87; IV: 63; V.A: 94; V.B: 80	Ψενσenaχιλλᾶς ²⁶⁷	1	19326
Γέρης	I: 107; II: 92	Ψενγέρης ²⁶⁸	1	6412
Δίδυμος	I: 131; II: 114-115; III.A: 124; III.B: 114; IV: 96; V.A: 129; V.B: 107	Ψενδίδυμος ²⁶⁹	1	13000
Διογᾶς	IV: 98; V.A: 130; V.B: 108	Ψενδιογᾶς ²⁷⁰	1	25872
Διφίλη ²⁷¹	Διφίλη:	Ψηνδιφιλει ²⁷²	1	34336

²⁶¹ In the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 527, A 3 (Demotic: *P3-šr-tzylwrys*) and B 1 (Greek: Ψενταΐλούρου). The *epsilon* between the *iota* and the *lambda* has not been noted. The *t* before the Greek anthroponym in the Demotic name, and the *tau* between the *nu* and the *alpha* in the Greek name seem to represent the feminine definite article *t3*: “The son of the (female) cat”.

²⁶² In O. Wilcken II 960, 4: Ψενάμμω(νος).

²⁶³ The rest of the names of TM Nam 963 are Greek transcriptional variants of Egyptian *P3-šr-n-Imn*, “The son of Amun”; both names should consequently be splitted up.

²⁶⁴ In PSI VIII 998, 2: Ψενμοντεαπολ(λωνίου) ; 6: Ψενμοντεαπολ(λωνίος); and 7:

 [Ψ]ενμοντεαπολ(λωνίος), “The son of Montu-Apollonios” (*P3-šr-n-Mnt* + Ἀπολλώνιος).

²⁶⁵ In P. Kellis I 60, 1: Ψεναπόλλωτος.

²⁶⁶ In SB I 3855, 2: Ψενσενάρη(τος).

²⁶⁷ In *CRIPEL* III 373, 1: Ψενσenaχιλλᾶτος.

²⁶⁸ In O. Strasb. I 787, 1: Ψενγέρης.

²⁶⁹ In O. Douch IV 426, 5: Ψενδιδύ(μου).

²⁷⁰ In *CRIPEL* II 143, 1: Ψενδιογᾶτος.

²⁷¹ Cf. also the masculine counterpart Διφίλος (*LGPNI*, p. 141-142; II, p. 132-133; III.A, p. 132; III.B, p. 124; IV, p. 109; V.A, p. 145-146; V.B, p. 123).

²⁷² In O. Wilcken II 1611, 11-12: Ψηνδιφιλει (*sic*).

	II: 132			
Δόκιμος	I: 142; II: 134; III.A: 133; III.B: 126; IV: 109; V.A: 146-147; V.B: 123	Ψενδοκιμ() ²⁷³	1	33886
Ἑρμογένης	I: 165; II: 158; III.A: 154; III.B: 144; IV: 125-126; V.A: 166-168; V.B: 151-152	Ψενθινερμογένης ²⁷⁴	1	13006
Θεώ	I: 224; II: 225; III.A: 209; III.B: 197	Ψινθεώ ²⁷⁵	1	26527
Θούλης	IV: 169	Ψενθούλης ²⁷⁶	1	23754
Θυνίτης	V.A: 221	Ψενεθυνίτης ²⁷⁷	1	29216
Θωμάς	I: 228; II: 230; III.B: 204; IV: 170; V.B: 203	παρθωμάς ²⁷⁸	1	31149
Ίονη	V.B: 214	Ψινειόνης (?) ²⁷⁹	1	28096
Ίσοκράτης	I: 239; II: 242; III.A: 225; III.B: 213; IV: 178; V.A: 232; V.B: 219	Ψενισοκράτης ²⁸⁰	1	24907
Κασία/ Κασιάς ²⁸¹	Κασία: III.A: 238; III.B: 226 Κασιάς (femenine): V.B: 229	Ψενκαῶς ²⁸² (the Greek name is abbreviated)	1	32096
Κάσιος	II: 256; III.A: 238; IV: 187; V.A: 242; V.B: 230	Ψενκάσιος ²⁸³	1	28844

²⁷³ In O. Wilcken II 596, 3: Ψενδοκιμ().

²⁷⁴ In O. Eleph. DAIK 21, 3-4: Ψενθινερμογέν(ου), “The son of the daughter of Hermogenes”.

²⁷⁵ In P. Grenf. I 65, 1: Ψινθεώ. This name seems to belong to a Greek milieu. The other name included in TM Nam 26527, Ψενθέως, in O. Strasb. I 319, 3, could derive from an Egyptian prototype *P3-šr-n-Dd-ḥr* (cf. TM Nam 10353), “The son of the face says: (‘He/She will live’)”. Cf. *supra* the name *P3-šr-n-Dd-ḥr-(i)w=f/s-‘nh* in the list of Egyptian names attested in Greek transcription.

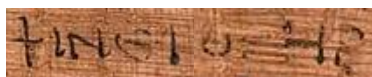


²⁷⁶ In O. Lund 24, 1: Ψενθούλης



²⁷⁷ In P. Baden IV 83 col. 1, Ro. col. 1, 6: Ψενεθυνίτου. The nominative seems consequently to be Ψενεθυνίτης and not Ψενεθύνιτος as it appears in the Trismegistos database.

²⁷⁸ P. Brux. Bawit 33, 5: παρθωμάς.



²⁷⁹ In P. Petaus 116 (ca. 182-187 AD), 1-2: Ψινειόνης. Cf. P. Petaus, p. 354: “Der unsichere Buchstabe könnte auch σ sein”. This anthroponym could be a hybrid Graeco-Egyptian name constructed of Ψεν- + Ίονη with an itacistic variant.

²⁸⁰ In O. Douch III 247, 2: Ψενισοκράτης.

²⁸¹ Cf. also the masculine name Κασιάς in LGPN V.B, p. 229. Cf. the following note.

²⁸² In the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 747, A 2: *P3-šr-(n)-Q3sy3.t* ; B 1-2: Ψενκαῶς. This seems to be an abbreviated name or a hypocoristic. This anthroponym contains the foreign determinative. Cf. also *ibidem*, p. 375: “the final .t, incorrect in a man’s name, suggests that the element *K3sy3.t* was a woman’s name”.

²⁸³ In *CRIPEL* II 28, A 2, 1: Ψενκασίου.

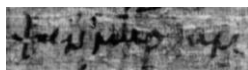
Κλεοπᾶς	IV: 194	Ψενκλεοπᾶς ²⁸⁴	1	10315
Κόγχος	V.B: 239	Ψενκόγχος ²⁸⁵	1	13014
Μαριαμ ²⁸⁶	--- (Hebrew name)	Ψανμαριαμ ²⁸⁷	1	12965
Νικᾶς/ Νικάς	Νικᾶς: I: 330; III.A: 318; IV: 251; V.A: 333 Νικάς: V.A: 333	Ψενικᾶς ²⁸⁸	1	23755
Ὀλβιος	I: 348; II: 350; V.A: 343; V.B: 326	Ψενώλβιος ²⁸⁹	1	26292
Πάπος	I: 360; II: 359; III.A: 352; III.B: 333; IV: 270; V.A: 357	Ψενπάπος ²⁹⁰	1	29071
Πῖος	I: 372; II: 367; III.A: 362; IV: 280; V.A: 366; V.B: 353	Σενπίος (?) ²⁹¹	1	28946
Πάχης	I: 367	Ψενπάχης ²⁹²	1	13031
Πόστομος ²⁹³	V.A: 377	Ψενπόστουμος ²⁹⁴	1	13037
Σωτηρίς/ Σωτηρις/ Σωτήρις/ Σωτήριος	Σωτηρίς: I: 427; II: 421; III.A: 418; III.B: 398; IV: 326; V.A: 421; V.B: 398 Σωτηρις: I: 427; II: 421; III.A: 418	Ψενεσοτήριος ²⁹⁵		

²⁸⁴ In *CRIPEL* V 1062, 2-3: Ψενκλεοπᾶτ<ρ>ος.



²⁸⁵ In CPR XXIII 19, 4: Ψένκόγχος. Other names that seem to have the seame root are also listed in the *LGNP*. Cf. Κόγχα (IV, p. 196), Κόγχη (I, p. 268; V.A, p. 251), Κόγχων (II, p. 253).

²⁸⁶ Cf. TM Nam 3963.



²⁸⁷ In SB XX 14669, col. 1, 9: Ψανμαριαμ

²⁸⁸ Presumably in O. Edfou III 423, 1: [Ψ]ενικᾶς.

²⁸⁹ In P. Lips. I 97, col. 18, 2: Ψενωλβίω.

²⁹⁰ In SB XIV 11721, 2: Ψενπάπου.



²⁹¹ In P. Köln Gr. III 158, Ro. 10: Σενπίου. The name seems to be male; cf. l. 9-11: μισθωταὶ ἀρτοκοπίου καλουμένου Σενπίου ἀφ' Ἡρ(ακλέους) πόλεως. Nevertheless, the reading of the anthroponym appears to be uncertain.

²⁹² In O. Eleph. DAIK 305, 4 (100-199 AD): Ψενπάχης. It is not possible to know if this is a hybrid name or if its prototype is completely Egyptian. In the Trismegistos database (TM Nam 4775), Πάχης is considered as an Egyptian name, but its etymology is unknown and it does not occur in any bilingual text. On the other hand, the anthroponym Πάχης seems to be both Greek (cf. *LGNP* I, p. 367; II, p. 364; V.A, p. 363) and Egyptian (from a prototype *Pa-zh.t*, “The one of the field”; cf. TM Nam 673).

²⁹³ Cf. TM Nam 11000. Cf. also the name Ποστουμῖος in *LGNP* V.B, p. 362.

²⁹⁴ In O. Eleph. DAIK 199 descr.: Ψενπόστουμος. On the confusion of ο and ου in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 211-214.

²⁹⁵ In O. Wilcken II 1456, 4: Ψενεσοτήριος (genitive). On the interchange of ω and ο in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 275-277.

	Σωτήρις: I: 427; IV: 326 Σωτήριος: I: 427; II: 421; III.A: 418; IV: 326; V.B: 398			
Φίλλης/ Φιλλῆς	Φίλλης: II: 452; V.A: 450 Φιλλῆς: III.A: 455	Ψενφίλλης/ Ψενφιλλῆς ²⁹⁶	1	23794
Φίλως	I: 474	Ψενφίλως	4	25594

B. Attestations from a prototype unknown

a) Names for which there is not an image available²⁹⁷

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
ΠΩΙΝΝΟΥ ²⁹⁸	1	31145
Φένεψις ²⁹⁹	1	3205
Φενχόμναχθις (?) ³⁰⁰	1	25750
Ψεμπαρας() ³⁰¹	1	23737
Ψενάθως ³⁰²	1	27859
Ψενάηις ³⁰³	1	17719

²⁹⁶ In SB XIV 11742, 8: [Ψενφίλλης α]. Cf. also the names Φίλλεις (*LGN* III.B, p. 425), Φύλλις (*LGN* I, p. 465; II, p. 453; III.A, p. 455; III.B, p. 425), Φύλλις (*LGN* IV, p. 347).

²⁹⁷ The names [Ψεν]επαχουπθ() (TM Nam 33944), in O. Edfou 3 357, 3, and Ψέ]νρητις (TM Nam 13038), in O. Eleph. DAIK 52, 3, have not been considered here because their first part, which could presumably be a rendering of *P3-šr-n-*, is reconstructed.

²⁹⁸ In O. Crum VC 37, 9: ΠΩΙΝΝΟΥ, which is possibly an abbreviation for ΠΩΙΝΝΟΥ(ΤΕ), “The son of God”.

²⁹⁹ In P. Petrie III 37 b Vo.: Ψενέψεως = P. Petrie Kleon 107 (forthcoming), IV 20.

³⁰⁰ This anthroponym appears abbreviated in Stud. Pal. XVII, 506: Φενχ(ομνάχθεως). It is not consequently possible to know what letters follow after the *chi*. If the reconstruction is correct, Egyptian *nḥt*, “to be strong”, could be represented in -ναχθις.

³⁰¹ In SB I 1928, 1: Ψεμπαρας(). The names Πάρας and Παῤας are listed in *LGN* III.A, p. 353; and IV, p. 272, respectively.

³⁰² In P. Cornell 21, col. 6, 82: Ψενάθωτο(ς).

³⁰³ In O. Edfou III 338, 6: Ψενάηις. This name could represent Egyptian *P3-šr-n-(t3)-iḥ.t*, “The son of the cow”, but this etymology is not completely sure. In fact, the Demotic equivalent of the name Ψενᾶῖς is *P3-šr-(n)-t3-iḥ.t*, as it is shown in the bilingual text P. Bürgsch. 14 = P. Eleph. Gr. 6 = P. Eleph. Dem. 6. Cf. the anthroponyms *P3-šr-n-(t3)-iḥ.t* > Ψενᾶῖς and *P3-šr-n-t3-iḥ.t* > Ψνταῖς (TM Nam 994) (without and with feminine definite article represented in Greek transcription, respectively) in the list of Egyptian names in Greek transcription starting by *P3-šr-n-*. However, the anthroponyms containing the word *iḥ(t)*, “cow”, in final position usually have the morphological ending -ῖς.

Ψέναις ³⁰⁴	2	17864
Ψεναμινε ³⁰⁵	1	26118
Ψεναυῆς ³⁰⁶	1	34093
Ψενασαιψιος ³⁰⁷	1	25884
Ψεναχοῦς ³⁰⁸	1	25714
Ψεγεγευ ³⁰⁹	1	30142
Ψεθεθούσης, Ψεθέθουσιν ³¹⁰	2	28246
Ψένεμος ³¹¹	1	38997
Ψενέμπησις ³¹²	1	23746
Ψενέμχοις ³¹³	1	25757
Ψεεννήριος ³¹⁴	1	25883
Ψενένφω ³¹⁵	1	25855
Ψένεος, Ψένηος ³¹⁶	2	30796
Ψεεπόμουτος ³¹⁷	1	29387
Ψεεστ() ³¹⁸	4	38999
Ψεετυχωρ ³¹⁹	1	28447
Ψεεῦς ³²⁰	1	25638

³⁰⁴ In O. Edfou III 335, Ro. 4: Ψέναις and O. Edfou III 338, 7: Ψέναιος. The prototype of this name could be *P3-šr-n-(t3)-ih.t*, “The son of the cow”. Cf. previous note.

³⁰⁵ In O. Bodl. I 357, 2: Ψεναμινε. The *alpha* between the *nu* and the *mu* seems to point that the last part of the name does not correspond to Egyptian *Mn*, “Min”.

³⁰⁶ In SB 1 2269 = I. Thèbes à Syène 185, 5: Ψεναυῆς.

³⁰⁷ In SB V 7707 = C. Étiq. Mom. 623, 1: Ψενασαιψιος.

³⁰⁸ In O. Edfou II 245, 2: Ψεναχοῦτος.

³⁰⁹ In I. Akôris 130, 1-2: Ψεγεγευ.

³¹⁰ In P. Phil. Gr. 6, 10: Ψεθεθούσης; and 7, 7: Ψεθεθούσιος.

³¹¹ In P. Mich. IV 223 Ro. col. 80, 2432: Ψεεμου.

³¹² In O. Erem. 16 = SB XVIII 13194, 7: Ψεεμπήσ(ιος)

³¹³ In O. Strasb. I 111, 1: Ψεεμχού(τος). The last part of the name, -χοις, could represent Egyptian *Hy*, a hypocoristic of Khonsu (*Hnsw*). Cf. DEVAUCHELLE, D., “À propos du nom *Pn-hj*”, p. 141-142.

³¹⁴ In P. Lond. I 109 b, 116: Ψεεννήριος. The last part of the name, -νήρ- seems to render Egyptian *wr*, “great”.

³¹⁵ In O. Theb. Gr. 90, 2: Ψενένφω(τος).

³¹⁶ In O. Deiss. 70, Ro. col. 1, 4: Ψεεθούτης Ψεεού; and Stud. Pal. XX 39, col. 1, 10: Ψενήου.

³¹⁷ In P. Tebt. III 849, 24: Ψεεπομούτου. Greek -μουτ- could represent Egyptian *Mw.t*, “Mut”.

³¹⁸ In P. Sarap. 59, Ro. col. 2, 14: Ψεεστ(); 15: Ψεεστ(); 24: Ψεεστ(); 27: Ψεεστ().

³¹⁹ In O. Strasb. I 784, 1: Ψεετύχορος.

³²⁰ In O. Edfou III 441, 2: Ψεεῦ(τος).

Ψένευσις ³²¹	1	17704
Ψένθακις ³²²	1	25896
Ψενθα ³²³	2	39002
Ψενθοῦς ³²⁴	1	25711
Ψενθοντάσημις ³²⁵	2	25950
Ψενινι, Ψένινις ³²⁶	2	13011
Ψενιουτεήσιος ³²⁷	1	34095
Ψενκαλ() ³²⁸	1	23756
Ψένκαυσις ³²⁹	1	18170
Ψένκιτις ³³⁰	1	23759
Ψένκουρις ³³¹	1	17710
Ψενμάης, Ψένμαις ³³²	2	27119
Ψενμαησκούρης ³³³	1	34096
Ψενμαούως ³³⁴	1	39004

³²¹ In O. Edfou II 244, 4: Ψένευσις.

³²² In O. Strasb. I 686, col. 2, 17: Ψενθάκιο(ς).

³²³ In O. Edfou II 254, col. 1, 10: Ψενθα; and P. Strasb. Gr. VIII 791 A, 10: Ψενθα(). They are likely abbreviated names with a prototype **P3-šr-n-ta-...*, “The son of the one of...”.

³²⁴ In UPZ II 185, col. 1, 5: Ψενθοῦ[τος.

³²⁵ In O. Theb. Gr. 37, 2: Ψενθρυγασή(μιος) – with dots under υν –, and presumably in O. Theb. Gr. 119, 2: Ψενθ(υνγασήμιος). These name seems to be a ghostname for Ψενθεντάσημις (< **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-ta-Dm3*, “The son of the daughter of the one of Djeme”), but no image is available to confirm this reading. The provenance of the ostrakon – Thebes – appears indeed to support this hypothesis.

³²⁶ In O. Eleph. DAIK 324, 4: [Ψε]νινι; and SB XX 14834, 1: Ψένινις.

³²⁷ In I. Thèbes à Syène 135, 3: Ψενιουτεήσιος. The last part of the name, -ησ-, seems to render Egyptian *Is.t*, “Isis”.

³²⁸ In O. Theb. Gr. 142, col. 2, 20: Ψενκαλ(αμῆς?).

³²⁹ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 23, 10: Ψένκαυσις.

³³⁰ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 48, 1: Ψενκίτιος. The reading of this name, with dots under the first three letters, is uncertain.

³³¹ In O. Bodl. II 1843, 6: Ψένκουρις. Could this name be a transcription of **P3-šr-n-grr*, “The son of the frog”? The reading of the letters o and u seems uncertain.

³³² In O. Strasb. I 406, 7: Ψενμάης, and O. Mich. I 113, 1: Ψένμαιδος. It is not possible to know if these names derive from different prototypes.

³³³ In I. Koptos à Kosseir 94, 1: Ψενμαησκουρούς. This anthroponym could be a ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division: the name Κουρος – without accent – is listed in *LGPN* V.B, p. 245. Cf. I. Koptos à Kosseir 94, p. 164: “Le patronyme est un nom théophore égyptien. On reconnaît bien le préfixe ψεν- qui signifie en égyptien « fils de » ; μαησ-, si la lecture est exacte, doit être une forme abrégée de Μαῖσις, qui signifie « Celui qui aime Isis » ou « Celui qu’aime Isis » (Ἰσόφιλος, Ἰσίφιλος). Le dernier élément est plus difficile à expliquer : est-il issu du nom κουρής, ἥτος (*jeune guerrier*), ou bien s’explique-t-il par l’égyptien ? Ce patronyme, en tous cas, n’apparaît nulle part ailleurs. Il est difficile de séparer cet élément du reste et d’y voir un nom, ou un mot distinct, car on ne s’expliquerait guère le génitif”.

³³⁴ In P. Lond. I 125 Ro., col. 1, 12: Ψενμαούω[τ]ος.

Ψενμαυτ ³³⁵	1	34097
Ψένμευθος ³³⁶	1	29423
Ψένμναρις ³³⁷	1	34168
Ψενμοντπαει() ³³⁸	1	35561
Ψενμοντηλ() ³³⁹	1	33909
Ψενμούνθως ³⁴⁰	1	30208
Ψενμοῦς ³⁴¹	2	30143
Ψενμουτορ() ³⁴²	1	33889
Ψέννις ³⁴³	1	34209
Ψενομποῦς (?) ³⁴⁴	1	13024
Ψενόμφχειρις, Ψενόμφχιρις ³⁴⁵	1 3	23765 + 17729
Ψένονφις ³⁴⁶	1	34098
Ψένουσις ³⁴⁷	3	18179
Ψένουχις ³⁴⁸	1	13028
Ψενοφμούτης ³⁴⁹	1	23767

³³⁵ In I. Syr. 365, 1: Ψενμαυ[τ].

³³⁶ In P. Lips. I 76, 3: Ψενμεύ(θου), corrected from Ψενμούθ(ου) (previous edition). Since no image of the text is available, it is not possible to confirm the reading, but at first sight the reading Ψενμούθ(ου), from a prototype *P3-šr-n-Mw.t*, “The son of Mut”, seems to be correct. Cf. TM Nam 982: *P3-šr-n-Mw.t* > Ψενμούθης.

³³⁷ In SB I 5724, 5: Ψενμνάρεος.

³³⁸ In SB XVIII 14032, 1: Ψενμοντπαει(). This anthroponym could render **P3-šr-n-Mnt-...*, “The son of Montu...”.

³³⁹ In O. Strasb. 1 555, 5: Ψενμοντηλ(). At first sight, this anthroponym seems to be a ghostname for Ψενμόντπλ(ηνις) (< **P3-šr-n-Mnt-p3-lyn*, “The son of Montu the smith”), Ψενμοντπά() (< **P3-šr-n-Mnt-pa-...*, “The son of Montu, the one of the smith”), or a similar name. Cf. TM Nam 13018.

³⁴⁰ In P. Lond. III 1170 Ro., col. 5, 173: Ψενμούνθως. This name could derive from *P3-šr-n-Mnt*, “The son of Montu” (TM Nam 981), but the vocalisation ου instead of ω and the ending -ως do not seem to be in agreement with this prototype.

³⁴¹ In I. Syr. 462, 1 and I. Syr. 798, 1: Ψενμοῦς.

³⁴² In O. Bodl. II 1880, 6: Ψενμουτορ().

³⁴³ In O. Edfou III 470, 5: Ψέννι.

³⁴⁴ In SB XXII 15515, 2: Ψενόμ(πους).

³⁴⁵ In Stud. Pal. XVII 65: Ψενομφχείρι(ος), Stud. Pal. XVII 68: Ψενόμφχιρις; partially reconstructed in Stud. Pal. XVII fr. J 183: Ψενόμφχι[ρ]ι[ς] and Stud. Pal. XVII 59: Ψενό[μ]φχι[ρις], and almost completely reconstructed in Stud. Pal. XVII 111: Ψενόμφχιρις. The last part of the name, -φχ(ε)ιρ-, could represent Egyptian *P3-Hr*, “The Phoenician” (cf. TM Nam 789, and also TM Nam 676 for the transcriptional variants of *Pa-Hr*, “The one of Phoenicia”).

³⁴⁶ In I. Deir el-Bahari 186, 1: Ψένονφις.

³⁴⁷ In O. Edfou II 296, 1: Ψενοῦσις(ς); O. Edfou III 408, 1: Ψενούσ(ις); and O. Edfou III 443, 1: Ψενούσιο(ς).

³⁴⁸ In O. Douch IV 425, 2: Ψενπνοῦς Ψένουχ(ις). Cf. O. Douch IV, p. 55: “Les deux noms sont nouveaux à Douch et sont intéressants en eux-mêmes: le premier n’est attesté qu’une seule fois par ailleurs (Onomasticum 347); je le prends pour un hypocoristique de Ψενπνούθης”.

³⁴⁹ In SB VI 9419 (2), 5: Ψενοφμούτης. In this name -μντ- does not seem to render Egyptian *Mw.t*, “Mut”, since it is preceded by φ, which could transcribe the masculine definite article *p3*.

Ψενπάαβμις ³⁵⁰	1	17866
Ψενπαιῶς ³⁵¹	1	28287
Ψενπαλῆς (?) ³⁵²	1	26253
Ψένπαυσις ³⁵³	1	28274
Ψενπενάσουθις ³⁵⁴	1	34148
Ψενπέντυπις ³⁵⁵	1	19385
Ψενπερω ³⁵⁶	1	28216
Ψενπילוῦς ³⁵⁷	1	35535
Ψενπινου ³⁵⁸	1	13032
Ψενπλαθαμαῖον ³⁵⁹	1	28105
Ψένπχουτις ³⁶⁰	1	17822
Ψενριμᾶς ³⁶¹	1	23770
Ψενσέναθις ³⁶²	1	30163
Ψενσενοβ ³⁶³	1	35368

³⁵⁰ In P. Aberdeen 88, 6: Ψενπάαβμις. The prototype of the name could start by *P₃-šr-n-pa-..., “The son of the one of...”, but the etymology of the last part is unknown.

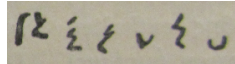
³⁵¹ In O. Wilcken II 299, 6: Ψενπαιῶτος.

³⁵² In UPZ II 180 a, col. 37, 6: Ψενπαλοῦς. The reading is not completely sure. This name could derive from *P₃-šr-n-pa-lw₃ (cf. TM Nam 613: Pa-lw₃ > Παλοῦς), but, according to its position in the sentence (cf. Θωτόρταις Ψενπαλοῦς), a genitive with a form Παλοῦτος would be expected. The prototype is consequently unknown and a nominative Ψενπαλῆς might be presupposed.

³⁵³ In *CRIPPEL* IV 998, 2-3: Ψενπαύσιος. Cf. the anthroponym Παῦσις in TM Nam 36983. The name Παυσεις – without accent – is on the other hand listed in *LGN* V.B, p. 348. Should this anthroponym be considered as a hybrid personal name composed of an Egyptian element and a Greek name?

³⁵⁴ In SB X 10270 (42), 3: Ψενπενάσουθι.

³⁵⁵ In O. Deiss. 23, 2: Ψενπέντυπις – with dots under the second *epsilon* and the second *nu* –. The ostrakon is bilingual, and the Demotic name from which this Greek transcription derives has been read as P₃-šr-n-p₃-nb(?)-h_{tp}



by the editor. The word *nb* is uncertain in both the Demotic name and the Greek rendering.

³⁵⁶ In O. Wilcken II 1199, 13: Ψενπερω. Could the last part of this name be equivalent to Coptic ϣϣ/εϣ/εϣω, “king” (< p₃-ʒ)? If so, this anthroponym would mean “The son of the king” and derive from a prototype *P₃-šr-n-p₃-pr-ʒ. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 299; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 177.

³⁵⁷ In *CRIPPEL* IV 809, A 1-2: Ψενπλουθός. The text is bilingual (cf. T. Spiegelberg p. 6 n. I), but the Demotic part consist of a religious formula and does not contain the Egyptian equivalent of the name.

³⁵⁸ In SB XX 14951, col. 1, 25: Ψενπινου.

³⁵⁹ In P. Mil. I.2 81, Ro. 35: Ψενπλαθαμαῖον.

³⁶⁰ In O. Edfou II 254, col. 1, 3: Ψένπχουτις.

³⁶¹ In O. Bodl. II 1871, 1: Ψενριμᾶς.

³⁶² In O. Strasb. I 530, 6: Ψενσέναθις. The prototype of the first part of the anthroponym seems to be *P₃-šr-n-t₃-šr.t-n-..., “The son of the daughter of...”.

³⁶³ In *CRIPPEL* IV 700, A 1: Ψενσενοβ. This name could represent Egyptian *P₃-šr-n-t₃-šr.t-n-nb, “The son of the daughter of the lord”, or be an abbreviated name for *P₃-šr-n-t₃-šr.t-n-B₃st.t, “The son of the daughter of Bastet”.

Ψενσένταυς ³⁶⁴	1	34152
Ψενσενγνύνιος ³⁶⁵	1	23782
Ψένσις ³⁶⁶	5	18039
Ψενσρούπιτις ³⁶⁷	2	36860
Ψενταί ³⁶⁸	1	34113
Ψενταηουός ³⁶⁹	1	25710
Ψενταίμων ³⁷⁰	1	30698
Ψεντάλωνις ³⁷¹	1	17693
Ψενταμοός ³⁷²	1	18425
Ψεντανοός ³⁷³	2	18557
Ψενταουόσης ³⁷⁴	1	25726
Ψεντάουτις ³⁷⁵	2	28242
Ψεντάπνουχις, Ψεντάπνυχις ³⁷⁶	2	18158
Ψεντάρωφις ³⁷⁷	1	18198
Ψεντασαιε ³⁷⁸	1	33844

³⁶⁴ In *CRIPEL* II 188, 1: Ψενσένταυτος. The Egyptian prototype of this name could start by **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-...*, “The son of the daughter of...”.

³⁶⁵ In SB I 840, 1: Ψενσενγνύνιος. This anthroponym could begin by **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-...*, “The son of the daughter of...”.

³⁶⁶ In P. Mich. IV 224, col. 65, 2642: Ψέ[v]σιν; col. 85, 2594: Ψένσιν; col. 100, 3985: Ψένσιν; col. 123, 4780: Ψένσιν; P. Mich. IV 225, col. 127, 2100: Ψένσιν.

³⁶⁷ In SB V 8465, 1-2: Ψενσρούπιτις; 2: Ψενσρουπτίχιος. The last part of the name could represent *p3-thy*, “the drunkenness”, since *thy* is a masculine noun (cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter T, p. 287-288). Cf. also the name *Nb.t-thy.t*, “Mistress of drunkenness” > Νέβτειχις/Νέβτιχις (TM Nam 497). On the representation of this word in Coptic, cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 225.

³⁶⁸ In *CRIPEL* IV 780, 2: Ψενταί.

³⁶⁹ In P. Lond. V 1653, col. 2, 54: Ψενταηούτος. The Egyptian prototype of this name could start by **P3-šr-n-ta-...*, “The son of the one of...”.

³⁷⁰ In *CRIPEL* III 609, 1-2: Ψενταίμων.

³⁷¹ In *CRIPEL* II 18, 1: Ψεντάλωνις. Cf. the anthroponym Τάλωνις/Τάλωνις (TM Nam 12373), whose prototype is unknown.

³⁷² In SB XVIII 13214, 4: Ψενταμοός.

³⁷³ In SB XII 11249, 9: Ψεντανοός; and I. Thèbes à Syène 9, 4-5: Ψεντανοούτος. Could this name be considered as a hypocoristic of **P3-šr-n-ta-ntr*, “The son of the one of God”? The editor of O. Douch IV 425 considers the anthroponym Ψενπνοός, in I.2, as a hypocoristic of Ψενπνούθης (< *P3-šr-n-p3-ntr*). Cf. O. Douch IV, p. 55.

³⁷⁴ In *CRIPEL* II 72, 1: Ψενταουόσητος.

³⁷⁵ In *CRIPEL* II 75, A 1-2 and B 1-2: Ψενταούτιος.

³⁷⁶ In P. Brem. 29, 5-6 = P. Ryl. II 82, 5-6: Ψενταπνύχιος and P. Brem. 29, 17 = P. Ryl. II 82, 17: Ψεντάπνουχις. This anthroponym seems to start by **P3-šr-n-ta-...*, “The son of the one of...”.

³⁷⁷ In O. Deiss. 44, 1: Ψεντάρωφις.

³⁷⁸ In SB I 3883, 1-2: Ψεντασαιε.

Ψεντάτηρις ³⁷⁹	1	18076
Ψεντάτωρις ³⁸⁰	1	18093
Ψένταυς ³⁸¹	1	34169
Ψεντέντωρις ³⁸²	1	39025
Ψεντεύαρις ³⁸³	1	18000
Ψεντεύτης ³⁸⁴	1	29598
Ψεντιέης ³⁸⁵	1	17813
Ψεντκάσιφις ³⁸⁶	1	23791
Ψέντμητις ³⁸⁷	1	26590
Ψεντορεύς ³⁸⁸	1	25826
Ψεντουθπαχοῦς ³⁸⁹	2	28441
Ψέντπαις ³⁹⁰	2	13062
Ψεντρεμπαπούησις ³⁹¹	1	18173
Ψέντυος ³⁹²	1	13063
Ψεντχέντχβαιρις ³⁹³	1	17913
Ψενυσι ³⁹⁴	1	34193

³⁷⁹ In *CRIPEL* V 1191, 1: Ψεντάτηρις. The Egyptian prototype of this name could be **P3-šr-n-ta-t3-wr.t*, “The son of the one of the great one”.

³⁸⁰ In *CRIPEL* II 176, A 1: Ψεντάτωρις. The first part of this anthroponym could render Egyptian **P3-šr-n-ta-...*, “The son of the one...”.

³⁸¹ In SB I 3556, Ro. 6: Ψένταυτος.

³⁸² In PSI VI 701, 6: Ψεντεντώριος.

³⁸³ In P. Giss. I 84, col. 2, 9: Ψεντεύαρις. There is an image available but the text on it is completely illegible.

³⁸⁴ In O. Bodl. II 1855, 4: Ψεντεύτου.

³⁸⁵ In O. Edfou III 338, 4: Ψεντιέης.

³⁸⁶ In *CRIPEL* V 1023, 2: Ψεντκάσιφις.

³⁸⁷ In *CRIPEL* III 659, 1: Ψεντμήτι<ο>ς. If the reading is correct, in this name Greek -μητ- could not correspond to Egyptian *mtr*, “the sacrec emblem of Khnum”, because it seems to be precede by the feminine definite article *t3* and *mtr* is masculine. Cf. DE MEULENAERE, H., “L’enseigne sacrée du dieu Khnoum dans l’onomastique gréco-égyptienne », p. 235-240.

³⁸⁸ In *CRIPEL* II 86, A 1: Ψεντορεῦτος. *CRIPEL* II 86 is a bilingual text, but the Demotic part is unfortunately unpublished.

³⁸⁹ In O. Edfou III 458, 1-2: Ψεντουθπαχοῦ(τος); O. Edfou III 457, 2: Ψεντουθ[παχοῦ(τος)].

³⁹⁰ In P. Erl. Diospolis 1, 18: Ψέντπαιτι and 51: Ψέντπαιτι. The names are not really legible in the images available in the edition. The editor (p. 54 and 57) suggests that in these names there might be a metathesis of τ and π and they could indeed represent Egyptian *P3-šr-n-Pth*, “The son of Ptah” (cf. TM Nam 993).

³⁹¹ In O. Bodl. II 1898, 2: Ψεντρεμπαπούη(σις). The first part of the anthroponym seems to render **P3-šr-n-t3-rmt.t-n-pa-...*, “The son of the woman of the one of...”. Τρεμπαπούησις (TM Nam 26663) and Τρεμπούησις (TM Nam 28271).

³⁹² In O. Eleph. DAIK 305, 11: Ψέντυος.

³⁹³ In SB I 5467, Ro. 1: Ψεντχέντχβαιρις.

³⁹⁴ In O. Bodl. II 2103, 9: Ψενυσι.

Ψενφανέμαν ³⁹⁵	1	18778
Ψενφοῦ ³⁹⁶	1	25640
Ψενφχάντιος ³⁹⁷	1	28804
Ψενχνιώτης ³⁹⁸	1	26604
Ψένχωνδης (?) ³⁹⁹	1	35987
Ψενψεεινε ⁴⁰⁰	1	26104
Ψενψηήου ⁴⁰¹	1	30158
Ψενψηχ() ⁴⁰²	1	33950
Ψένω ⁴⁰³	1	6420
Ψένωμι ⁴⁰⁴	1	6421
Ψενωπα ⁴⁰⁵	1	28036
Ψηναρμοκα (?) ⁴⁰⁶	1	29959
Ψηνδίσζμητις (?) ⁴⁰⁷	1	23801
Ψηνκαυκα ⁴⁰⁸	1	34121
Ψινεύ ⁴⁰⁹	1	18642
Ψονθομμοῦ ⁴¹⁰	2	18420

³⁹⁵ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 26, 8: Ψενφανέμαν(τος). The name Ψενφαμέναν(τος) that is found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/upz;2;180> is incorrect and should be corrected.

³⁹⁶ In O. Bodl. II 1961, 3: Ψενφοῦτο(ς).

³⁹⁷ In O. Strasb. I 369, 3-4: Ψενφχαντίο(υ).

³⁹⁸ In O. Leiden Gr. 50, 1-2: Ψενχνιώτης.

³⁹⁹ In P. Lond. I 109 b, 4: Ψενχώ(νδιος).

⁴⁰⁰ In SB III 6011, 1: Ψενψεεινε.

⁴⁰¹ In P. Aberdeen 96, 1-2: Ψενψηήου.

⁴⁰² In O. Bodl. II 1892, 7: Ψενψηχ().

⁴⁰³ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 42, 4: Ψένω.

⁴⁰⁴ In P. Cairo Zen. II 59292, Ro. col. P, 407: Ψενώμιος. An image of the name has not been found at <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Cair.Zen.&vVol=2&vNum=59292>.

⁴⁰⁵ In O. Strasb. I 644, 3: Ψενωπα.

⁴⁰⁶ In O. Wilcken II 1611, 9: Ψηναρμοκα. However, the editor hesitates between this reading and Ψεναρποκρά(ς), a hypocoristic of Ψεναρποχράτης (< *P3-šr-n-Hr-p3-hrd*, “The son of Horos the child”) (cf. TM Nam 10301). Since no image of the text is available, it is not possible to confirm this reading.

⁴⁰⁷ In O. Wilcken II 1611, 1: Ψηνδίσζμήτ(ιος). The editor hesitates between this reading and Ψεντισζμήτ(ιος). The etymology of the last part of the name is clear: *ns-mtr*, “who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum” (cf. DE MEULENAERE, H., “L’enseigne sacrée du dieu Khnoum dans l’onomastique gréco-égyptienne”, p. 235-240), but the interpretation of the middle part is uncertain (cf. **P3-šr-n-...-ns-mtr*).

⁴⁰⁸ In O. Wilcken II 1611, 3: Ψηνκαυκα.

⁴⁰⁹ In O. Deiss. 70, Ro. col. 1, 1: Ψινεύς.

⁴¹⁰ In P. Brux. Gr. I 21, col. 3, 25: Ψονθομμοῦς and Ψονθομμοῦτ(ος).

b) Names for which an image is available but their readings are uncertain

- **Ψανλουκω** (TM Nam 28221: one attestation in SB XXIV 16143, 13): if the reading is correct, this would be a hybrid anthroponym⁴¹¹ constructed of Egyptian *P3-šr-n-* and a Greek name with the root Λουκ-⁴¹².



SB XXIV 16143, 13⁴¹³: Ψανλουκω (?)

- **Ψενάμουθος** (TM Nam 6404: one attestation in P. Col. II 1 Ro. (3), col. 9, 19: Ψεναμούθ[ο]υ): the letters -μουθ- seem clear, but the previous part of the name is uncertain.



P. Col. II 1 Ro. (3), col. 9, 19: Ψεναμούθ[ο]υ

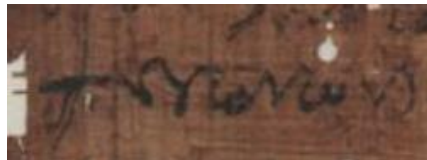
- **Ψεναν-** (TM Nam 23740): Four attestations of names starting from Ψεναν- have been read in different documents (cf. UPZ II 180 a, col. 13, 10: Ψενανεῖς – for which no image is available –, Stud. Pal. XXII 4, col. 2, 8: Ψενανοῦς; P. Coll. Youtie I 26, 9: Ψενανου(); and SB XVI 12762, 8: Ψένανις), and in two texts it has been partially reconstructed (cf. P. Alex. Giss. 35,

⁴¹¹ Cf. HARRAUER, H., SIJPESTEIJN, J. S. “Neue byzantinische Texte aus Wien”, p. 22: “Ψανλουκω ist ein add. onom. Die Endung weist entweder auf eine indeclinable Auffassung oder eine Behandlung wie Ἀπολλῶς. Die Elemente sind Ψαν- (vgl. Σαν-, Σεν-) und Λουκ-. Man wird an Lucas gemahnt”.

⁴¹² Cf., for example, Λούκιος (*LGP*N I, p. 289; II, p. 286; III.A, p. 276; IV, p. 212; V.A, p. 271; V.B, p. 263-264), Λούκις (*LGP*N I, p. 289; II, p. 286; IV, p. 212; V.A, p. 272), Λούκων (*LGP*N III.B, p. 261), Λουκίων (*LGP*N V.A, p. 272).

⁴¹³ Image from HARRAUER, H., SIJPESTEIJN, J. S. “Neue byzantinische Texte aus Wien”, p. 20-22, pl. IV.

col. 3, 25 Ψ[εν]ανου(); P. Ross. Georg. II 16, 7 Ψεν[ανοῦς (?)] – for which no images are available –). In the documents with a picture of the name available, this anthroponym cannot be certainly read. In Stud. Pal. XXII 4, col. 2, 8, the reading of the last part of the name is not sure; in P. Coll. Youtie I 26, 9, the letters between Ψεν- and -ου are not completely clear, and in SB XVI 12762, 8 the first three letters of the anthroponym are doubtful.



Stud. Pal. XXII 4, col. 2, 8: Ψενανοῦς



P. Coll. Youtie I 26, 9: Ψενανου()



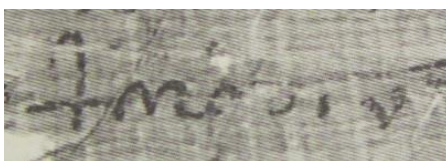
SB XVI 12762, 8: Ψένανις

- **Ψεναοῦς/Ψένανσις** (TM Nam 6405: in O. Bodl. II 1621, 7 Ψεγαοῦτος – for which no image is available – and in P. Giss. Univ. I 10, col. 2, 4: Ψένανσι): instead of the reading proposed by the editor, the name Ψ[έ]ναντι could also be read.



P. Giss. Univ. I 10, col. 2, 4: Ψένανσι

- **Ψενεξι** (TM Nam 34261: one attestation in P. Münch. III 144, col. 3, 7: Ψενεξι – with dots under the last three letters –): the first part of the name, Ψεν-, can be read, but the following letters are uncertain.



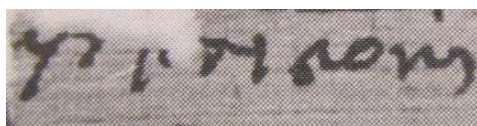
P. Münch. III 144, col. 3, 7: Ψενεξι

- **Ψενεντόρων** (TM Nam 26232: one attestation in BGU VI 1419, 2: Ψενεντόρωνι): the reading of the name in the ostrakon can be barely seen due to the faded ink. The letters -ενεν- cannot be seen, but only -εν-. The anthroponym seems to start by Ψεντ-, but the next letters are uncertain.



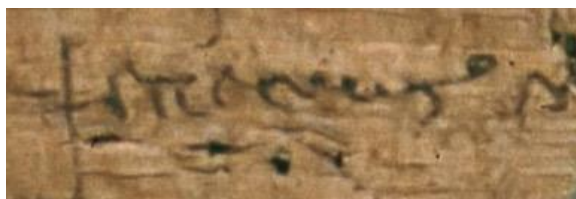
BGU VI 1419, 2: Ψενεντόρωνι

- **Ψενεοῦς** (TM Nam 13001: one attestation in P. Bodl. I 23, col. 2, 41): the final letters -νεοῦς can be read, but the reading of the first ones is not sure.



P. Bodl. I 23, col. 2, 41: Ψευδοῦς

- **Ψενέσεως** (TM Nam 26747: presumably two attestations in O. Bodl. II 1932, 3: Ψενέσεως – considered as a *genitivus pro nominativo* (Ψένεσις) by the editor –, for which there is no image available, and in P. Hibeh II 280, Ro. 17: Ψενεσέωτο(ς)): in the attestation of P. Hibeh II 280, Ro. 17, the beginning Ψενεσ- and the ending -το() can be read, but the reading of the letters between them is uncertain.



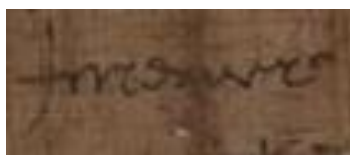
P. Hibeh II 280, Ro. 17: Ψενεσέωτο(ς)

- **Ψενέσινος** (TM Nam 25850: one attestation in SB I 5348, 5): in the image available, only the morphological ending -ος can be certainly read.



SB I 5348, 5: Ψενέσινος

- **Ψενθεμεύς** (TM Nam 18630: one attestation in P. Brem. 37, 17: Ψενθεμεύς, with dots under -εμ-; the editor considers the reading uncertain): only the beginning Ψενθ- and the ending -υς can be read.



P. Brem. 37, 17: Ψενθεμεύς

- **Ψενθώμως** (TM Nam 25596: one attestation in P. Vat. Aphrod. 25, fr. B, 31): the letters Ψ[ε]νθ- and the final *sigma* seem clear; the letters between theta and sigma are however uncertain. An *alpha* after the *theta* – representing Egyptian *P3-šr-ta*-, “The son of the one of...” –, would not be impossible.



P. Vat. Aphrod. 25, fr. B, 31: Ψενθώμως

- **Ψένις** (TM Nam 17713: presumably three attestations in SB VI 9374, 11: Ψε[ν]έως, P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 48: Ψένιτ(ος) – for which no picture is available – and BGU XV 2509 Vo., 10: Ψένις – with a dot under the *psi* –): in this latter attestation, no *psi* as first letter of the anthroponym can be seen.



BGU XV 2509 Vo., 10: Ψένις

- **Ψενμόχης** (TM Nam 6414: two attestations in P. Tebt. III 888, Ro. 9: Ψενμόχει – with dots under *mu* and *upsilon* – for which no image is available –, and in O. Wilcken II 511, 2:

Ψενμυχήους⁴¹⁴): the beginning Ψεν- and the ending –ηους can be read, but the middle part is uncertain.



O. Wilcken II 511, 2: Ψενμυχήους: Ψενμυχ.... In the edition

- **Ψέννηις** (TM Nam 23761: one attestation⁴¹⁵ in O. Cairo 39, 6): the letters Ψενν- and the final *sigma* seem correct, but the reading of the letters between the second nu and the sigma is not sure.



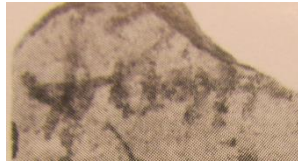
O. Cairo 39, 6: Ψέννηις

- **Ψεννής** (TM Nam 23762: partially reconstructed in P. Hibeh II 264, 3: Ψε[ννής]; and presumably attested five times in O. Strasb. I 322, 2: Ψεννής and 3: Ψεννέους – for which no image is available –, O. Douch II 118, 2: Ψεννη[σ-, O. Douch IV 384, 15: Ψεννη(), and O. Wilcken II 407, 1: Ψεννη(). Since these three latter attestations are abbreviated or incomplete, there may be several different names in TM Nam 23762): in the attestations of O. Douch II 118, 2 and O. Douch IV 384, 15, only the first part of the name, Ψεν-, can be certainly read. In the edition of O. Wilcken II 407, 1, the reading Ψενμ^o – with dots under *nu* and *mu* – is found; however, this reading has been corrected to Ψεννη()⁴¹⁶. In this attestation, only the psi and what seems an upper omega indicating abbreviation are certainly visible.

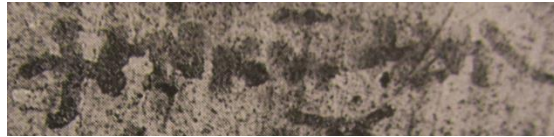
⁴¹⁴ In the edition the name Ψενμυχ.... has been read; this anthroponym has been corrected to Ψενμυχήους at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;511>.

⁴¹⁵ The attestation of O. Bodl. II 1964-1967, col. 2, 8 is not Ψεννήιος as it appears in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.bodl;2;1964/1967>, but Ψεννήσιος, a rendering of *P3-šr-n-Īs.t.*, “The son of Isis” (TM Nam 976). This erroneous spelling should consequently be corrected.

⁴¹⁶ At <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;407>.



O. Douch II 118, 2: Ψεννη[σ-

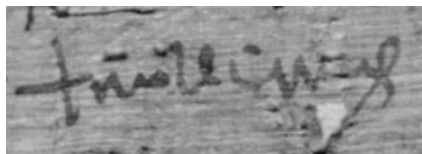


O. Douch IV 384, 15: Ψεννη()



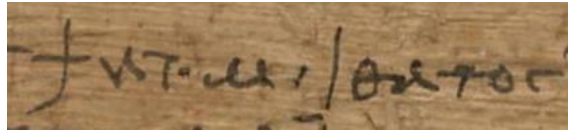
O. Wilcken II 407, 1: Ψεννη()

- **Ψενοβίμαχος** (TM Nam 30651: one attestation in P. Fouad 60, 6. Other reading proposed by the editor is Ψευβσεώχο(υ)): in this anthroponym, only the initial Ψ- appears to be sure.



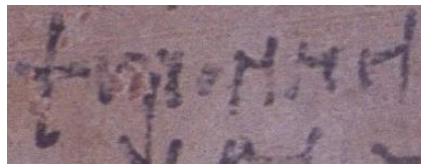
P. Fouad 60, 6: Ψενοβιμάχο(υ)

- **Ψενομοιθαῦς** (TM Nam 19295: one attestation in P. Oxy. III 500, 25): the initial Ψ-, the middle sequence -ομ- and the ending -ιθατος seem correct. The rest of the letters are uncertain.



P. Oxy. III 500, 25: Ψενομοιθᾶτος

- **Ψενόνησις** (TM Nam 13025: one attestation in O. Berenike I 18, 2): the initial Ψ- and the ending -ονησι can be read, but the letters between the *psi* and the *omicron* are not completely clear.

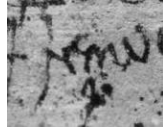


O. Berenike I 18, 2: Ψενόνησι

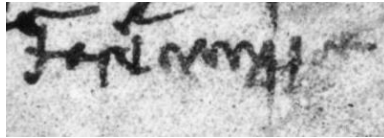
- **Ψένος** (TM Nam 26740): at least 6 of the 8 attestations contained in this TM Nam are abbreviated, which could indicate that here there may be several different names. This anthroponym is presumably attested in P. Ryl. Gr. II 72, col. 1, 12: Ψενε(), O. Bodl. II 678, 1: Ψενε(), O. Bodl. II 1815, 5: Ψενω(), P. Cornell 21, col. 8, 171: Ψενος....., O. Edfou III 459, 1: Ψένος – for which no images are available –, O. Ashm. Shelton 10, 1: Ψενω(), O. Mich. I 33, 5: Ψενω and O. Mich. III 982, 2: Ψενε(). In the pictures available the Ψ- is visible, and in O. Mich. I 33, 5 and O. Mich. III 982, 2, the *epsilon* and the *nu* following it as well. The reading of O. Mich. III 982, 2: Ψενε() may be correct. It is not possible to know, however, if these attestations represent one or several anthroponyms starting by Ψεν-.



O. Ashm. Shelton 10, 1: Ψενω()



O. Mich. I 33, 5: Ψεω



O. Mich. III 982, 2: Ψενε() Σεμφιῶς

- **Ψενοσάρχθης** (TM Nam 39012: one attestation in P. Tebt. III 1022 descr., col. 3, 59: Ψενοσάρχθης – with dots under the sequence -οσαρ-). The letters Ψε- and -αρχθ- can be read, but the other letters of the name are uncertain. A ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division should not be excluded.



P. Tebt. III 1022 descr., col. 3, 59: Ψενοσάρχθης Πάωτος

- **Ψενότυπις** (TM Nam 34208: one attestation in P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 6, 12: Ψενότυπιν). Only the letters Ψεν- and the final -ν seem sure.



P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 6, 12: Ψενότυπιν

- **Ψένουνις** (TM Nam 23766: one attestation in P. Tebt. III 1015 descr., 5: Ψενούνιος): only the *psi* and the first *omicron* can be seen.



P. Tebt. III 1015 descr., 5: Πετέσουχος Ψενούνιος

- **Ψενπέσως** (TM Nam 6416: one attestation in P. Cairo Zen. III 59379, Vo. 14: Ψε[ν]πέσωτος): the letters Ψ-, -εσ- and the ending -τος are clear. The letter between the *sigma* and the *tau* could however be an *upsilon*, and the letter before -εσ- cannot be read.



P. Cairo Zen. III 59379, Vo 14: Ψε[ν]πέσωτος

- **Ψενπετής** (TM Nam 23768: one attestation in O. Wilcken II 265, 2: The son of He who as been given by them or similar)



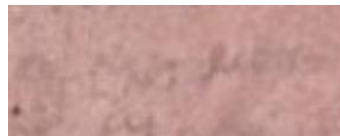
O. Wilcken II 265, 2: Ψενπετής

- **Ψενπλαεύς** (TM Nam 13033: two attestations in P. Grenf. II 71, col. 2, 21: Ψενπλαεύς – for which no image is available – and O. Douch IV 473, 7): only the letters -ενπλ- seem certain.



O. Douch IV 473, 7: Ψενπλαεύς

- **Ψενπμεύθης/Ψενμεύθης** (TM Nam 29583: three attestations in O. Petrie Mus. II 150, 2: Ψενπμεύθης; and 3: Ψενπμεύθου; and P. Lips. I 76, 3: Ψενμεύ(θου)): in O. Petrie Mus. II 150, 2, Ψεντμου- is visible; in 3 only the *theta* can be seen due to the faded ink; in P. Lips. I 76, 3, on the other hand, the beginning Ψεν- is clear, but the reading of the following part of the name seems uncertain.



O. Petrie Mus. II 150, 2: Ψενπμεύθης

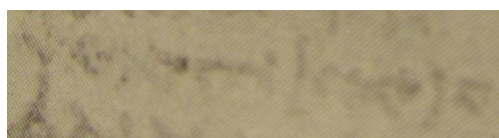


O. Petrie Mus. II 150, 3: Ψενπμεύθου



P. Lips. I 76, 3: Ψενμεύ(θου)

- **Ψενπιήχους** (TM Nam 19432: O. Ont. Mus. I 7, 10): the beginning Ψεν- and the end -οις can be seen, but the rest of the name cannot be read due to the faded ink.

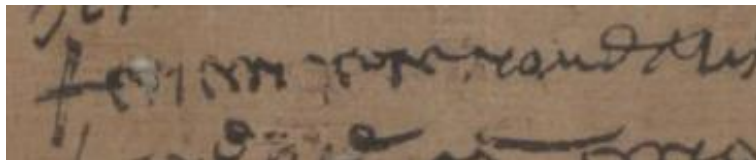


- **Ψενσενάμορις** (TM Nam 27863: one attestation in CPR XVII.2 13, 15): only the beginning Ψεν- and the ending -οριος can be recognised in the image available.



CPR XVII.2 13, 15: Ψενσενάμοριος

- **Ψενσενπετενομθ()** (TM Nam 33938: one attestation in SB XXIV 15989, 8⁴¹⁷): it is possible to read a beginning Ψενσεν-, possibly followed by -[π]ετε-, but the next part of the name is uncertain, although a *theta* followed by an *alpha* can be seen. It is not impossible that this may be a ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division.



SB XXIV 15989, 8: Ψενσενπετενομθ()

- **Ψενσμοϋς** (TM Nam 25705: one attestation in SB I 4971, Ro. 2: Ψένσμουτος): the reading of the name is difficult due to the faded ink. The letters Ψενσμουτ- can however be deduced. If the reading proposed by the editor is correct, this could be a rendering of Egyptian **P3-šr-n-ns-Mw.t*, “The son of He/She who belongs to Mut”. The anthroponym *Ns-Mw.t* is in fact attested in hieroglyph and Demotic⁴¹⁸.

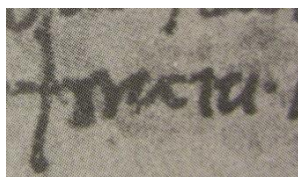
⁴¹⁷ In P.Bon. 34, 8, this sequence has been read as Ψενθυν() [Π]ετενόμθ(ιος).

⁴¹⁸ Cf. RANKE, H., *PN*, 176.10; TM Nam 15095.

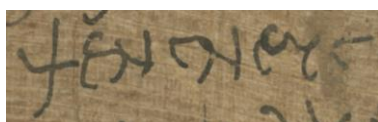


SB I 4971, Ro. 2: Ψένσμουτος

- **Ψένσνις** (TM Nam 23783: one attestation in O. Ont. Mus. I 42, 3: Ψένσνιο(ς)). The letters Ψενσ- can be read, but the following part of the name is uncertain. The editor considers Ψένσνιο(ς) as an incorrect genitive of Ψενσνεύς/Ψένσνως⁴¹⁹, from a prototype *P3-sn-sn.w*, “The two brothers”⁴²⁰. If the editor’s proposition is correct, here Ψεν- would not represent *P3-šr-n-*, but *P3-sn-*. Greek Ψεν- as transcription of *P3-sn-* is attested⁴²¹ (cf., for example, PSI XIV 1431, 4: Ψενσνεύς < *P3-sn-sn.w*).



O. Ont. Mus. I 42, 3: Ψένσνιο(ς)



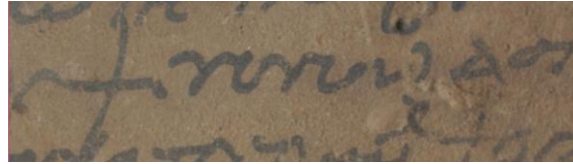
PSI XIV 1431, 4: Ψενσνεύς

⁴¹⁹ Cf. O. Ont. Mus. I 42, p. 108: “We take Ψένσνιο(ς) to be an incorrect genitive of Ψενσνεύς or Ψένσνως, which are reasonably common alternates of Ψανσνῶς”.

⁴²⁰ Cf. TM Nam 953.

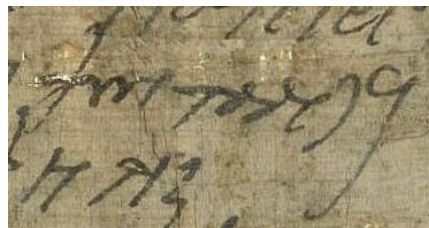
⁴²¹ However, the usual vocalisation for *sn* is usually represented as o (Sahidic, Bohairic) or α (Akhmimic, Sub-Achmimic, Fayumic). Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 190. In Coptic *cen* is also attested for Sahidic. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 342. The attestation of O. Ont. Mus. I 42, 3 (167-168 AD) comes however from Thebes. For the transcriptions of *P3-sn-sn.w* with Ψεν-, cf. TM Nam 953.

- **Ψενσνουπ()** (TM Nam 35372: one attestation in O. Wilcken II 965, 4⁴²²): the beginning Ψεν- and the ending ουπ() can be seen, but what the editor has read as -σν- does not seem sure.



O. Wilcken II 965, 4: Ψενσνουπ()

- **Ψεντααν()** (TM Nam 35523: one attestation in P. Mich. XV 722, 19): the reading Ψενταα- seems correct, but what the editor considers an *upsilon*⁴²³ could indeed be a *rho* linked to the previous letter, followed by a *pi*. The *rho* has been made similarly by the scribe in Ἡρακλ() (P. Mich. XV 722, 20). The name Ψεντααρπ() could be an abbreviation for Ψεντααρπ(άησις) (**P3-šr-n-ta-Hr-pa-Īs.t*, “The son of the one of Horos the one of Isis”)⁴²⁴ or, less likely, for Ψεντααρπ(οκράτης) (**P3-šr-n-ta-Hr-p3-hrd*, “The son of Horos the child”).



P. Mich. XV 722, 19: Ψεντααν()

⁴²² In the edition this name appears as Ψενενοῦ’ – with a dot under the second *epsilon* –, which seems to have been corrected to Ψενσνουπ() at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;965>.

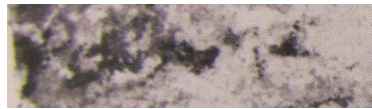
⁴²³ Cf. P. Mich. XV 722, p. 72: “This name is new. Perhaps a combination of Ψεν and Ταανῆς”. However, the name Ταανῆς (cf. TM Nam 5998) is exclusively attested in Bakchias, in the Fayum, and P. Mich. XV 722 could come from the Herakleopolites.

⁴²⁴ Cf. the name Τααρπαῖσις (< **Ta-Hr-pa-Īs.t*) in TM Nam 5995.



P. Mich. XV 722, 20: Ἡρακλ()

- **Ψένταις** (TM Nam 18009: one attestation in O. Douch II 153, Ro. 6): the name read by the editor is illegible in the image available.



O. Douch II 153, Ro. 6: Ψένταις

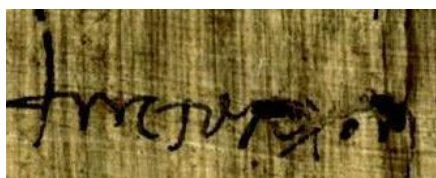
- **Ψενταπόντως** (TM Nam 25595: one attestation in P. Tebt. II 400, descr.: Ψενταπόντω(ς)): the reading of Ψενταπο- seems clear; the letter after the *omicron*, however, could be a *pi*, a *nu* or an *eta*. The ending of the name may be -τω(ς) with an upper *omega* indicating abbreviation as proposed by the editor. The anthroponym Πόντος, which might be represented at the end of the name, is Greek⁴²⁵. The prototype of the beginning of the name is clear: *P₃-šr-n-ta-..., “The son of the one of...”.



P. Tebt. II 400, descr.: Ψενταπόντω(ς)

- **Ψεντάτχουνις** (TM Nam 23786: one attestation in P. Lips. I 97, col. 10, 12: Ψεντατχού(νιος)): in this name, only the letters Ψεντα-, probably from a prototype P₃-šr-n-ta-, “The son of the one...”, and an *omicron* after what the editor considers to be a *chi* seem to be sure.

⁴²⁵ Cf. TM Nam 11737; *LGPNI*, p. 381; III.A, p. 372.



P. Lips. I 97, col. 10, 12: Ψενταρχού(νιος)

- **Ψεντείβωις** (TM Nam 13054: one attestation in O. Eleph. DAIK 113, 1): in the image available, only Ψεν- can be read.



O. Eleph. DAIK 113, 1: Ψεντείβωις

- **Ψεντενοῦς** (TM Nam 36057: one attestation in P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 18, 18, dated from 45 AD): the quality of image of the name available is not good, and only Ψε- can be read. If the reading proposed by the editor is correct, this name could derive from *P3-šr-n-ta-ntr, “The son of the one of the god”.



P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 18, 18: Ψεντενοῦτο(ς)

- **Ψέντετις** (TM Nam 34340: one attestation in O. Leiden Gr. 329, 1): in the image available, only Ψεν- is legible.



O. Leiden Gr. 329, 1: Ψεντέτεως

- **Ψεντουσῆς** (TM Nam 25725: one attestation in P. Mich. XIII 667, 4): the letters Ψεν- and an *eta* by the end of the anthroponym can be seen, but the other letters are uncertain⁴²⁶.



P. Mich. XIII 667, 4: Ψεντουσῆτος

- **Ψεντούωπις** (TM Nam 25904: one attestation in P. Bon. 20, 5): the beginning Ψεντο- and the ending -πιος are legible, but the letters between these sequences are uncertain⁴²⁷.

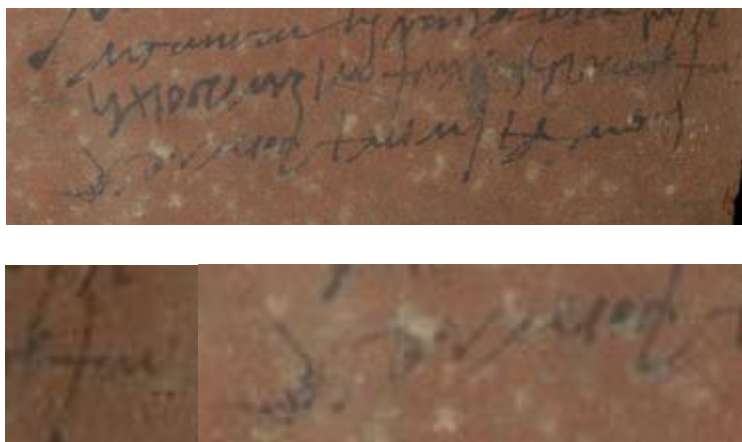


P. Bon. 20, 5: Ψεντουώπιος

⁴²⁶ Cf. P. Mich. XIII, p. 667: “This name is new. In P. Cairo Masp. I 087, 7 mention is made of a κληρος ----- πρότερον ἅπα Ψεντ[.]σῆτος (in Preisigke’s Namenbuch listed as Ψεντ[α]σῆς). It is possible that we have to restore the same name in the Cairo papyrus”.

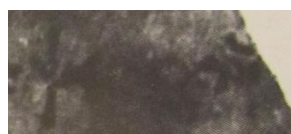
⁴²⁷ Cf. P. Bon., p. 70: “nome finora ignoto; è attestata invece Ψεντουῶρις, ma per l’epoca bizantina (v. P. Flor. III, P. Masp. I)”. The name Ψεντούωρις (cf. TM Nam 13061), from a prototype *Pz-šr-n-tz-whr.t, “The son of the female dog”, does not seem to be related to the anthroponym read by the editor in P. Bon. 20, 5.

- **Ψενύθουμις** (TM Nam 28265: one attestation in O. Berl. 64, 3-4): in the image available, only the letters Ψεν- -ουμις seem certain.



O. Berl. 64, 3-4: Ψενυθούμιος

- **Ψενχνῆς** (TM Nam 29933: two attestations in O. Cairo 10, 3: Ψενχνου() – with a dot under the first *nu* – and BGU VI 1476, 10: Ψενχνο(υ ις) – with a dot under the *omicron* –): in the image available for O. Cairo 10, 3, only the Ψ- is visible; for BGU VI 1476, 10, Ψενχν- or Ψινχν-, with *iota* instead of *epsilon*, can be read, but the following part of the name is uncertain. A presumable name Πίλις, on the other hand, is only attested here. The name starting by Ψενχν- seems to represent Ψένχνουμις (or Ψένχνουβις)⁴²⁸, deriving from *P3-šr-n-Hnm*, “The son of Khnum”, which is well attested in the Elephantine⁴²⁹, where BGU VI 1476, 10 comes from.



O. Cairo 10, 3: Ψενχνου()

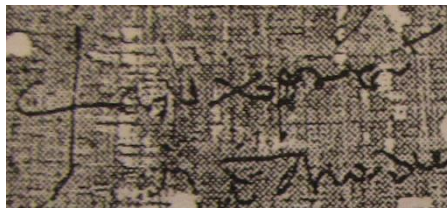
⁴²⁸ The variant with *beta* seems to be characteristic of the Fayum, but in Elephantine both variants, with *beta* and *mu*, alternate. On the god's name in Coptic and Greek transcriptions, cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 244.

⁴²⁹ Cf. TM Nam 969.



BGU VI 1476, 10: Ψενχο(υ.ις) Πίλιτος

- **Ψενχορτουνχ()** (TM Nam 39031: one attestation in P. Oxy. Census 341 (AR27)): the letters Ψενχο- are visible, but the following part of the name is uncertain.



P. Oxy. Census 341 (AR27): Ψενχορτουνχ()

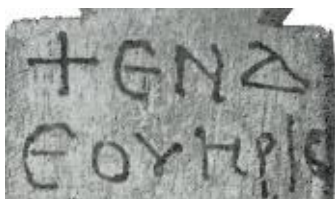
- **Ψενωκαία** (TM Nam 23797: one attestation in PSI I 101, 7: Ψενωκαίας (presumably genitive)): the beginning Ψεν- and the ending -αίας can be read, but the middle letters are uncertain.



PSI I 101, 7: Ψενωκαίας

c) Names with a picture of certain reading

- **Ψενδεοῦηρις** (TM Nam 28156: one attestation in SB XVIII 13328, 1-2): J. Quaegebeur⁴³⁰ considers that the etymology of this anthroponym could be Egyptian **P3-šr-n-t3-wr.t*, “The son of the great one” or “The son of Thoeris”, with interchange of τ and δ⁴³¹, but, as he points out, the name of Thoeris is not frequent in the documents dating from the Graeco-Roman period⁴³².



SB XVIII 13328, 1-2⁴³³: Ψενδεοῦηρις

- **Ψενῆς** (TM Nam 23749): this name is presumably attested seven times: abbreviated in O. Mich. III 1028, 1: Ψενη(); in O. Edfou III 332, 8 and 10; 334, 9; and 338, 3: Ψενῆς – for which no image is available –; and in P. Tebt. III 1014 descr., 4 and 18: Ψενῆτος. Even though in the image of P. Tebt. III 1014 descr., 18 the name is not certainly read, in P. Tebt. III 1014 descr., 4 the reading seems correct. Since this anthroponym does not occur in any bilingual document, it is currently not possible to know its etymology.

⁴³⁰ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Tablai de Thèbes au Musée de Birkenhead (GB)”, n. 4, p. 269-270: “On est enclin à interpréter Ψενδεοῦηρις comme variante de *Psent(e)ouèris (**P3-šr-n-t3-wr.t*: « Le fils de Thoèris »). L’alternance δ/τ et la présence d’un e muet peuvent s’expliquer. Toutefois, à l’époque gréco-romaine, la rareté des noms propres théophores dérivés de Thoèris incite à la prudence”.

⁴³¹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 80-83.

⁴³² Cf. Cf. also QUAEGEBEUR, J., CLARYSSE, W., VAN MAELE, B., “Athena, Neith and Thoeris in Greek Documents”, p. 226: “Though theophoric personal names with the element T. are common in the N.K. and the Late Period, they are rare in the Graeco-Roman period. With the exception of Thyêris, the names Theouêris, Th<ο>êris, Psendeouêris and Touêris are all more or less uncertain”.

⁴³³ Image from QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Tablai de Thèbes au Musée de Birkenhead (GB)”, p. 269.

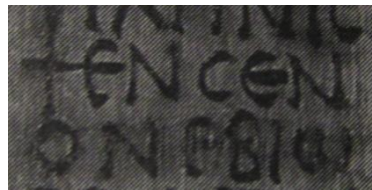


P. Tebt. III 1014 descr., 18: Ψενῆτος



P. Tebt. III 1014 descr., 4: Ψενῆτος

- **Ψενσενον** (TM Nam 13039: one attestation in SB XXII 15391, 4-5): the editor of this mummy label point out that this name may be constructed of the name Σενόνης⁴³⁴, whose etymology is unknown⁴³⁵.



SB XXII 15391, 4-5⁴³⁶: Ψενσενον

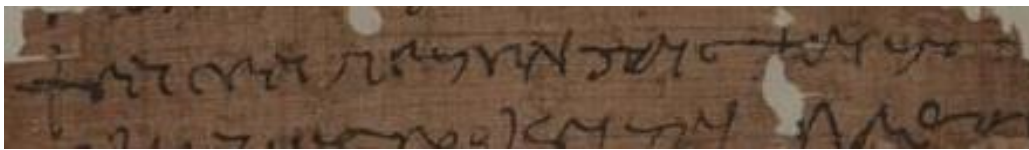
- **Ψενσενπεντενταία/Ψενσενπετένταις** (TM Nam 30616: two attestations in P. Brem. 29, 3-4: Ψενσενπεντενταία – for which no image is available –, and P. Brem. 29, 23: Ψενσενπετένταις): the reading of the name in P. Brem. 29, 23 seems correct, although the last *tau* can also seem

⁴³⁴ Cf. WILFONG, T. G., “Mummy Labels from the Oriental Institute’s Excavations at Medinet Habu”, p. 161: “Ψενσενον appears to be new; presumably compounded from Σενόνις (NB 373) or Σενόνης (Foraboschi, Onom. 288), the latter from the fourth century”.

⁴³⁵ Cf. TM Nam 23330. On the other hand, Σένονις has been identified as a ghostname for Σενόνης. Cf. UPZ II 180a, col. 18, 3; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=382>.

⁴³⁶ Image from WILFONG, T. G., “Mummy Labels from the Oriental Institute’s Excavations at Medinet Habu”, p. 161, n. 1.

a *pi*. However, the left horizontal stroke seems to indicate that it is a tau, as the one of Ψάιτος, the following name. The prototype of this name appears to begin by **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-p3-dí-*..., “The son of the daughter of He who has been given...”. On the other hand, in P. Brem. 29, 3-4, the name Ψενσενπεντενταία has been read. No image is available for this anthroponym, but the reading of a *nu* between -πε- and -τε- seems erroneous at first sight; this anthroponym, who refers to the same person as the one of the l. 23, could be a ghostname. The name Πετένταις (< **P3-dí-*...) seems to be attested in P. Brem. 25, 3⁴³⁷.



P. Brem. 29, 23: Ψενσενπετένταις Ψάιτος



P. Brem. 25, 3: Ψάιτος καὶ Πετεντά[ιος]

- **Ψεντάναις** (TM Nam 17745: one attestation in P. Petaus 102, col. 1, 19, from Syron Kome in the Fayum): the feminine name Τάναις is attested more than 70 times in the area of Karanis and Oxyrhynchus⁴³⁸ but, since it does not seem to occur in any bilingual document, its Egyptian prototype is unknown.

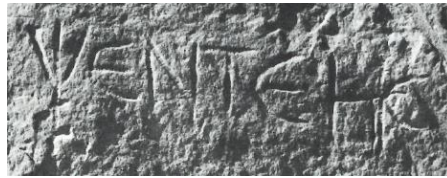


P. Petaus 102, col. 1, 19: Ψεντάναις

⁴³⁷ TM Nam 24625: Πετεντά[ιος].

⁴³⁸ Cf. TM Nam 23481.

- **Ψεντεῆς** (TM Nam 19585): this name is attested 10 times in different documents⁴³⁹. In the attestation of I. Thèbes à Syène 176, 1, the reading Ψεντεῆς is clear. Since it is attested in the area between Elephantine and Thebes, this name does not seem to be related to Τεῆς⁴⁴⁰, which is mainly attested in the Fayum. The first part Ψεν- as rendering of *P3-šr-n-* seems however clear.



I. Thèbes à Syène 176, 1: Ψεντεῆς



O. Douch III 187, 2: Ψεντεῆ

- **Ψεντέσσις** (TM Nam 17833: one attestation in O. Douch I 54, 11, in which the trema can be seen over the *iota*): a name *Τεσσις is not attested elsewhere.



O. Douch I 54, 11: Ψεντέσσις

⁴³⁹ In P. Eleph. Gr. 21, 4-5: Ψ[εντ]εῆτος; P. Eleph. Gr. 18, Ro. 1: Ψεντεῆς; P. Eleph. Gr. 23, 16: Ψεντεῆτος; BGU VI 1492, 1: Ψεντέης; SB XXIV 15950, 2: Ψεντεῆς; P. Lond. I 119, 147: Ψεντεῆους; O. Leiden Gr. 355, 3: Ψεντεῆς; O. Strasb. I 782, 10: Ψεντεῆους – for which no images are available –; and O. Douch III 187, 2: Ψεντεῆ and I. Thèbes à Syène 176, 1: Ψεντεῆς.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. TM Nam 6165.

- **Ψεντεύς** (TM Nam 34014: two attestations in P. Eleph. Gr. 17, Ro. 10: Ψεντεύς and presumably in SB X 10725, 6: Ψεν[τε]ϥ). In the image of P. Eleph. Gr. 17, Ro. 10, the reading of the name seems correct. The fragmentary state of SB X 10725, 6 does not allow to certainly read the anthroponym written. On the other hand, a name *Τεύς is not attested.



P. Eleph. Gr. 17, Ro. 10: Ψεντεύς



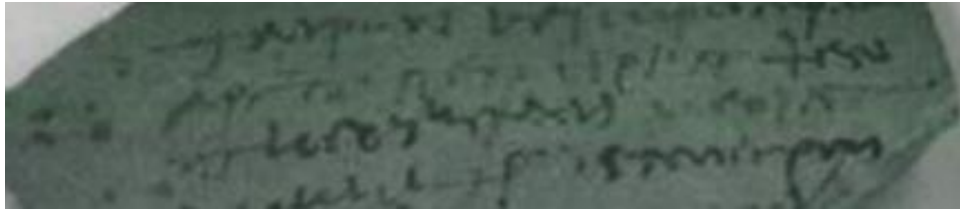
SB X 10725, 6: Ψεν[τε]ϥ

- **Ψεντκέρηβις** (TM Nam 13059): this name occurs approximately 20 times in different documents from Thebes dating from the Roman period. The anthroponym Τκέρηβις is also attested in a document from Hermonthis (U04)⁴⁴¹. In addition, the name Ψεντκέρηκις⁴⁴² has been identified as a ghostname for Ψεντκέρηβις⁴⁴³. Even though this is a well-attested anthroponym in Thebes, its Egyptian prototype is unknown since it does not seem to be attested in any bilingual document.

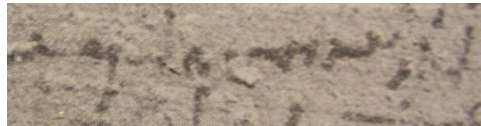
⁴⁴¹ O. Bodl. II 1964-1967, col. 2, 9: Τκέρηβι[ος] (cf. TM Nam 23574).

⁴⁴² In O. Strasb. I 440, 2: Ψεντκέρηκιος; O. Strasb. I 486, 2: Ψεντκέρηκιος(ς); and O. Strasb. I 488, 2: Ψεντκέρηκιος, this latter one in TM Nam 23792, which should be unified with TM Nam 13059 in the Trismegistos database.

⁴⁴³ Cf. BL II.2, p. 149; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1459>.



P. Lips. I 74, 2-3: Ψεντκερηκ()

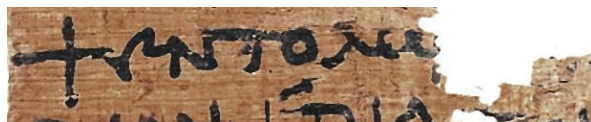


O. Leiden Gr. 278, 2: Ψεντκερ(ήβιος)



O. Wilcken II 606, 3: Ψεντ^κ

- **Ψεντόλωις** (TM Nam 25766: one attestation in PSI IX 1032, Ro. 6: Ψεντολώ[ιτ]ος): the letters Ψεντολω- can be clearly seen in the image available. The name Τόλωις/Θόλωις, of unknown etymology, is also attested⁴⁴⁴.



PSI IX 1032, Ro. 6: Ψεντολώ[ιτ]ος

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. TM Nam 5564.

- **Ψενψέηβις** (TM Nam 6422: two attestations in P. Mich. Zen. 37, Ro. 9 and 22): the reading of the name seems clear in both attestations. No name *Ψέηβις is attested elsewhere.

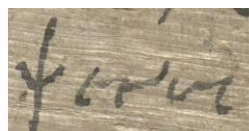


P. Mich. Zen. 37, Ro. 9: Ψενψέηβις

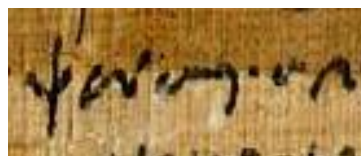


P. Mich. Zen. 37, Ro. 22: Ψενψέηβις

- **Ψένως** (TM Nam 6419): more than 20 attestations of this anthroponym occur in different documents from the Fayum and the Herakleopolites. Despite the number of attestations, the prototype of this proper name is unknown.



P. Col. Zen. I 36, Ro. 16: Ψένως



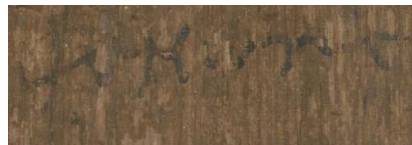
P. Köln Gr. VIII 346, Vo. 34: Ψένωτος



BGU XVI 2672 Vo., col. 2, 8: Ψένως



BGU XVI 2672 Vo., col. 2, 17: Ψένως



BGU XVI 2672 Vo., col. 2, 20: Ψένωτος

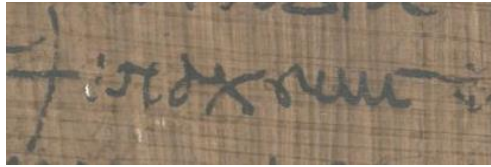
- **Ψιναχεύς** (TM Nam 6425: three attestations in P. Fay. 119, 9: Ψιναχέος, P. Fay. 119, 33: Ψιναχέως and BGU IX 1893, col. 16, 554: Ψιναχέως). The complete etymology of this name is unknown, but the last part seems also to be attested in the anthroponyms Ταχεύς⁴⁴⁵ (presumably feminine) and Παχεύς⁴⁴⁶ (masculine), for which no Egyptian prototype is known.



P. Fay. 119, 9: Ψιναχέος

⁴⁴⁵ In BGU IX 1898, col. 11, 218: Ταχεύς (cf. TM Nam 6007).

⁴⁴⁶ In TM Nam 11396: 10 attestations. The presumable Greek name [Π]αχιῖφο(υ)ς?, attested in Pamphilia and listed in *LGPV* V.B, p. 348, under Παχεύς, does not appear to be related to the attestations of TM Nam 11396.



BGU IX 1893, col. 16, 554: Ψιναχέως

- **Ψινμεσε** (TM Nam 26042: one attestation in SB I 4386, 1): the consonantal structure of the second part of the name, -μεσε, leads to think that the prototype of the anthroponym could be *P₃-šr-n-ms, “The son of the young”. The mummy label SB I 4386 might come from the Koptites (U05); this fact seems to be in agreement with the Coptic form μεσε, “young animal”, that is found in Ackhmimic and Sahidic with Ackmimic tendency⁴⁴⁷. This etymology seems probable, but it cannot be confirmed by a Demotic counterpart.



SB I 4386, 1: Ψινμεσε

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. CRUM, W. A., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 186. Cf. also VYCICHL, W. E., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 121-122.

1.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

More than 40 transcriptional variants are attested for Egyptian *P3-šr-n-* in initial position, which is well attested in all the areas of Egypt. The most frequent variant is Ψεν-, although others, such as Σε(ν)- (Coptic Ⲭε(ν)-) are also well attested⁴⁴⁸.

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L10	L13	L14	L16	L21
Βσον- (?)										
πσαν-										
πσε(ν)-										
πσημ-										
πσην-										
πσην-										
σαν-										
Σει(ν)-										
Σε(ν)-	88		36							
σε(ν)-	7									
ση(ν)-										
Σι(ν)-	2									
σι(ν)-										
Συ(ν)-										
Φεγ-	1									
Φ(εν)-	1									
Ψαν-										
Ψε-										
Ψεγ-	1									
Ψεν-										
Ψεμ-										
Ψεμ-										
Ψεμ-	3									
ψεμ-										
Ψε(ν)-	10									
Ψεν-	804	5	21	1	8	2	1	2	32	
ψεν-										
Ψενε-	20	1								
Ψενεν-										
Ψενν-	3								1	
Ψενο-	1									

⁴⁴⁸ The following names are partially or totally reconstructed and have not been considered here: [Σενοῦθη] (P. Cairo Masp. III 67298, 15), [Σενοῦθ]ην (P. Cairo Masp. III 67298, 26), [Σενοῦθ]η[ς] (P. Cairo Masp. III 67298, 34), Ψε[μονχῆς] (O. Elkab 107 descr., 1), Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 116, 1), Ψ[ε]μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 117 descr., 1), Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 120, 1), Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 123, 1), Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 124, 1), [Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 125, 1), Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 126, 1), Ψ[ε]μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 127, 1), [Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 128, 1), Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 158 descr., 1), Ψ[ε]μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 159 descr., 1), Ψ[ε]μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 172, 1), Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 177 descr., 1), Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 38, 1), Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Elkab 66, 1), [Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (O. Ont. Mus. I 23, 2), [Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (P. Adler Gr. 4, 1), [Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (UPZ II 221, col. 1, 3), Ψ[ε]να] () (O. Strasb. I 233, 6), [Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (P. Oxy. XXIV 2410, 29), Ψ[ε]ννῆ]ους] (SB I 5244, 5), [Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (SB XVI 12772, 7), Ψε[ννῆ]ους] (PSI XIII 1317, fr. A 5), [Ψε[μονχῆ]ους] (SB XVIII 13320, 7), Ψ[ε]μ[ονχῆ]ους] (P. Bingen 132, 10), Ψ[ε]μ[ονχῆ]ους] (P. Cairo Masp. I 67107, 5), Ψ[ε]μ[ονχῆ]ους] (P. Cairo Masp. II 67235, 2), Ψ[ε]μ[ονχῆ]ους] (P. Petaus 126, col. 3, 62), Ψ[ε]μ[ονχῆ]ους] (P. Tebt. III 1051 descr., col. 2, 56), Ψ[ε]μ[ονχῆ]ους] (UPZ I 46, Ro. 20).

Ψην-										
Ψι-										
Ψιμ-										
Ψiv-	19		17							1
Ψo(v)- (?)	6									
Ψov-					1					
ΨγN-										
Ψψov-										
Ψωμ- (?)										
Ωεν- (?)										
Ωε(n)-	24									
Ωι(n)-	3									
Total attestations	993	6	74	1	9	2	1	2	33	1

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U06	U07	U08	U09	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20	U22
Βοov- (?)				1												
πcΔN-				2												
πce(n)-								1								
πωem-												1				
πωiN-				1												
πωN-												2				
cΔN-				13												
Σει(v)-									1							
Σε(v)-	2	6		6		1		5	1	138	7	43		6	13	
ce(n)-		1		115						2	2	15				
ch(n)-				1												
Σι(v)-									1	1		1		1		
ci(n)-				1												
Συ(v)-						1										
Φεγ-																
Φ(εv)-												2				
Ψav-	1									1				1		
Ψε-											2					
Ψεγ-				8	1										2	
Ψεεv-				1												
Ψ(εμ)-				11												
Ψε(μ)-	1	1	48	29					1							
Ψεμ-	2			87						18						
ψem-				1						1						
Ψε(v)-	1		4	8			1		3	1		3				
Ψεv-	77	80	46	1839	21	1	33	7	437	72	11	52	1	86	81	1
ψen-				1					1			1				
Ψενε-		2		3	1			1				2		1		
Ψενεν-				1												
Ψενv-	4	7	2	57		1		2	7	3	2	1			2	
Ψενo-								1								
Ψην-	1	1														
Ψι- (?)									1							
Ψιμ-										27		1				
Ψiv-	2	3		3	1					2		1		6	2	
Ψo(v)- (?)				1												
Ψov-									2							
ΨγN-										1						
Ψψov-									1							
Ψωμ- (?)				1												
Ωεν- (?)				1												
Ωε(n)-		1		109						22	3	74			6	
Ωι(n)-				4						5	3	8				
Total attestations	91	102	100	2305	24	4	34	17	456	294	30	207	1	101	106	1

1.3. Linguistic characteristics

In 87.21 % (866) of the attestations from the Fayum, 72.09 % (93) from Lower Egypt and 83.73 % (3243) from Upper Egypt the Egyptian masculine definite article *p3* and the *š* of *šr* are transcribed with the double consonant ψ/Ψ⁴⁴⁹. In seven Coptic attestations and one presumable Greek anthroponym from Upper Egypt the definite article and the *š* have not been represented with a double consonant, but with two different letters, Βσ-⁴⁵⁰, πσ-⁴⁵¹ or πω-⁴⁵². In one attestation ψ has been written with dittography⁴⁵³. On the other hand, the name Πσεννοσορβούχου – with a dot under the *rho* – that can be found in P. Lips. I 97, col. 10, 4 is erroneous in the edition⁴⁵⁴ and should be corrected to Ψεννοσορβούχου (nominative Ψεννοσόρβουχος, from a prototype *P3-šr-n-Wsir-Bḥ*). In addition, Egyptian *p3* + *š* might have been rendered by Φ in four attestations. These attestations are however doubtful: Φέγγωνσις⁴⁵⁵ seems to be a ghostname for Ψένχωνσις (< *P3-šr-n-Hnsw*) and the names Φενουβι⁴⁵⁶/Φενουβε⁴⁵⁷ do probably not represent Egyptian *P3-šr-n-Ḥnpw*⁴⁵⁸ – if their reading is correct –.

⁴⁴⁹ The anthroponym Ψσενπνούθης (P. Erl. Diospolis 1, 323) that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://www.papyri.info/ddbdp/p.erl.diosp;1> is erroneous and should be corrected to Ψενπνούθης (< **P3-šr-n-ntr*) as it appears in the edition.

⁴⁵⁰ In the name Βσονθς, which presumably renders Demotic *P3-šr-n-t3-ih.t*, “The son of the cow”, in a bilingual graffito in the tomb of Ramses IV according to the editor. Cf. VINSON, S., “A Bi-Graphic (Greek and Demotic) Graffito from the Tomb of Ramses IV in the Valley of the Kings (KV2)”, p. 131-134.

⁴⁵¹ In MURRAY, M. A., *The Osireion at Abydos*, pl. 37: πσεννογθ() (inscription on wine jar, col. 2, 5). In the same inscription (col. 2, 10), the variant ωεννογθ() is found. Cf. also πσαναγαπη in O. Brit. Mus. Copt. I p. 18-19 pl. 14 + O. Brit. Mus. Copt. I, p. 19-20 pl. 15, 1, 3 and 4.

⁴⁵² In P. Hermitage Copt. 12, 10: πωνπατερμουγτε (< **P3-šr-n-pa-t3-Rnn.t*); O. Crum VC 37, 9: πωιννογ; P. Hermitage Copt. 2, 1: πωεμνογτε (< **P3-šr-n-ntr*); and P. Brux. Bawit 33, 5: πωνωμας, “The son of Thomas”.

⁴⁵³ In *CRIPEL* IV 976, 1: {Ψ}Ψονταβῆς (< **P3-šr-n-ta-Bs*).

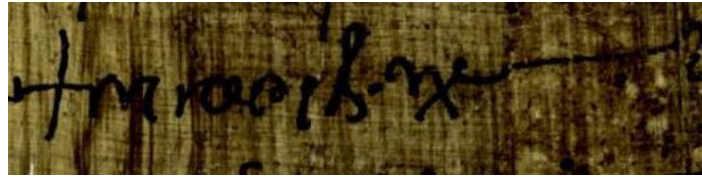
⁴⁵⁴ It is consequently erroneous also in TM Nam 13783 and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lips;1;97>.

⁴⁵⁵ In P. Petrie Kleon 54, 3.

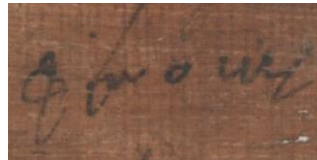
⁴⁵⁶ In Stud. Pal. X 57, 3: Φενουβι.

⁴⁵⁷ In P. Strasb. Gr. VI 597, 5: Φενουβε; 15: Φεν[ου]βε. No images of these names are available.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. TM Nam 965.



P. Lips. I 97, col. 10, 4: Ψεννοσορβούχου



Stud. Pal. X 57, 3: Φενουβι

In 9.7 % (97) of the attestations from the Fayum presumably transcribing *Pj-šr-n-*, 27.90 % (36) from Lower Egypt and 9.91 % (384) from Upper Egypt, the first letter of the name appears as Σ-/c-. In 27 Coptic names from the Fayum (2.71 %) and 236 (6.09 %) from Upper Egypt, it is Ω-, the Coptic letter usually used to represent Egyptian aspirated *š*. The Coptic variants with c- can consequently be explained by the confusion of the aspirated and non-aspirated sibilants due to the bilingual interference, since in Greek there was not an aspirated sibilant phoneme. Except 14 attestations⁴⁵⁹, all these names represent Σένουθης/Σένουθις or a similar transcriptional variant and contain the element *ntr*, “god”, in final position. With the exception of two attestations⁴⁶⁰, which presumably date from the first century AD, all these names – both in Greek transcription and Coptic – date from the fifth century AD onwards. As the Coptic attestations starting by Ω- reveal, the beginning Σ-/c- seems to be due to the lack of a definite article or a “zero article”⁴⁶¹: the name represented here is not a definite “The son of God”, but

⁴⁵⁹ 13 attestations of the name *σαναγαπη* (cf. TM Nam 27451); and *ωενρωμε*, in O. Crum 68, 5. It is not sure if this latter name is in fact an anthroponym; in the index of proper names of the edition (cf. p. 107) it is not listed. The anthroponym *πσαναγαπη*, with article, is also attested in O. Brit. Mus. Copt. I p. 18-19 pl. 14 + O. Brit. Mus. Copt. I, p. 19-20 pl. 15, 1, 3 and 4. In TM Nam 27451 both the masculine *σαναγαπη* and the feminine *Τσαναγάπη* appear together. *σαναγαπη* is a masculine name as it can be seen in the texts SB XVI 12346, 3 (cf. GASCOU, J., “Ostraca de Djémé”, p. 78); P. KRU 21, 92; P. KRU 39, 1; P. KRU 39, 74-75; or P. KRU 40, 3.

⁴⁶⁰ Σένουθις (O. Oslo 6, Vo. 2, dating from the first century AD); and Σενουθ(), in P. Princ. I 10, col. 8, 17, from 34 AD.

⁴⁶¹ On the “zero article” in Coptic, cf. LAYTON, B., *A Coptic Grammar*, p. 40: “Typically, the zero article occurs (...) in generalizations and gnomic context”. Cf. also JOHNSON, J. H., “The Use of the Article and the Generic in Demotic”, p. 54: “There is fairly good correspondence between demotic and modern languages in the use of the definite article when the reference was specific and limited; when the reference was specific but non-limited, the correspondence is not so consistent because of those demotic texts which did not (or did not necessarily) add the indefinite article”.

an indefinite “Son of God”, which appears to allude to the Christian idea that a specific individual – in this case, the bearer of the name – is *a* son of God and not *the* (only) son of God⁴⁶². The period in which these names without definite article became popular – from the fifth century AD onwards – seems to be in agreement with other onomastic data, which reflect that the Christianisation of the Egyptian population gradually increased in the fourth and the fifth centuries AD⁴⁶³. In this period the demise of the Demotic writing occurred, which explains why the names **P3-šr-n-ntr* and **Šr-ntr* are not attested in Demotic.

The anthroponyms Ψενπνούθης/Ψένπνουθις in Greek transcription, and the Coptic name πωμπνοϣτε together with other variants are, on the other hand, attested⁴⁶⁴. Their Egyptian prototype *P3-šr-n-p3-ntr*, “The son of the god”, with the definite article before both *šr* and *ntr*, is also attested. These anthroponyms, with two definite articles, are especially attested between the first century BC and the fourth century AD⁴⁶⁵. The latest Demotic attestation is attested at the beginning of the third century AD⁴⁶⁶. In at least the attestations previous to the fourth century AD, *p3-ntr* does not seem to allude to the Christian god, but to any Egyptian god or the divinity in general⁴⁶⁷.

⁴⁶² There are however ten Greek transcriptions and five Coptic attestations (approximately 1.95 % of the names of this type) with the definite article noted. Cf. the anthroponym Ψεμνούθιος (nam_id 991) and Ψενουτ() (O. Douch I 53, 5); P. Hermitage Copt. 2, 1: πωμπνοϣτε (< **P3-šr-n-ntr*); MURRAY, M. A., *The Osireion at Abydos*, pl. 37: πκενοϣθ() (inscription on wine jar, col. 2, 5) – this document also contains the variant ωκενοϣθ() (col. 2, 10) –; and probably O. Crum VC 37, 9: πωππνοϣ (possibly abbreviated); ψεμνοϣθς (P. Lond. 4 1552, Coptic part, 1), ψεμνοϣτε (SB Kopt. III 1425, 3).

⁴⁶³ Cf. DEPAUW, M., CLARYSSE, W., “How Christian was Fourth Century Egypt? Onomastic Perspectives on Conversion”, p. 432: “Despite differences in methodology between Bagnall and us, the two datasets lead to very similar results: a very gradual increase of typically Christian names in the course of the fourth and the fifth century AD, which in all likelihood reflects the gradual Christianization of Egypt in this period”. Cf. also BAGNALL, R. S., “Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change in Early Byzantine Egypt”, p. 105-124; WIPSZYCKA, E., “La valeur de l’onomastique pour l’histoire de la christianisation de l’Égypte. À propos d’une étude de R. S. Bagnall”, p. 173-181; WIPSZYCKA, E., “La christianisation de l’Égypte aux IV^e-VI^e siècles. Aspects sociaux et ethniques”, p. 117-165; BAGNALL, R. S., “Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply”, p. 243-250; FRANKFURTER, D., “Onomastic Statistics and the Christianization of Egypt: A Response to Depauw and Clarysse”, p. 284-289; DEPAUW, M., CLARYSSE, W., “Christian Onomastics: A Response to Frankfurter”, p. 327-329; CHOAT, M., *Belief and Cult in Fourth Century Papyri*, p. 51-56.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. TM Nam 991 and 30311. The name Ψηρπνούθης (TM Nam 30310) has been identified as a ghostname for Ψενπνούθης. Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., WORP, K. A., “Lesefrüchte”, p. 186.

⁴⁶⁵ 2 attestations date from the first century BC, 4 from the first century AD, 8 from the second century AD, 2 from the third century AD, 33 from the fourth century AD, 3 from the sixth century AD and 5 from the eighth century AD.

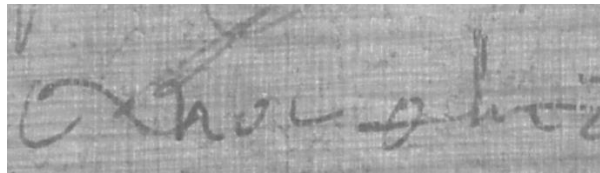
⁴⁶⁶ Cf. *Short Texts* II 695, A 2: *P3-šr-p3-ntr*; B 1: Ψενπνούθης.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. HORNUNG, E., *El Uno y los Múltiples. Concepciones egipcias de la divinidad (= Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: the One and the Many)*, p. 48-58, who considers that in Egyptian wisdom literature the term *ntr* did not make allusion to a monotheist god, but to any of the Egyptian gods, since this type of literature was addressed to audiences from

In 96.87 % (962) of the attestations from the Fayum, 85.27 % (110) from Lower Egypt and 96.87 % (3752) from Upper Egypt, the vocalisation of *šr* has been represented as ε/ε̣. In one attestation from Thebes⁴⁶⁸, ε seems to have been written with dittography. On the other hand, in 21 transcriptions from the Fayum (2.11 %), 18 from Lower Egypt (13.95 %) and 74 from Upper Egypt (1.91 %), the vowel of *šr* has been rendered as ι/ι̣. In one anthroponym from Panopolis (U09)⁴⁶⁹, it appears with the itacistic variant ει, and in three attestations as η/Η⁴⁷⁰. In addition, in the name Συνουθίω, in P. Cairo Masp. III 67298, 39, it has been transcribed as υ. However, in the line 4 of the same text, the variant Σενούθης, written by other hand, is found. The Coptic variant γ is also found in the name ψγνζωρ (< *Pj-šr-n-Hr*)⁴⁷¹.



P. Cairo Masp. III 67298, 39: Συνουθίω



P. Cairo Masp. III 67298, 4: Σενούθης

different places. Thus, with the general mention of *ntr*, the audience could interpret that this term referred, for instance, to the main god of the place they lived in. Cf. also VERGOTE, J., *La notion de Dieu dans les livres de sagesse égyptiens*.

⁴⁶⁸ Ψεενάμο(υνι), in O. Bodl. II 703, 2. No image is available for this attestation.

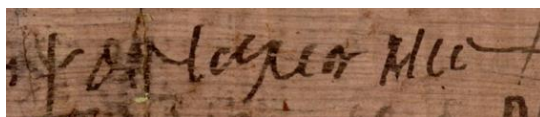
⁴⁶⁹ Cf. P. Grenf. II 81, Ro, 9: Σεινούθη.

⁴⁷⁰ Presumably in P. KRU 56, 3: *CHNΩΥΤ*(); O. Wilcken II 1611, 12: Ψηνδιφίλει, a hybrid Graeco-Egyptian name; O. Edfou II 231, 3: Ψήνησις (< *Pj-šr-n-Is.t*).

⁴⁷¹ In P. Sarga 164, 3.

According to W. E. Crum⁴⁷², the variants $\omega\iota$ - (without ν) and $\omega\eta\eta\iota$ - in composition are characteristic of Sahidic and Fayumic, and $\omega(\epsilon)\nu$ - of Sahidic, Bohairic and Fayumic. However, Greek transcriptions of Egyptian names do not allow to consider the variants with ι/η and η/ι as dialectal: the names with η/ι are scarce and the variants with ι/η occur in all the geographical areas, although they seem more frequent in Lower Egypt than in other geographical area. It is not impossible that these different transcriptions are in fact itacistic variants⁴⁷³.

In 18 names – the hybrid anthroponyms $\varsigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$ ⁴⁷⁴ and $\Psi\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\mu$ ⁴⁷⁵, $\Psi\alpha\nu\alpha\rho\beta\iota$ ⁴⁷⁶ and $\Psi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu\iota\varsigma$ ($< P_3\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}\acute{I}mn$) –, the vocalisation of $\acute{s}r$ appears as α/λ . In all these attestations the timbre of the vowel represented can be explained by regressive assimilation with a following α .



P. Oxy. LIX 3982, 18: $\Psi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu\iota\varsigma$

The vocalization of $\acute{s}r$ might have been represented as o in 11 attestations⁴⁷⁷ and as ω in one⁴⁷⁸. However, the readings of these anthroponyms cannot be checked, because there are no images of the

⁴⁷² Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 584.

⁴⁷³ On the interchange of ϵ , $\epsilon\iota$, ι , η , υ in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I p. 235-275.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. TM Nam 27451.

⁴⁷⁵ In SB XX 14669, col. 1, 9.

⁴⁷⁶ In O. Eleph. DAIK 114, 4. The reconstruction $\Psi\alpha\nu\alpha\rho\beta\iota[\eta\gamma\chi\iota\varsigma]$?, proposed by the editor, is doubtful. This name could be reconstructed as $\Psi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\iota[\chi\iota\varsigma]$ ($*P_3\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}Hr\text{-}p_3\text{-}byk$, “The son of Horos the falcon”).

⁴⁷⁷ In $\Psi\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ ($< P_3\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}n_3\text{-}n\acute{t}r.w$) in O. Theb. Gr. 126, 2-3; 6 attestations of the name $\Psi\acute{o}\nu\omicron\upsilon\phi\iota\varsigma$ (nam_id 18036), which might represent Egyptian $*P_3\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}nfr$; $\Psi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\tau\iota\theta(\omicron\eta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma)$ ($< *P_3\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}ta\text{-}Twtw$) in P. Brux. Gr. I 21, col. 2, 15; $\Psi\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (CRIPEL IV 692, A 1), which is not completely sure, because it is followed by the name $\Psi\epsilon\nu\theta\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$, with the variant $\Psi\epsilon\nu$ -) – on the etymology of $\Sigma\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma$, cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 190-191–; $\Psi\omicron\nu\sigma\omicron\nu\pi\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$ ($< P_3\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}t_3\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}t\text{-}n\text{-}p_3\text{-}\acute{h}m$) (CRIPEL IV 935, 3); $\{\Psi\}\Psi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\beta\eta\varsigma$ ($*P_3\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}ta\text{-}Bs$) (CRIPEL IV 976, 1), and $\beta\sigma\omicron\nu\theta\varsigma$ (in VINSON, S., “A Bi-Graphic (Greek and Demotic) Graffito from the Tomb of Ramses IV in the Valley of the Kings (KV2)”, p. 131-134. Except for this latter name, there are no images available of these anthroponyms.

⁴⁷⁸ In O. Theb. Gr. 38, 2: $\Psi\omega\mu\acute{\omega}(\nu\theta\eta)$. If the reading is correct, this name could represent the prototype $P_3\text{-}\acute{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}Mn\acute{t}$. No image is available to confirm the reading. On the interchange of o and ω in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 275-277.

texts available. The only name which presumably has the vocalisation o with a facsimile available is Βσονθς, in a bilingual graffito from the tomb of Ramses IV, which the editor reads instead of Βσονος and interprets as transcription of *P3-šr-(n)-t3-iḥ.t*, “The son of the cow”, on the basis of the Demotic name⁴⁷⁹. Even though the name *P3-šr-n-t3-iḥ.t* is generally rendered as Ψινταῖς/Ψενταῖς in Greek characters, S. Vinson considers that the variant Βσονθς can be explained:

“The Demotic is an unexceptional, probably Roman-period, writing of the name *P3-šr-(n)-t3-iḥ.t*. This reading, in turn, required us to re-open the question of the relationship of the Demotic name to the alleged spelling “Βσονος”. Expected Greek transliterations of *P3-šr-n-t3-iḥ.t* would be Ψενταῖς or Ψινταῖς; and while a Greek orthography rendering *P3-šr-* with Βσ- rather than with Ψ- does not appear impossible – names with initial Πσ- for Ψ- are certainly attested, as is the interchange of π and β in papyri of the Roman and Byzantine period – the lack of a τ to render the *t3*-element of the Demotic name seemed more difficult to explain (...). The second o in a name “Βσονος” has substantial damage; therefore, a reading of θ might be possible. The vocalization of the name remains anomalous, of course, but from this perspective there are problems whichever solution we prefer. The initial o is actually not problematic. o can appear for ε in papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, particularly before ν as in our case, and Egyptian masculine personal names beginning with *P3-šr-* are indeed occasionally rendered in Greek texts by Ψον-; the same may be observed for Greek renderings of feminine names in *T3-šr.t-n-*, which can begin with Τσον-. But reading “Βσονος” requires that our graffitist wrote o in the second syllable of the name, where his contemporaries typically wrote αι or αη – on a substitution that appears to be rarely attested at best. A syllable -θς, on the other hand, while unexpected in what was presumably an accented syllable, might still be explicable if we assume a graffitist proficient in the consonantal Demotic script, but only dimly familiar with the rudiments of Greek alphabetic writing. In any case, considering that the Greek line of this graffito was executed backwards, with a rock, in semi-darkness, an oddity or two are probably only to be expected.”⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. VINSON, S., “A Bi-Graphic (Greek and Demotic) Graffito from the Tomb of Ramses IV in the Valley of the Kings (KV2)”, p. 131-134.

⁴⁸⁰ VINSON, S., “A Bi-Graphic (Greek and Demotic) Graffito from the Tomb of Ramses IV in the Valley of the Kings (KV2)”, p. 133-134.



Graffito KV2-G094⁴⁸¹

The equivalence between a presumable Demotic name *P3-šr-n-t3-iḥ.t* and its equivalent Greek rendering Βσονθς is, in fact, far from being satisfactorily explained. The examples of the renderings of Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n-* as Τσον- considered by S. Vinson, who cites F. Preisigke's *Namenbuch* (col. 449: Τσοννέσοντις/Τσοννέσονθις), are indeed no transcriptions representing *T3-šr.t-n-* in initial position, but renderings of *T3-sn.t-sn.ty*, "The two sisters". A presumably rendering of *-t3-iḥ.t* as -θς or -ος cannot be explained either: the -θ- could represent the feminine definite article *t3* and -ς a presumable morphological ending, but *iḥ.t*, which in Coptic appears as ⲁⲗⲏ (Fayumic) and as ⲉⲗⲉ in Bohairic, Sahidic and Akhmimic – the dialect of Thebes –, would have not been represented, which seems implausible because it was probably situated in an accented syllable⁴⁸². A reading of o instead of θ could not render the word *iḥ.t* either⁴⁸³. The equivalence between the Demotic name – if it has been correctly read – and the Greek form is consequently uncertain.

Even though the equivalence of the presumable names *P3-šr-n-t3-iḥ.t* and Βσονθς unlikely in this graffito, the representation of the vocalisation of *šr* as o in some anthroponyms is not impossible. Thus, for example, together with the name Ψόνουφις, the variant Ψέννουφις (presumably from **P3-šr-n-nfr*) is attested; in these name, the representation of the vocalisation as o could be due to the regressive

⁴⁸¹ Image from VINSON, S., "A Bi-Graphic (Greek and Demotic) Graffito from the Tomb of Ramses IV in the Valley of the Kings (KV2)", p. 131 and pl. XI.

⁴⁸² Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 64; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 50.

⁴⁸³ S. Vinson cites an example of confusion of α and ο in GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 292. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 291-292: "This interchange of ο and ε is found elsewhere in Greek but not as frequently as in the papyri. The fact that it occurs usually before /s/ or /n/ indicates that the sound represented by ο was centered to /ə/".

assimilation with *ov*, the vocalisation of *nfr*, which was situated in an accented syllable. The lack of images available does unfortunately not allow to confirm the readings of the names. The alternation between *o* and other vocalisations such as *ε*, *ι* or *υ* – possibly itacistic variants –, which are generally represented with etymologically short Greek vowels, could be due to the fact that *P3-šr-n-* was situated in an unstressed syllable and the Egyptian /ə/ was probably pronounced. The non-representation of vocalisation in two Coptic names⁴⁸⁴ and the use of a superlinear stroke in Coptic for (*P3-*)*šr-n-* in composition (cf. *ων-*), which seems to render Egyptian /ə/, appear to support this hypothesis.

In 84.99 % (844) of the attestations from the Fayum, 71.31 % (92) from Lower Egypt and 75.13 % (2910) from Upper Egypt, the Egyptian *n* of genitive has been represented in Greek as *v/n*. In addition, in 14.09 % (140) of the transcriptions from the Fayum, 27.90 % (36) from Lower Egypt and 16.24 % (629) from Upper Egypt, *v/n* has been contracted with the initial *n* of the next element: *Ψενεμγεύς* (< **P3-šr-n-n3-m3y.w*), *Ψενέχωτις/Ψενεχάτης* (< **P3-šr-n-n3-ht.w*), *Ψενέντηρις* (< *P3-šr-n-n3-ntr.w*), ... Most of the attestations with the contracted *v/n* belong to the name *Σενούθιος* (< **P3-šr-n-ntr*) and its variants: in 99.66 % (894) of the attestations of this name the *v/n* appears simplified. In 92 attestations, Egyptian *n* appears in Greek as geminated (-*vv-*): except two attestations rendering *P3-šr-n-Īmn* (cf. *Ψεννάμουνις*⁴⁸⁵), all the attestations with double *v* belong to the prototype *P3-šr-n-Īs.t* (> *Ψέννησις*)⁴⁸⁶.

On the other hand, in 142 attestations Egyptian *n* appears as *μ/m* due to an assimilation with the following consonant, which can be a nasal or a labial stop: *Ψεμμώνθης* (< *P3-šr-n-Mnt*), *Ψέμμινις* (< *P3-šr-n-Mn*), *Ψεμβήσις* (< **P3-šr-n-Bs*), *Ψεμπνούθης* (< *P3-šr-n-p3-ntr*), *ΨΕΜΝΟΥΘΗΣ*⁴⁸⁷ (< **P3-šr-n-ntr*), ... In 70 renderings, the genitive *n* appears contracted with a following *μ*: *Ψεμονχῆς* (< *P3-šr-n-mnh*), *Ψεμώνθης* (< *P3-šr-n-Mnt*), *Ψέμινις* (< *P3-šr-n-Mn*). In addition, in 11 transcriptions of the name *P3-šr-n-Īmn-m-Īp.t* (cf. *Ψεμένωφις*), the vocalisation and the *n* of *P3-šr-n-* and the first vowel and the *m* of *Īmn* have been contracted in -*εμ-*. In 12 attestations, Egyptian *n* seem to appear as *γ*: of these, 11

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. P. Hermitage Copt. 12, 10: *πῶνπατερμογτε* (< **P3-šr-n-pa-t3-Rnn.t*); P. Brux. Bawit 33, 5: *πῶνθωμας*, “The son of Thomas”.

⁴⁸⁵ In P. Baden IV 53, Ro. 4 and 24.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. TM Nam 976: 32.41 % (130) of the transcriptions of *P3-šr-n-Īs.t* have geminated *v*.

⁴⁸⁷ In P. Lond. IV 1552, 1.

belong to the name Ψέγγωνσις (< *P3-šr-n-Hnsw*)⁴⁸⁸, in which γ represents the velar nasal assimilated, and one of them represents the name Ψεγεράγεβθις (< **P3-šr-n-Hr-izbty*)⁴⁸⁹. It is not clear if in this anthroponym γ represents Egyptian *n* assimilated or if it is the rendering of the *yod* of *izbty*, “oriental”⁴⁹⁰.

In three Greek renderings⁴⁹¹, no *n* appears to have represented, possibly due to a mistake of the scribes. In one attestation⁴⁹², the sequence -εν- seems to have been written with dittography. In 31 transcriptions, an ε has been written after the ν of *P3-šr-n-* and before the beginning of the next element (cf. for example Ψενεθώτης < *P3-šr-n-Dhwty*; Ψενεμοῦς < *P3-šr-n-Mhy.t*); and in 2, an ο (cf. P. Cairo Zen. II 59245, Ro. 5: Ψενομοῦς; and presumably in PSI III 174, 6: Ψενομοῦτος, both from *P3-šr-n-Mhy.t*). Both ε/ο represent the Egyptian /ə/ pronounced as a link between the two elements of the anthroponyms⁴⁹³.



P. Tebt. III 894, 21, fr. 1, Ro., col. 2, 21: Ψενεθώτ(ης)



P. Tebt. III 894, 21, Ro., fr. 13 Ro., 1: Ψενεθώτ(ης) (unpublished)

⁴⁸⁸ Of the Greek transcriptions of this name, only 3.40 % (12) have γ before χ.

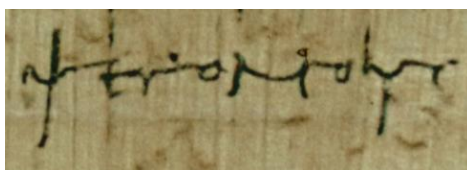
⁴⁸⁹ In P. Tebt. III 888, Ro. 9: Ψεγεραγέβθιος. No image of the name is available.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 73.

⁴⁹¹ Cf. P. Bal. II 300, 4 and 15: Ψεπνούθ(ιος); and probably Ψιβελλήτος, in SB XII 11212, 1-2, which may derive from a prototype **P3-šr-n-bl*, “The son of the blind”.

⁴⁹² Cf. SB I 4340, 4: Ψενεμοῦθου, probably from *P3-šr-n-Mw.t*.

⁴⁹³ Cf. LACAU, P., *Phonétique égyptienne ancienne*, p. 131; QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 235-236.



P. Cairo Zen. II 59245, Ro. 5: Ψενομοῦς



PSI III 174, 6: Ψενομοῦτος

2. *P3-ŠR-N-* IN MIDDLE POSITION

2.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription

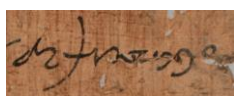
More than 30 anthroponyms in attested in Greek characters contain Egyptian *-p3-šr-n-* in middle position. The most frequent name of this type is *P3-di-Ḥr-p3-šr-n-Īs.t*, which is attested more than 80 times. Apart from this anthroponym, only *T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Wsir* and *T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Mnṯ* have more than 15 attestations.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
<i>P3-di-Ḥr-p3-šr-n-Īs.t</i>	He who has been given by Horos, the son of Isis	Πετεαρψένησις	83	859
* <i>P3-di-Ḥr-p3-šr-n-Ni.t</i>	He who has been given by Horos, son of Neith	Πετεαρφενείθης ⁴⁹⁴	1	11519
* <i>Pa-p3-šr-n-Wsir</i>	The one of the son of Osiris	Πεψενόσιρις ⁴⁹⁵	1	24744
* <i>Pa-p3-šr-n-Ḥnm</i>	The one of the son of Khnum	Παψένχνουμις	3	17412
* <i>Pa-p3-šr-n-Tb3</i>	The one of the son of Apollonopolis	Παψεντβω ⁴⁹⁶	1	33460
<i>Ḥr-p3-šr-n-Īs.t</i>	Horos, the son of Isis	Ἀρψένησις, Ἀρψέντησις (?) ⁴⁹⁷	3	20213
* <i>T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Īmn</i>	The daughter of the son of Amun	Σενψενάμουνης	9	12100
* <i>T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Īnpw</i>	The daughter of the son of Anubis	Σενψενένουπις ⁴⁹⁸	1	24755

⁴⁹⁴ In SB XXII 15542, 2: Πετεαρφενείθου. According to GONIS, N., “A New 2nd Century B.C. Prosangelma”, p. 233, the phi is certain. The etymology seems however clear; a *phi* instead of a *psi* could have been incorrectly written by the scribe.

⁴⁹⁵ In O. Edfou III 421, 1: Πεψενοσί(ριος).

⁴⁹⁶ In *CRIPEL* V 1122, 2: Παψεντβω. Cf. *supra*, **P3-šr-n-Tb3*.



⁴⁹⁷ In P. Oslo III 98, col. 2, 23: Ἀρψεντήσιο(ς). The *tau* is visible in the image. Since the name *Īs.t* appears in Egyptian names without a definite article, should the *tau* be considered as a mistake by the scribe or a name *Ḥr-p3-šr-n-ta-Īs.t*, “Horos, the son of the one of Isis” should be considered as the prototype?

⁴⁹⁸ In P. Princ. II 52, Ro. col. 1, 4: Σενψενένουπιος.

T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n- Is.t	The daughter of the son of Isis	Σενψέννησις	7	13644
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n- Wsir	The daughter of the son of Osiris	Σενψενόσιρις	20	13645
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n- p3-nb=f	The daughter of the son of his master	Σενψένπνηβις	3	18205
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-šr- (n)-{t3-šr.t}-Mnh	The daughter of the son of the excellent one	Σενψενμε<γ>χῆς ⁴⁹⁹	1	32114
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n- Mnt	The daughter of the son of Montu	Σενψενμώνθης	16	12102
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n- Hr-wd3	The daughter of the son of Horos is prosperous	Σενψεναριώτης ⁵⁰⁰	1	23357
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n- Hnsw	The daughter of the son of Khonsu	Σενψένχωνσις ⁵⁰¹	3	18206
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n- Hnm	The daughter of the son of Khnum	Θινψένχνουβις	3	25535
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n- Šzy	The daughter of the son of Shai	Σενψηρένψαις ⁵⁰²	1	38621
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-t3- whr.t	The daughter of the son of the female dog	Σενψεντουώριος ⁵⁰³	2	13672
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n- t3-byk.t	The daughter of the son of the falcon	Σενψέντβαικις	4	13647
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-(n)- t3-ms(y)-‘3.t	The daughter of the son of the Great of births	Σενψενθμεσίως	3	13673
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-šr- (n)-t3-Rpy(.t)	The daughter of the son of Triphis	Σενψεντάτριφις	4	17703
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-(n)- t3-ḥf	The daughter of the son of the snake	Σενψέντφως ⁵⁰⁴	2	13675
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-(n)- ta-p3-Š(3)y(.t)	The daughter of the son of the one of Shai	Σενψεντάψαις, Σενψοντάψαις ⁵⁰⁵	2 1	13676 + 24313

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II, n. 841, A 4 and B 3-4: Σενψενμέ<γ>χητος.

⁵⁰⁰ In *CRIPEL* II 66, A 1: Σενψεναριώτης Ψενσεναριώτου μητρὸς Σεναριώτιδος.



⁵⁰¹ In P. Alex. Giss. 22, 4, the editor has read the name Σενψένχωνσις. This name is, however, illegible on the picture available owing to the ink wear, but a *nu* between the *chi* and the *sigma* should possibly be read: Σενψένχωνσις.

⁵⁰² In SB V 7527, 3: Σενψηρένψαιτος. Cf. QUAEGERBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'ononastique*, p. 212.

⁵⁰³ Cf. *Short Texts* II, n. 608, A 1 and B 1. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1121.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. the bilingual mummy labels in *Short Texts* II, n. 617, A 2-3 and B 2-3; and p. 279-280, n. 636, A 3 and B2.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II, n. 714, A 4 and B 3.

*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-t3-špšy.t	The daughter of the son of the noble one	Σενψένσεψις ⁵⁰⁶	1	34126
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-šr-(n)-ta-Mn	The daughter of the son of the one of Min	Σενψενθάμινις ⁵⁰⁷ , Σενψενθάμινις	2	28245
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-ta-mtr	The daughter of the son of the one of the sacred emblem of Khnum	Σενψεντάμητις ⁵⁰⁸	2	39407
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Tb3 (?)	The daughter of the son of Apollonopolis (?)	Σενψονδβε ⁵⁰⁹	1	25997
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Dḥwty	The daughter of the son of Thoth	Σενψενθώτης	1	12101
*T3-dī-p3-šr-n-ta-īś.t	She who has been given by the son of the one of Isis	Τατεψενθάησις	1	23519
*Ta-p3-šr-n-īmn	The one of the son of Amun	Ταψενάμουσις	1	18829
*Ta-p3-šr-n-B3st.t	The one of the son of Bastet	Ταψενόβασθις	1	25930

B. Attestations from a prototype unknown

Six anthroponyms could contain *-p3-šr-n-* in middle position, but their complete prototype is unknown:

Most frequent Greek rendding	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
Θαψενεύς ⁵¹⁰	1	32979
Παχομψινάητις ⁵¹¹	1	24750
Παψενειου[,	2	29539

⁵⁰⁶ In *CRIPEL* III 508, A 3: Σενψενσέψιος. Cf. This name also in the list of *T3-šr.t-n-* in initial position.

⁵⁰⁷ In *CRIPEL* IV 863, A 2-3: Σενψενθαμίνιος. Cf. also REVILLOUT, E., “Planchettes bilingues”, p. 36 no. 22, l. 2-3. The spelling ***Σενψενθαμίνιος* that can be found on the Trismegistos database should consequently be corrected.

⁵⁰⁸ In WAGNER, G., “Étiquettes de momies grecques de l’IFAO”, p. 49-50, n. 34.

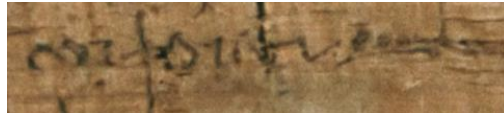
⁵⁰⁹ In *CRIPEL* IV 796, 1: Σενψονδβε.

⁵¹⁰ In O. Edfou III 470, 7: Θαψενεύτι. The etymology of this name could begin by **Ta-p3-šr-n-*...

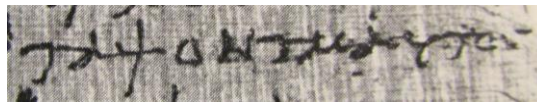
⁵¹¹ In P. Flor. III 329, col. 2, 9: Παχομψινάητις. This anthroponym seems to represent Egyptian **P3-ḥm-p3-šr-n-*..., “The eagle of the son of...” plus a name Ἀητις, of unknown etymology (cf. TM Nam 16611).

Πάψενις ⁵¹²		
Πετεμψένησις ⁵¹³	1	23099
Σενψένεμις ⁵¹⁴	1	29607
Ταψόντμαυς ⁵¹⁵	1	25589

Only for two of these proper names an image is available. For the anthroponym read in P. Hibeh II 280, Ro. 18 as Σενψενέμεως – with dots under the sequence -εμεως –, only the reading of the first part, Σενψεν- (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-šr-n-...*) is certain. The reading of Ταψοντμαῦτος, in SB XIV 11266, col. 2, 28, possibly from a prototype *Ta-pʒ-šr-n-tʒ...*, seems, on the other hand, sure.



P. Hibeh II 280, Ro. 18: Σενψενέμεως



SB XIV 11266, col. 2, 28⁵¹⁶: Ταψοντμαῦτος

⁵¹² In O. Edfou III 447, 2: Παψενειου[, and SB I 3553, 3-4: Παψένιος. The prototype of this name could start by **Pa-pʒ-šr-n-...*

⁵¹³ The name Πετεμψενήσιος, read by the editor of P. Lond. II 259 Ro., col. 1, 13, is doubtful, but the lack of image of the document in the edition does not allow to check the reading. For a discussion of the etymology of this anthroponym, cf. attestations from a prototype unknown with the name *Īs.t* in final position.

⁵¹⁴ In P. Hibeh II 280, Ro. 18: Σενψενέμεως.

⁵¹⁵ In SB XIV 11266, col. 2, 28: Ταψόντμαυτος.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. CASANOVA, G., “Papyri documentari dell’Università Cattolica: Lista di popolazione”, p. 13.

2.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

The only well-attested rendering for *-p3-šr-n-* in middle position is *-ψεν-*, which occurs in all the areas of Egypt (Fayum, Lower and Upper Egypt). The other variants are attested less than 5 times, as it can be seen in the table below:

	00	L04	L16	U01	U02	U04	U09	U10	U19	U20
-φε(v)-	1									
-φεν-										
-ψε(μ)-							1			
-ψεν-	84	1	1	11	5	19	44	1	1	3
-ψενν-						1	3			
Total attestations	85	1	1	11	5	20	48	1	1	3

2.3. Linguistic characteristics

The Egyptian definite article *p3* and *š* are represented with the double consonant *ψ* in Greek except in one name, which has *φ* possibly due to a mistake of the scribe⁵¹⁷. In all the attestations, the vocalization of *šr* has been represented as *ε*⁵¹⁸. In most attestations the Egyptian preposition of genitive *n* appears as *v* in Greek. In two names, it has been assimilated with the next nasal (cf. Πετεαρφενείθου⁵¹⁹, from **P3-di-Hr-p3-šr-n-Ni.t*; and Σενψεμώνθης⁵²⁰, from *T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Mnt*). In four transcriptions of *T3-šr-n-p3-šr-n-Is.t*, it appears as double *v*⁵²¹.

⁵¹⁷ In SB XXII 15542, 2: Πετεαρφενείθου. Cf. GONIS, N., “A New 2nd Century B.C. Prosangelma”, p. 233: “This name as it stands is problematical. It does not mean anything in Egyptian (...). Phi is however certain. One could perhaps dismiss phi as scribal error, and replace it with psi. In any case, this name has not so far been attested in either form in any Greek papyrus, and is one of the very few personal names in Greek compounded with Neith, see J. Quaegebeur – W. Clarysse – B. Van Maele, *ZPE* 60, 1983, 223”. The anthroponyms Πετεαρφέ(νησις) and Πετερφέ(νησις) (TM Nam 859) (< *P3-di-Hr-p3-šr-n-Is.t*), in SB XX 14576, Vo. col. 11, 246 and col. 14, 358, respectively, have been identified as ghosnames and appear corrected to Πετεαρψέ(νησις) and Πετερψέ(νησις) in HANSON, A. E., “P.Princeton I 13: Text and Context Revised”, p. 269 and 271.

⁵¹⁸ The spelling of the name Σενψοντάψαιτος, in the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 714, B 3, is incorrect in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/hgv/26035>. In the edition, Σενψεντάψαιτος, with a dot under the second epsilon, occurs as transcription of *T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-ta-p3-Šy.t* (A 4), “The daughter of the son of the one of Shai”.

⁵¹⁹ In SB XXII 15542, 2.

⁵²⁰ In SB I 820, 1.

⁵²¹ In SB I 1722, 3: Σενψεννήσιος; O. Bodl. II 1915, 3: Σενψεννήσιος(ς); *Short Texts* II 716, B 1: Σενψέννησις; *Short Texts* II 765, B 2-3: Σενψεννήσιος.


3. *T3-šr.t-n-* IN INITIAL POSITION

3.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n-* in transcription appears in a great number of anthroponyms. The names *T3-šr.t-n-Hr* and *T3-šr.t-n-İmn* seem to have been the most popular, with more than 100 attestations each.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
T3-šr.t-n-...	The daughter of... <i>(incomplete and abbreviated names)</i>	Θεν...	19	5450
		Θενα...	3	21878
		Θεναπ() ⁵²²	1	37617
		Θινατ() ⁵²³	1	32961
		Θιναυ() ⁵²⁴	1	28337
		Θινπατ... ⁵²⁵	1	37640
		Σεν...	192	1046
		Σενβη() ⁵²⁶	1	38603
		Σενακο() ⁵²⁷	1	28353
		Σενεν... ⁵²⁸	1	30363

⁵²² In P. Col. II 1 Ro. (1 a), col. 4, 20: Θεναπ() .

⁵²³ In O. Wilcken II 210, 3: Θινατ().

⁵²⁴ In O. Wilcken II 282, 1: Θιναυ().

⁵²⁵ In O. Eleph. DAIK 78, 3: μητ(ρὸς) Θινπατ[.

⁵²⁶ In *CRIPPEL* III 360, 1: Σενβη(). This name could be an abbreviated anthroponym for *T3-šr.t-n-Bs*, “The daughter of Bes”, but also for **T3-šr.t-n-byk*, “The daughter of the falcon”.

⁵²⁷ In P. Lond. II 257 Ro., col. 2, 42: Σενακο().

⁵²⁸ In O. Strasb. I 90, 2: μητ(ρὸς) Σενεν().

		Σενλ... ⁵²⁹	2	30374
		Σεννη[⁵³⁰	1	18308
		Σενπα... ⁵³¹	1	26682
		Σενπαβ() ⁵³²	1	35359
		Σενπαμ() ⁵³³	1	34539
		Σενπερθ() ⁵³⁴	1	34501
		Σενπμ ⁵³⁵	1	34534
		Σεντα... ⁵³⁶	1	38617
		Σενπεν... (?) ⁵³⁷	2	1051
		Σινθ... ⁵³⁸	2	38648
		Τσεν...	8	36832
		Χεν...	5	2617
		Χεντ... ⁵³⁹	1	30318
T3-šr.t-n-3b3	The daughter of the panther	Σενάβως ⁵⁴⁰	1	24498
T3-šr.t-3blw	The daughter of <i>Ablu</i>	Σενάβελλις, Σεναβολλοῦς ⁵⁴¹	9 2	17973 + 2732

⁵²⁹ In SB XVI 12296, 3 and SB XVI 12793, 3: μη(τρὸς) Σενλ()



⁵³⁰ In *CRIPEL* III 601, 1: Σεννη[.

⁵³¹ In P. Achmim 7, col. 2, 107: μη(τρὸς) Σενπασ[.

⁵³² In *CRIPEL* III 397, 1: Σενπαβ().

⁵³³ In O. Ont. Mus. II 238, 9: Σενπαμ().

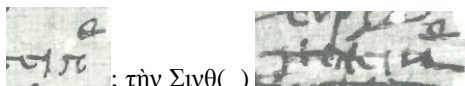
⁵³⁴ In SB XVI 12461, 1: Σενπερθ().

⁵³⁵ In P. Bon. 11 fr. O, 3: Σενπμ.

⁵³⁶ In O. Eleph. DAIK 93, 3: Σεντα[DOUBTFUL; FROM ELEPHANTINE. Cf. O. Eleph. DAIK, p. 55: “[. κτει est sûr; couper]. κτεισεν τα[, d’ἐκτίνειν, « rembourser »?”.

⁵³⁷ In P. Petrie III 124 a-b, b col. 2, 10 and 3, 12: Σενπεν().

⁵³⁸ In P. Merton III 104, 6 and 21: Σινθ() ; τὴν Σινθ() . Cf. P. Merton III, p. 14: “Σινθεῦς and Σινθῶνις are very common as names for women at Oxyrhynchus”.



⁵³⁹ In P. Strasb. Gr. IX 843, 6: μη(τρὸς) Χεντ().

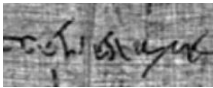
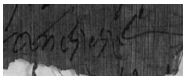
⁵⁴⁰ Presumably in O. Bodl. II 2391 descr.: Σενάβ(ωτος).

⁵⁴¹ Cf. in P. L. Bat. XXII 11, Ro. 6 and 12, Ro. 7 the variant Σεναβολλοῦς; Σεναβολλοῦτος. Cf. BOSWINKEL, E., PESTMAN, P. W. (eds.), *Les archives privées de Dionysios, fils de Kephala* (P. L. Bat. 22), p. 132-133 (note 41):

*T3-šr.t-n-n3-byk.w (?)	The daughter of the falcon	Τσενάβηκας (?) ⁵⁴²	1	18060
*T3-šr.t-n-izrr.t	The daughter of the vineyard	Σενελαλε ⁵⁴³	2	12027
T3-šr.t-n-İy-m-htp	The daughter of Imhotep	Σενιμούθης	7	1072
T3-šr.t-n-iw.f-‘nh	The daughter of He will live	Θενάπυγχις	145	1059
*T3-šr.t-n-İp.t-wr.t	The daughter of Eperis	Σενεπόρης ⁵⁴⁴	1	1064
T3-šr.t-n-İmn	The daughter of Amun	Σενάμουνης Θινάμμωνις, Σενάμωνιος ⁵⁴⁵ , Σεναμουνίη ⁵⁴⁶ , Σεναμμωνία ⁵⁴⁷ , Τσεναμμωνᾶς ⁵⁴⁸ , ΤΣΕΝΑΜΜΕ ⁵⁴⁹ , Σεναμουν, Χεναμουν ⁵⁵⁰	122 3 1 1 1 2 1 2	1056 9565 23311 + 24065 + 24092 + 28290 + 31258 12887

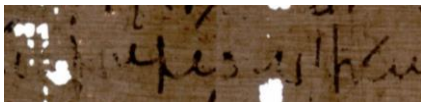
“L’élément *zbl* doit être le nom d’une divinité, qui se retrouve sous la forme *zblw* dans le nom de la mère du protagoniste de nos archives, *T3-šr.t-zblw* (...). Le nom de la mère a été souvent transposé en Σεναβέλλας donc sans *w*, mais parfois aussi en Σεναβολλοῦς (...). Nous ignorons quelle divinité se cache sous le nom *zbl(w)*. Toutefois, étant donné le rôle que les « Hagriens » d’Arabie du Nord jouent à Akôris (...), on pourrait penser qu’il s’agit d’un de leurs dieux”. The divine determinative in the Demotic name seems to support the editors’ hypothesis that this is a god’s name. Cf. also Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1086-1087.

⁵⁴² In P. Dublin 5, 4: Τσενάβηκας (?) , with quotation mark in the edition. The *alpha* is doubtful.

⁵⁴³ In P. Cairo Masp. I 67058 col. 1, 13: Σενελαλε  and P. Cairo Masp. I 67097 Ro., 8: Σενελαλε , from Aphrodito (U10). In Akhmimic *izrr.t* appears as ελαλαε. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 41; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 54-55. The names Σιαλοολε, in P. Lond. IV 1441, 105; and *cieloole*, in P. Lond. IV 1581, fr. 2, 1, included in TM Nam 12027, seem to be different names.

⁵⁴⁴ In P. Count. 6, 24: Σε]νεπόρης γρ(νή). Cf. P. Count., p. 210: “Σε]νεπόρης (hápax) is a perfect rendering of *T3-šr.t-n-İp.t-wr.t*; cf. further Επόρης “Εφγηρις (*İp.t-wr.t*)”.

⁵⁴⁵ In SB I 5349, 1: Σεναμώνιο(ς).

⁵⁴⁶ In P. Oxy. XVI 1959, Ro. 6: Σ[ε]ναμουνίης .

⁵⁴⁷ In O. Bodl. II 1895, 9: Αμμώνιο(ς) Σεναμμωνία[ς].

⁵⁴⁸ In P. Oxy. II 247, 6-7 and 34-35: Τσεναμμωνᾶτος.

⁵⁴⁹ In SB Kopt. IV 1693, 1: ΤΣΕΝΑΜΜΕ.

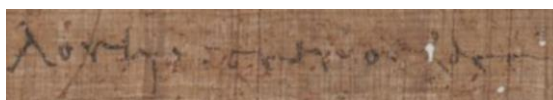
⁵⁵⁰ In P. Oxy. VI 999 descr.: Σεναμουν; P. Oxy. LIX 3997, Vo. 41: Χεγαμουν. The nominative -οῦς reconstructed for Σεναμουν and Χεγαμουν in the Trismegistos database is incorrect, since these attestations do not seem to have a Greek

*T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-iw	The daughter of Amun has come	Θεναμεννεύς ⁵⁵¹	3	18693
T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-(m)-Īp.t	The daughter of Amun is in Opet	Σενεμένωπις	6	13631
*T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-p3-ym	The daughter of Amun of the lake	Σεναμφιώμιος, Σεναμφίωμις, Τσεναμφίωμις	3	26581
*T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-rwš	The daughter of Amun has care	Σεναμένρωσις ⁵⁵²	1	25891
T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-ḥtp	The daughter of Amun is satisfied	Σεναμενώθης	5	1054
T3-šr.t-n-Īnpw	The daughter of Anubis	Σενένουφις	26	1057
		Σνανουβᾶς ⁵⁵³	1	23391
		Θενανουβ(ίων) ⁵⁵⁴	1	21880
		Χενανουβ() ⁵⁵⁵	2	38953
*T3-šr.t-n-Īnpw-iw	The daughter of Anubis has come	Σενανεμπεύς ⁵⁵⁶	1	26522
*T3-šr.t-n-ir.t-Ḥr-r.r=w	The daughter of The eye of Horos is against them	Σενιναρωούς ⁵⁵⁷	1	18887

morphological ending. The prototype of the name Χέναμυς, in I. Akôris 55, 1-2, which seems to be a different name, is unknown.

⁵⁵¹ In P. Baden IV 75 a, 3 and P. Baden IV 75 b, 4: μητρός Θεναμεννέως and μη(τρὸς) Θεναμεννέως; and PSI I 32, 26: Θεναμμενέως.

⁵⁵² In O. Theb. Gr. 58, 2: Σεναμενρώσι(ος). The term *rwš*, “to have care for”, appears in Coptic as ϣⲟⲟϣⲁ (Sahidic), ϣⲟⲟϣⲁ (Bohairic). Cf. VYICHL. W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 179; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 306-308.



⁵⁵³ In Stud. Pal. XX 2, 1: Λούκιος Σνανουβᾶς. The reading of this name is not sure because of the ink wear. Σνανουβᾶς seems a genitive by its position after Λούκιος, but the names in -ᾶς do not appear to form genitives in -ᾶς (cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* II, p. 16: “The gen. and dat. fluctuate between -ᾶ, -ᾷ and -ᾶτος, ᾶτι”); the interpretation of this name is therefore uncertain. Cf. also CHANTRAINE, P., *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, p. 32: “Nous ne connaissons guère ces noms qu’au nominatif, mais les grammairiens anciens enseignent qu’ils comportaient un génitif en -ᾶ. En ionien et dans la κοινή ils sont passés à la flexion en -δ- ou en -τ- et sous cette forme le suffixe s’est perpétué dans le grec moderne où il s’est énormément développé”.

⁵⁵⁴ In P. Lond. II p. 19-28 no. 257 Ro., col. 3, 107: μη(τρὸς) Θενανουβ(). On <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lond;2;257> this abbreviated name appears as Θενανουβ(ίωνος), but this reconstruction is not completely sure.

⁵⁵⁵ The reconstruction of this name is not completely sure. Cf. P. Princ. III 189, Ro. 1: Χε[να]νουβ(); and Vo. 2: Χενανουβ.

⁵⁵⁶ Presumably in P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 150: [Σ]ενανεμπέως. Cf. the name Ἄνεμπεύς as rendition of *Īnpw-iw*, “Anubis has come” (<http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=58>; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 69.

⁵⁵⁷ In O. Strasb. I 555, 12: μη(τρὸς) Σενιναρῶου(τος).

T3-šr.t-n-ihy	The daughter of	Σεναιῆς ⁵⁵⁸	1	13632
T3-šr.t-n-Is.t	The daughter of Isis	Σέννησις	72	1065
		Σένασις (?) ⁵⁵⁹	3	29638
T3-šr.t-n-İtm	The daughter of Atum	Θενάτυμις	50	1060
T3-šr.t-n-ʿ3-phṯ	The daughter of the Great of strength	Σεναπάθης	15	7981
*T3-šr.t-n-ʿnh	The daughter of live	Θίνωχίς (?) ⁵⁶⁰ , Σεναύγχις ⁵⁶¹	1 1	9575 + 26219
		Θεναγχιούς, Θεναγχιούς	2	34806
*T3-šr.t-n-Wp-w3.wt	The daughter of Upuaut	Σενόφωις ⁵⁶²	1	1079
*T3-šr.t-n-Wp-w3.wt-īw	The daughter of Upuaut has come	Σενοφιεύς ⁵⁶³	4	19566
T3-šr.t-(n)-Wn-nfr	The daughter of Onnophris	Σενόννωφρις	14	1078
T3-šr.t-n-wrše	The daughter of the guardian	Σένορσις	14	13635
T3-šr.t-n-Wrš-nfr	The daughter of the good guardian	Σενορσένουφις	24	7605
T3-šr.t-n-Wsir	The daughter of Osiris	Σενόσιρις ⁵⁶⁴	32	1080
T3-šr.t-(n)-Wsir-p3-hb	The daughter of Osiris the ibis	Σενοσόρφιβις	5	13637
*T3-šr.t-n-Wsir-Ḥp	The daughter of Osiris-Apis	Τσενσαραπίων ⁵⁶⁵	1	25653

⁵⁵⁸ In P. Lond. III 1164 h, 4: μητρὸς Σεναιῆτος. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1090-1091.

⁵⁵⁹ According to the attestations, it is not clear that *Σένασις is a female anthroponym. Cf. P. Ross. Georg. V 20 Ro. 3:

Σεγάσεως; PSI I 88, Vo. 3: τοῦ λάκκου Σενάσει ; P. Lond. V 1765, 7: ἐν περιχώματι Σένασι.

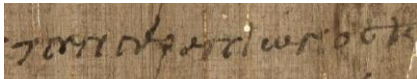
⁵⁶⁰ In BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. A col. 6, 72: Θίνωχίς. Cf. BGU XVI, p. 45: “cf. Σενῶχίς, Τενοῦχίς?”. The belonging of this name to the *T3-šr.t-n-* stem is not clear, since the text come from Herakleopolis and the rendition Θιν- is characteristic of the dialect of Elephantine.

⁵⁶¹ In BGU VII 1614, fr. C, 5: μη(τρὸς) Σεναύγχι(ος?).

⁵⁶² In P. Count. 6, 475: Σενοφωίς θυ(γάτηρ). Cf. P. Count., p. 220.

⁵⁶³ Cf. the name Ὀφιεύς as rendering of *Wp-w3.wt-īw* in TM Nam 565; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 115.

⁵⁶⁴ In addition, the name Τεσπόσιρις has been identified as a ghostname for Σενόσιρις; cf. HAGEDORN, D., “Bemerkungen zu einigen Wisconsin Papyri”, p. 144; BINGEN, J., “Remarques d’onomastique oxyrhynchite”, p. 190; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=457>.

⁵⁶⁵ In SB XVI 12331, 6: Τσενσαραπίωνος .

*T3-šr.t-n-b3- ¹ nh	The daughter of the living <i>ba</i>	Θινβίηγχις	3	16907
T3-šr.t-n-B3st.t	The daughter of Bastet	Θενόβαστις, Σενόβαστις	18	1077
T3-šr.t-n-Bs	The daughter of Bes	Σένβησις ⁵⁶⁶	19	13638
		Σενάβης ⁵⁶⁷	1	24267
*T3-šr.t-n-Bh	The daughter of Bouchis	Σένβουχις	5	13669
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-3b3	The daughter of the panther	Σενπέβως ⁵⁶⁸ ,	9	12071 + 23354
		Σενφάβως	24	
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-šswr	The daughter of the Syrian	Σενπέσουρις ⁵⁶⁹ ,	1	18865 + 29719
		Τιμπέσουρις ⁵⁷⁰	1	
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-škš	The daughter of the Kushite	Σενπέκυστις ⁵⁷¹	3	12072
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3y-wr	The daughter of this one of the great one	Σενπίγηρις ⁵⁷²	2	13661
*T3-šr.t-n-p3y-Ḥr	The daughter of this one of Horos	Σενπίυρις	2	18001
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3y-š(3)y	The daughter of this one of Shai	Σενπίσαις	4	13662
T3-šr.t-n-p3y-k3	The daughter of this one of the bull	Σενπίκως	26	12077
*T3-šr.t-n-p3- ¹ nh	The daughter of live/ the living	Σένπογχις, Σενπονχε(ούς) ⁵⁷³	2	19550
T3-šr.t-n-p3- ¹ l	The daughter of the shrewmouse	Σενπέλιλις	25	5718
T3-šr.t-n-p3- ¹ hm	The daughter of the eagle	Σενπάχουμις	86	12069
		Σενπαχου() ⁵⁷⁴ (abbreviated name)	1	33911

⁵⁶⁶ Three attestations included in TM Nam 13638 belong to the prototype *T3-šr.t-p3-Bs, with article. Cf. *infra*, the name *T3-šr.t-p3-Bs.

⁵⁶⁷ In P. Achmim 9, col. 3, 190: Σενάβητος.

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. the name Πέβως as rendering of P3-3b3, “The panther” (TM Nam 794). Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 154.

⁵⁶⁹ Presumably in O. Camb. 81, 6: μη(τρὸς) Σενπεσο(ύριος).

⁵⁷⁰ In P. Oxy. X 1296, Ro. 16: Τιμπέσουρ(ιν). No image is available for this attestation.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. the name Πέκυστις (< P3-škš) (TM Nam 797).

⁵⁷² In the bilingual texts in *Short Texts* II 631, Ro. 1: Σενπίγηρι Πιγηρί{το^ο}; and p. 471-472, n. 839, Vo. 2-3: Σενπιγήριος.

⁵⁷³ In SB I 3857, 1: Σένπογχις Πόγχητος; P. Lond. III 604, col. 1, 29: Σενπονχε(ούς).

⁵⁷⁴ In *CRIPPEL* V 1030, 1-2: Σενπαχου(). This name is possibly an abbreviation of T3-šr.t-n-p3-¹hm.

*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm- ʿ3	The daughter of the great eagle	Σενπαχομω ⁵⁷⁵ , Σενπαχόμω ⁵⁷⁶ , Σενπαχούμω ⁵⁷⁷	3	28191
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm- p3-ʿ3	The daughter of the eagle, the great one	Σενπαχόμω ⁵⁷⁸	1	23338
		Σενπάπως ⁵⁷⁹ (hypocoristic)	1	12059
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm- pa-Wn-nfr	The daughter of the eagle, the one of Onnophris	Τινπαχομπαόννοφρις ⁵⁸⁰	1	28176
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm- š3y	The daughter of the eagle of Shai	Σενπαχόμψαις,	11	19490 +
		Σενπαχόμψαις ⁵⁸¹	1	18124
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-wnšc	The daughter of the wolf	Σένφουνσις	10	12080
T3-šr.t-n-p3-wr	The daughter of the great one	Σενπόηρις	20	1086
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-wr- i3bt	The daughter of the great one of the East	Σενποριεύθης ⁵⁸²	5	23346
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-wrš	The daughter of the guardian	Σένπορσις ⁵⁸³	1	25908
T3-šr.t-n-Wrš-nfr	The daughter of the good guardian	Σεντορσένουφις ⁵⁸⁴ ,	24	7605 +
		Σενεργένουφις ⁵⁸⁵	1	17746
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-wʿb	The daughter of the priest	Σενπουηβε,	2	17989

⁵⁷⁵ In *CRIPEL* V 1049, 1-2, without morphological ending: Σενπαχομ{μ}ω.

⁵⁷⁶ In *CRIPEL* II 195, A 1-2: Σενπαχόμ{μ}ω.

⁵⁷⁷ In *CRIPEL* III 533, 1-2: Σενπαχούμω.

⁵⁷⁸ In P. Flor. III 329, col. 5, 40: Σενπαχόμω.

⁵⁷⁹ The identification of this name as a hypocoristic of *T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm-p3-ʿ3 has been possible thanks to the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 336 (A 2 and B 2), in which the name Πάπως (cf. TM Nam 22940) appears representing the Demotic name P3-ḥm-p3-ʿ3.

⁵⁸⁰ In O. Wilcken II 202, 8-9: μητρὸς Τινπαχομπαόννοφρις.

⁵⁸¹ In P. Flor. III 329, col. 5, 42: Σενπαχόμψαις. The name **Σενπαχόμψαις that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.flor;3;329> is erroneous and should be corrected.

⁵⁸² Cf. the name Ποριεύθης (< P3-wr-i3bt, “The great one of the East”) (TM Nam 939).

⁵⁸³ In *CRIPEL* II 84, A 1: Σενπόρσιος. Cf. the name P3-wrš and its Greek renderings (TM Nam 8175). In the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 789, A 2 and B 1, p3-wrši corresponds to Greek Πορούσιος.

⁵⁸⁴ In *CRIPEL* III 519, A 1: Σεντορσένουφις(ς), with a dot under the *tau*; and B1: Σεντορ(σένουφις) (reconstructed). The name Σεντορσένουφις is probably a ghostname for Σενγορσένουφις. The rendering of Egyptian *wau* by Greek *gamma* is usual in transcriptions. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 74-75. No image of the text is available, however, to check the reading.

⁵⁸⁵ In *CRIPEL* II 231, A 1: Σενεργένουφις. This name may be a ghostname for Σενερσένουφις, but no image is available to confirm the reading. The mummy label is bilingual, but the Demotic part is unpublished.

		Σενπούηβις ⁵⁸⁶		
*T3-šr.t-n-p3- Wsir-ns-mtr (?)	The daughter of Osiris, who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Σενπόρζμηθις (?) ⁵⁸⁷	2	18811
T3-šr.t-n-p3-byk	The daughter of the falcon	Σένπβηκις	22	12904
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-bw- ir-rh=f	The daughter of the one who is not known	Σενπέβριχις ⁵⁸⁸	1	18818
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-Bs	The daughter of Bes	Σένπβησις, Σένπβησις ⁵⁸⁹	3 1	13638
T3-šr.t-n-p3-m3y	The daughter of the lion	Σένφομις	4	1084
T3-šr.t-n-p3-mwt	The daughter of death	Σενεπμοῦς ⁵⁹⁰ , Σενεφομοῦς ⁵⁹¹ , Τσενέπμουτις ⁵⁹²	3	1063
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-mnh	The daughter of the excellent one	Σενπμενχις ⁵⁹³	1	34137
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-mr-ih	The daughter of the supervisor of cattle	Σενπέλαια	39	1083
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-mrš	The daughter of the red one	Σένπμερσις ⁵⁹⁴	1	18805
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-nfr- hr	The daughter of the one with beautiful face	Θενπεφέρως ⁵⁹⁵ , Θενπνεφόρως, Σενπνεφέρως,	3	12079

⁵⁸⁶ In *CRIPEL* IV 965, 1: Σενπούηβε; and *CRIPEL* IV 848, A 1: Σενπούηβις. Egyptian *w'ḥ*, “priest”, appears in Coptic as **ⲟϣⲏⲏⲃ**. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 230. Cf. also the representation of this element in the names *Hr-w'ḥ*, “Horos priest” (TM Nam 13373) and *T3-šr.t-n-Hr-w'ḥ, “The daughter of Horos priest” (TM Nam 30759), and in the name *P3-w'ḥ*, which appears in Greek as Πουήβιος in the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 678, A 1 and B 1.

⁵⁸⁷ In O. Bodl. II 816, 5: μ(η)τρὸς Σενπορζ(μήθιος); and O. Bodl. II 1064, 4: μ(η)τρὸς Σενπορζ(μήθιος).

⁵⁸⁸ In O. Amst. 74, 1: μ(η)τρὸς Σενπεβρίχιος(ς). Cf. the name Πέβριχις (< *P3-bw-ir-rh=f*, “The one who is not known”) (TM Nam 8180); LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 183.

⁵⁸⁹ Σένπβωσις has been identified as a ghostname for Σένπβησις. Cf. *BL* XI, p.3; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1273>. The name *P3-Bs* > Πβῆσις (TM Nam 4983), with article, is attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. P. Count. 19 [Greek], 5: Σενεπμοῦς.

⁵⁹¹ Cf. P. Count. 6, 45: Σενεφομοῦς. On the etymology of these names, cf. P. Count., p. 211 and 213.

⁵⁹² Cf. P. Count. 29, 38: Τσενέπμουτις. Cf. P. Count., p. 211: “A further variant may occur in 29.38, where we read Τσενέπμουτις”. The derivation of this name from *T3-šr.t-n-p3-mwt* is not completely sure.

⁵⁹³ Cf. O. Ashm. 65, 5-6: Σενπμενχι(ους).

⁵⁹⁴ In *CRIPEL* II 135, A 2, a bilingual mummy label with the Demotic part unpublished: μ(η)τρὸς Σενπμέρσιος.

⁵⁹⁵ In SB VIII 9642 (5), 2: Θενπεφέρωτος. No image of the text is currently available to check the reading; in this anthroponym there could be an error or it might be a ghostname for Θεννπεφέρωτος. The omission of a *nu* after the *pi* is also possible. Cf. also HUSSELMAN, E. M., *Donationes Mortis Causa from Tebtynis*, p. 146. On the other hand, the anthroponym Θενπνεφερ], in P. Oslo III 107, 1, is completely reconstructed and has not been taken into account here.


		Θενπνεφέρως	1	27079
T3-šr.t-n-p3-ntr	The daughter of the god	Σενπνούθης	50	23431
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-R'	The daughter of Ra	Σενπρῆς ⁵⁹⁶	1	19367
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-rmt- '3	The daughter of the great man	Σενπρόμπως ⁵⁹⁷	1	23347
T3-šr.t-n-p3-lyn	The daughter of the smith	Σένπληνις	19	5972
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-llw	The daughter of the young man	Σενπλελοῦς ⁵⁹⁸	1	18523
T3-šr.t(n)-p3-hb	The daughter of the ibis	Σένφιβις	12	13641
T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥf	The daughter of the snake	Σεφα ⁵⁹⁹ , Σενφωφω() ⁶⁰⁰	1 1	38619
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm-ntr-Is.t	The daughter of the prophet priest of Isis	Θενφέμνασις ⁶⁰¹	1	37620
T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥsy	The daughter of the blessed one	Σενφασιῆς ⁶⁰²	8	13642
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥtr	The daughter of the twin	Θενφατρῆς, Σενφατρῆς, Τσενφατρῆς, Θενπαθρῆς, Σενψαθρῆς ⁶⁰³	7 19 2 1 1	18699 + 18712 + 19358 + 19359 + 24848
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm	The daughter of the young one	Θενάψημις ⁶⁰⁴	2	16887

⁵⁹⁶ In CPR XVII.2 13, 8: μητρὸς Σενπρείους.

⁵⁹⁷ In P. Flor. III 329, col. 2, 8: Σενπρόμπως.

⁵⁹⁸ In O. Bodl. II 2394, 2: Σενπλελοῦς.

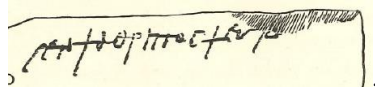
⁵⁹⁹ The name Σεφα appears as rendering of *T3-šr.t-p3-ḥf* in the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 336, A 1 and B1. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 45: “Σεφᾶ (...) represents an abbreviation of the woman’s name *T3-šr.t-p3-ḥf* ~ Σε(ν)φᾶ(φίς)”.

⁶⁰⁰ In O. Lund 8, 8: Σενφωφω() . Cf. P. Lund, p. 48: “Der Schreiber muss aus Versehen zweimal φω geschrieben haben. Man könnte an den Namen Ψενφῶφίς hier denken”.

⁶⁰¹ In P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 21, 26: Θενφέμνασιν. Cf. the name Φέμνασις (TM Nam 901). Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 783.

⁶⁰² In TM Nam 13642, seven transcriptions of *T3-šr.t-n-ḥsy* > Σενφασιῆς, without article, have been included. Cf. *infra*, the name *T3-šr.t-n-ḥsy*.

⁶⁰³ In SB I 818, 1: Σενψαθρῆτος. It is probably an error or a ghostname for Σενφαθρῆτος, but no image of the text is available. The facsimile in MILNE, J. G., *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 98, does not seem to be really helpful:



⁶⁰⁴ In P. Mich. V 294, 1: Θενάψημις , and also in l. 9.

*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥt	The daughter of the one of the chet demons/the chet demon	Σενπεχύτης ⁶⁰⁵ , Σεμπχοιτι ⁶⁰⁶	1 1	23344 + 38597
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-syf	The daughter of the snake	Θένψοφης	4	21898
T3-šr.t-n-p3-sn-sn.w	The daughter of the two brothers	Σενψάνσωνος	112	12096
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-Š(3)y	The daughter of Shai	Σένψαις	97	12104
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Imn	The daughter of the son of Amun	Σενψενάμουνης	9	12100
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-İnpw	The daughter of the son of Anubis	Σενψενένουπις	1	24755
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Is.t	The daughter of the son of Isis	Σενψέννησις	7	13644
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Wsir	The daughter of the son of Osiris	Σενψενόσιρις, Σενψένοσιρις ⁶⁰⁷	20 1	13645
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-p3-nb=f	The daughter of the son of his master	Σενψένπνηβις	3	18205
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-šr-(n)-{t3-šr.t}-Mnh	The daughter of the son of the excellent one	Σενψενμεγχής	1	32114
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Mnt	The daughter of the son of Montu	Σενψενμώνθης	16	12102
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Ḥr-wd3	The daughter of the son of the healthy Horos	Σενψεναρώτης	1	23357
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Ḥnsw	The daughter of the son of Khonsu	Σενψένχωσις	3	18206
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Ḥnm	The daughter of the son of Khnum	Θινψένχνουβις	3	25535
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Š3y	The daughter of the son of Shai	Σενψηρένψαις	1	38621
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-t3-whr.t	The daughter of the son of the female dog	Σενψεντουόριος	2	13672
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-t3-byk.t	The daughter of the son of the falcon	Σενψέντβαικις	4	13647
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-(n)-t3-ms(y)-‘3.t	The daughter of the son of the Great of births	Σενψενθμεσίως	3	13673
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-šr-(n)-t3-Rpy.t	The daughter of the son of Tryphis	Σενψεντάτριφίς	4	17703
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-(n)-t3-ḥf.t	The daughter of the son of the snake	Σενψέντφως	2	13675

⁶⁰⁵ In O. Theb. Gr. 137, 6: Σενπεχύτης.

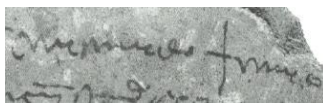
⁶⁰⁶ In SB III 7267, Ro. 1: Σεμπχοιτι.

⁶⁰⁷ The name Σενψένουπις has been identified as a ghostname for Σενψενόσιρις; Cf. BINGEN, J., “Mummy Labels and Ghost-Names”, p. 36; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=390>.

*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-t3-špšy.t	The daughter of the son of the noble one	Σενψένσεψις ⁶⁰⁸	1	34126
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-(n)-ta-p3-Š(3)y(t)	The daughter of the son of the one of Shai	Σενψεντάψαις, Σενψοντάψαις	2 1	13676 + 24313
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-šr-(n)-ta-Mn	The daughter of the son of the one of Min	Σενφενθάμινις, Σενψενθάμινις	2	28245
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-ta-mtr	The daughter of the son of the one of the sacred emblem of Khnum	Σενψεντάμητις	1	39407
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Tb3	The daughter of the son of Apollonopolis	Σενψονδβε	1	25997
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Dḥwty	The daughter of the son of Thoth	Σενψενθώτης	1	12101
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-gyl	The daughter of the little one	Σένγκυλις	4	18202
T3-šr-(n)-p3-gm	The daughter of the gm bull	Σένγκαιμις ⁶⁰⁹	7	13678
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-twtw	The daughter of the statue	Σένπτουθος ⁶¹⁰	1	12082
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-dī=w	The daughter of He who has been given by them	Θινπατῆς ⁶¹¹	1	26796
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-dī-...	<i>Incomplete and abbreviated names</i>	Σενπετε...	6	30323
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-dī-3b3	The daughter of the one who has been given by the panther	Σενπετεάβως ⁶¹²	1	24488

⁶⁰⁸ In *CRIPPEL* III 508, A 3: Σενψενσέψιος. The name Σενψενένψιος that appears in the Trismegistos database and at [http://papyri.info/ddbdp/t.mom.louvre](http://papyri.info/ddbdp/t.mom.louvre;); 508 is erroneous and should be corrected. In the same text (A 1) Ψενσέψιος appears as rendering of *T3-špšy.t*, “The noble one” (cf. TM Nam 13628). This mummy label is bilingual, but the Demotic part is unfortunately unpublished. Cf. also VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 268.

⁶⁰⁹ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 837, A 3: *T3-šr-p3-gm3.t*; and B 2: Σενγκαίμιος.



⁶¹⁰ In O. Heid. 169, 1: Σένπτουθο(ς) Ψενπτουθ(ο)ς. Cf. O. Heid., p. 160: “Der Name Σενπτουθός, der auch hier nicht zweifelsfrei gelesen ist, war bislang unbezeugt, doch vergleiche man den häufigen männlichen Namen Ψενπτουθός bzw. Ψενπτουθής oder Ψενπτουθ(ο)ς, der auch hier als Lesung für den Vatersnamen vorgeschlagen wird, in unserem Archiv um Petemarsnuphis (s. oben S. 36) und immerhin Σενπτουθής in SB I 5624,1”.

⁶¹¹ In O. Wilcken II 95, 4: μη(τρὸς) Θινπατῆτος. Cf. the name Πατῆς (< *Pa-tw*) (TM Nam 772); LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 459, and possibly p. 562.

⁶¹² In O. Strasb. I 504, 5: Σενπετεάβωτο(ς).

*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- İmn	The daughter of He who has been given by Amun	Τσενπετέμουνις ⁶¹³	1	18003
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- İmn-İp.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Amun in Apis	Σενπετεμένωφισ	18	12073
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- İnpw	The daughter of He who has been given by Anubis	Σενπετεάνουπις ⁶¹⁴	1	28262
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-İry- ḥms-nfr	The daughter of He who has been given by Arsenuphis	Θινπατράνσνουφισ	4	13650
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-İs.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Isis	Σενπέτησις	12	13679
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- ‘nq.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Anukis	Σενπατάνουκις ⁶¹⁵	2	18064
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- wr.(t) (?)	The daughter of He who has been given by the great one (?)	Σενπάτουρις ⁶¹⁶	1	28280
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Wsir	The daughter of He who has been given by Osiris	Σενπετόσιρις	16	12662
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Wsir-ns-mtr	The daughter of He who has been given by Osiris, who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Θινπετόρζμηθις	18	18168
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- byk	The daughter of He who has been given by the falcon	Σενπετέβηκις ⁶¹⁷	1	28248
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- p3-wr	The daughter of He who has been given by the great one	Θινπετεπούηρις ⁶¹⁸	1	28167
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- m3y-ḥnt	The daughter of He who has been	Σενπετεμιχόντης, Σενπετεμιχώντης, Χενπετεμιχώντης ⁶¹⁹	3	30815

⁶¹³ In P. Ant. III 199, col. 2, 2: Τσενπετέμουνις.

⁶¹⁴ In the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 591, A 3 and B 2-3.

⁶¹⁵ In O. Wilcken II 160, 3: μητ(ρ)ος Σενπατάνουκις; and O. Cairo 94, 3-4: μητ(ρ)ος Σενπατάνουκις. Cf. the name Ἄνουκις (TM Nam 27127) as rendering of *‘nq.t.


⁶¹⁶ In *CRIPEL* V 1125, 3-4: Σενπατούριος. The Egyptian prototype of this name could also be *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Hr*, “The daughter of He who has been given by Horos”.

⁶¹⁷ In SB I 4218, 2-3: μητ(ρ)ος Σενπετεβήκιος.

⁶¹⁸ In O. Wilcken II 254, 3-4: μητ(ρ)ος Θι[ν]πετεπούηρις.

⁶¹⁹ In I. Akôris 54, 1-2: Σενπετεμιχώντης; I. Akôris 105, 1-2: Χενπετεμιχώντης; I. Akôris 135, 1-3: Σενπετεμιχόντης. Cf. BINGEN, J., “Pages d’épigraphie grecque. II”, p. 104.

	given by the lion that is in front			
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- m/n-p3-ḥm (?)	The daughter of He who has been given by the young one (?)	Σενπετέμπτυχμις ⁶²⁰ , Σενπετέμπτυχμις ⁶²¹	1 1	23341 + 35980
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Mn	The daughter of He who has been given by Min	Σενπετέμινις	48	19427
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Mn-p3-t3	The daughter of He who has been given by Min of the land	Σενπετεμπέτως ⁶²²	1	28439
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-mn- t3 (?)	The daughter of He who has been given by ... (meaning uncertain)	Σενπετβέτως ⁶²³	1	13694
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Mnḫ	The daughter of He who has been given by Montu	Σενπετεμώνθης ⁶²⁴	1	28767
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- nfr	The daughter of He who has been given by the good one	Τσινπετένουφισ ⁶²⁵	1	28250
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-di- Rnn.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Thermuthis	Θενπετέρμουθις, Σενπετερμούθης	19	13681

⁶²⁰ In *Short Texts* II 486, B 3: Σενπετεμ<π>χήμιος , from a Demotic

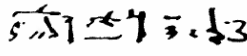
prototype read as *T3-šr.t-p3-di-m-p3-ḥm.t* (?), with quotation mark (cf. *ibidem*, p. 155: “The odd ‘euphonic’ *m* is to be marked as doubtful”); and in p. 156, n. 487, 3: Σενπετεμπτυχμιος, from a Demotic

name *T3-šr.t-p3-di-n-p3-ḥm.t* (?), also with quotation mark. The *n* after the element *-p3-di-* in Egyptian is indeed doubtful.

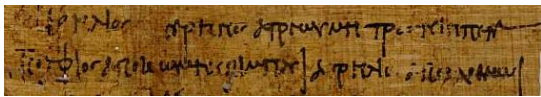
⁶²¹ In *Short Texts* II 486, B 3: Σενπετεμ<π>χήμιος.

⁶²² In *CRIPEL* III 610, A 1-2: Σενπετεμπέτωτος. This mummy label is bilingual, but the Demotic part is unpublished.

⁶²³ In *CRIPEL* III 427, A 2-3: μητρὸς Σενπετβέτωτος. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1134, who considers the

Demotic name in T. BM Arlt 114, a 4: *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-mn-t3*  as the prototype of the anthroponym in Greek transcription. This equivalence is, however, uncertain.

⁶²⁴ In O. Wilcken II 1041, 1: Σενπετεμών(θου).

⁶²⁵ In P. Köln Gr. I 55, Ro. 1-2: μητρὸς Τσινπετενούφιος .

		Τσενπατερμουθία ⁶²⁶	1	24916
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos	Σενπετέυρις ⁶²⁷	1	13682
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-di-Ḥr-i(w)n-mw.t=f(.t)	The daughter of he who has been given by Horos, the pillar of his mother	Σενπετεαρμούθης ⁶²⁸	1	23339
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr-wr	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos the great	Σενπετεαρούηρις	3	23340
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr-p3-ḥrd	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos the child	Σενπετεαρποχράτης ⁶²⁹	1	26490
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr-Mnt	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos-Montu	Σενπετεάρμωνθις ⁶³⁰	1	35978
T3-šr.t-p3-di-Ḥr-Sm3-t3.wy	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos, who unites both lands	Σενπετεσθεύς ⁶³¹	10	13652
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-di-Ḥnsw	The daughter of He who has been given by Khonsu	Σενπετέχωνσις	25	5719
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-di-Ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd	The daughter of He who has been given by Khonsu the child	Σενπετεχεσποχράτης	3	13654

⁶²⁶ The attestation in P. Cairo Masp. I 67093, 3: Τσενπατ[ερμ]ο(υ)θία[ς] is partially reconstructed and consequently is not completely sure.

⁶²⁷ In the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 777, A 2: T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr; and B 1: Σενπέτευρις.

⁶²⁸ Cf. the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 531, A 1: T3-šr.t-p3-di-Ḥr-i(w)n-mw.t=f.t; and B 1: Σενπετεαρμούθης.

⁶²⁹ Presumably in O. Bodl. II 1200, 3: Σεπτεεαρπ(οχράτου).

⁶³⁰ In P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 122: Σενπετεαρμώνθ(ιος). Cf. the name Ἀρμώνθης/Ἀρμωνθις (< Ḥr-Mnt, “Horos-Montu”), attested both in Demotic and Greek transcription. Cf. TM Nam 276; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 818.


⁶³¹ Only attested in O. Edfou I (168, 1; 169, 1; 170, 1; 171, 1; 172, 1; 173, 1; 174, 1; 175, 1; 176, 1; 177, 1). In all the attestations the name appears abbreviated; the most complete version is in 170, 1: Σενπετεσθ(εύς) Ἀχιλλᾶτο(ς)

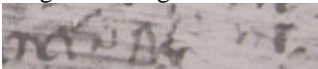



and 173, 1: Σενπετεσθ(εύς) Ἀχιλλᾶτο(ς). The reconstruction of the last part of the name is doubtful. In the Trismegistos database (TM Nam 13652), this Greek renderings are considered as the equivalent to Demotic T3-šr.t-p3-di-Ḥr-Sm3-t3.wy, “The daughter of He who has been given by Horos, the uniter of both lands”, attested in the Demotic text in *Short Texts* II 400, 1-2. However, this equivalence does not seem to be correct, because the name Ḥr-Sm3-t3.wy, “Horos, the uniter of both lands”, is mostly rendered as Ἀρσεμθεύς into Greek (cf. TM Nam 301). The element Sm3-t3.wy, mostly transcribed as Σεμθεύς (cf. nam_id 1044), does not seem to be represented in these anthroponyms neither. Cf. also the name Πετεσθεύς (TM Nam 19577), mainly attested in Edfu and Elephantine. These names could be characteristic of these regions.

*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Hnm	The daughter of He who has been given by Khnum	Σενπετέχνουμις	2	23342
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Sbk	The daughter of He who has been given by Sobek	Θενπέτσουκις	16	9501
		Θενπετέσουχος, Χεμπετέσουχος, Χενπετέσουχος ⁶³²	9 2	26970 + 30816
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-İnpw	The daughter of the one of Anubis	Σενπάνουπις	1	28163
T3-šr.t-(n)-pa-İry	The daughter of the one of the companion	Σενφάρηρις	20	12091
*T3-šr.t-n-pa- İmn	The daughter of the one of Amun	Σενπαμουν, Τσενπαμουν ⁶³³	2	33965
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-İtm	The daughter of the one of Atum	Χεπατωμε	1	34800
*T3-šr.t-n-pa- [‘] w	The daughter of the one of the great one	Σενπαούς, Σενπάως	2	12056
*T3-šr.t-n-pa- ‘nh(.t)	The daughter of the one of the living	Σενπαανχη[⁶³⁴	1	12051
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Hnb	The daughter of the one of Hembes	Σένπαμβις	1	23333
T3-šr.t-(n)-pa-wrše	The daughter of the one of the ouresh demons	Σενπανγόρσανις	1	13658
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Wsir	The daughter of the one of Osiris	Τσενπαούσιρις	1	18791
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-byk	The daughter of the one of the falcon	Σενπάβηκις	1	18798
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-p3- r3-mh̥t	The daughter of the one of the northern gate	Σενπαπρέμειθος, Σενπαπρεμίθης	6	12058
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-m3y	The daughter of the one of the lion	Σενπαμιῆς	1	24778
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Mw.t	The son of the one of Mut	Σενπέμουτις	1	24634
T3-šr-(n)-pa-Mn	The daughter of the one of Min	Σενφάμινις	12	19410

⁶³² Both variants, with *mu* and *nu*, are attested in I. Akôris 107, 1-2: Χενπετεσουῶχος; and 4-5: μητρὸς Χεμπε<τέ>σουχου. The reading in both cases is correct (cf. the plate 50 in I. Akôris).

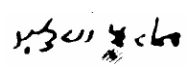
⁶³³ The reconstruction of a nominative -ούς as it appears in the Trismegistos database is erroneous, since those names do not seem to have a Greek morphological ending. Cf. SB XIV 11381, col. 2, 21: Σενπαμουν 

; P. Kellis 1 12, 6: Τσενπαμουν .

⁶³⁴ Cf. O. Heid. 190, 2, where the name Σενπαλαχή[μιος of the previous edition has been corrected to Σενπαανχή[σιος] .

T3-šr.t-n-pa-Mnṯ	The daughter of the one of Montu	Σενπάμωνθης	44	12053
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-n3-nṯr.w	The daughter of the one of the gods	Σενπανινουθ	1	35378
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-n3-ḥt.w	The daughter of the one of the chet demons	Σενπανεχάτης	4	12055
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-n3-sn.w	The daughter of the one of the brothers	Σενпанесνεύς	4	12054
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-n3-ḏb3.w	The daughter of the one of the avenging demons	Σενπαντβωοῦς ⁶³⁵	1	36992
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-ns-mtr	The daughter of the one who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Σενπάζμηθις	1	18088
T3-šr.t-n-pa-ḥy	The daughter of the one of the light	Σένπαις, Σένφαις, Σήψαις	3	1082
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Ḥnsw	The daughter of the one of Khonsu	Σενπάχωνσις	1	18830
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Ḥnm	The daughter of the one of Khnum	Θινπάχνουμις, Σενπάχνουμις	24	12067
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Sy	The daughter of the one of Osiris	Σένπαισις	6	23332
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-swn.t	The daughter of the one of the feast	Θινπάσηνις, Θινβάσηνις	1 1	16912 + 27114
T3-šr.t-n-pa-sh(?)	The daughter of the one of... (<i>uncertain meaning</i>)	Σένψαχις ⁶³⁶	1	28184
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-t3-s.t-ʿ3.t	The daughter of The one of the great place	Τσενπατσεοῦς ⁶³⁷	1	18461
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Šw	The daughter of the one of Shu	Θενπάσως, Θενφάσως	2 1	21888 + 21895
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Gbk	The daughter of the one of Geb	Θενπάκηβικις	7	16882
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-t3	The daughter of the one of the land	Σινπάθως, Σενπάτως	1 1	24509 + 36046
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-t3.wy	The daughter of the one of both lands	Σενπατοῦς	2	18389

⁶³⁵ In SB I 836, 3: Σενπαντβωοῦτος.

⁶³⁶ Cf. the bilingual text in *Short Texts* II 499, A 1 and B 1-2, in which  T3-šr.t-n-pa-sh(?), with quotation mark, appears as the Demotic equivalent of Σένψαχις. In LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1315, the transliteration T3-šr.t-pa-wsh(?) is given, also with quotation mark.

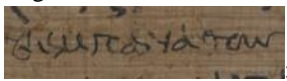
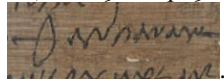
⁶³⁷ In O. Leiden Gr. 342, 2: Τσενπατσεοῦς(ς)



Cf. the name Pa-t3-s.t-ʿ3.t and its Greek


*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Tn	The daughter of the one of Tynis	Θενπάτυνις	2	21889
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Dwn	The daughter of the one of Thonis	Θιννπάθωνις	1	16909
T3-šr.t-(n)-pa-Dm3	The daughter of the one of Djeme	Σενπάσημις	7	12061
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Dḥwtj	The daughter of the one of Thoth	Σενπαθώτης	2	12050
T3-šr.t-(n)-pn3.t	The daughter of ... (<i>meaning uncertain</i>)	Θεμπανάτη, Θεμπανάτη ⁶³⁸	2	13665
*T3-šr.t-n-ftw ...	The daughter of the four ... (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	Σενφθουμ() ⁶³⁹	1	30321
*T3-šr.t-n-ftw-Mn	The daughter of the four Mins	Σενφθούμινις	3	17724
T3-šr.t-(n)-ftw-Mnt	The daughter of the four Montus	Σενφθομώνθης	24	12092
T3-šr.t-n-ftw-sn.w	The daughter of the four brothers	Σενφθονσενεύς ⁶⁴⁰	3	13683
*T3-šr.t-n-m3y	The daughter of the lion	Σένμοις	2	18031
*T3-šr.t-n-m3y-ḥs	The daughter of the fierce looking lion	Θενμιεύς	3	18618
*T3-šr.t-n-M3'.t-R'	The daughter of Marres	Θενμαρρής	2	21886
*T3-šr.t-n-M3'.t-R'-s3-Sbk	The daughter of Marres, son of Sobek	Θενμαρσίσουχος	11	25102
T3-šr.t-n-Mw.t	The daughter of Mut	Σενμούθης, Σενμύθης ⁶⁴¹	50 2	1076 + 23325
		Σένμωθις ⁶⁴²	1	24690

⁶³⁸ Cf. the bilingual text PSI VIII 909, Demotic part (appendix), 2: T3-šr.t-pn3.t ; Greek part, 1;

Θεμπανάτης ; and 17: Θεμπανάτης . Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1111, who does not propose a translation. According to the determinative, it seems to be a foreign name. The name Πανᾶς is attested in *LGPV* V.B, from Cyrene, but it seems to be actually Egyptian. Cf. the name Πανᾶς < Pa-n3 (TM Nam 725).

⁶³⁹ In O. Strasb. I 529, 4: μη(τρὸς) Σενφθουμ().

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 755, A 3 and B 2.

⁶⁴¹ In O. Wilcken II 494, 1: Σενμύθης; and O. Wilcken II 1300, 6: Σενμύθ(ης) .

⁶⁴² In P. Reinach Gr. II 140, 5: Σενμώθ(ις). Cf. also the male Ψενμώθου in P. Reinach Gr. II 132, 2, presumably as rendering of P3-šr.t-n-Mw.t, “The son of Mut” (TM Nam 982). On the interchange of υ and ου and ου and ω in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and the Byzantine Periods* I, p. 214-215; 208-211.

		Σενεμουτ ⁶⁴³	1	33939
T3-šr.t-n-Mn	The daughter of Min	Σένμινις, Σίμμινις ⁶⁴⁴	33 1	1074 + 34236
T3-šr.t-n-mnh	The daughter of the excellent one	Σενμενχῆς	18	1073
T3-šr.t-n-Mnt	The daughter of Montu	Σέμμωνθις	21	1075
*T3-šr.t-n-mrš	The daughter of the red one	Σένμερσις	3	18863
*T3-šr.t-n-Ms-wr	The daughter of Great of births	Θενμεσόηρις	8	24645
*T3-šr.t-n-n3y=w- hmnw.iw	The daughter of the Ogdoad	Σεναχομνεύς ⁶⁴⁵	1	26528
*T3-šr.t-n-n3- byk.w	The daughter of the falcons	Σενένβηκις ⁶⁴⁶	1	23318
*T3-šr.t-n-n3- m3y.w	The daughter of the lions	Σενεμγεύς ⁶⁴⁷	1	26525
T3-šr.t-n-n3-ntr.w	The daughter of the gods	Σενέντηρις	13	13684
*T3-šr.t-n-n3-ht.w	The daughter of the <i>chet</i> demons	Σενέχατις ⁶⁴⁸ , Σιννεχώτης ⁶⁴⁹	1 1	23322 + 29930
*T3-šr.t-n-n3-sn.w	The daughter of the brothers	Σενεσνεύς	3	18620
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ni.t	The daughter of Neith	Σενίθης	7	28759
*T3-šr.t-n-Nb.t- hw.t	The daughter of Nephthys	Σενέβθως, Σέννεβθις, Σεννόβθως ⁶⁵⁰	4 1	24715 + 30819
*T3-šr.t-n-nfr	The daughter of the good one	Σενούφιος	21	12049

⁶⁴³ In SB I 1727, 4: Σενεμουτ.

⁶⁴⁴ In UPZ I 96, col. 2, 44: Σίμμινι. Cf. the transcriptional variant Σέμμινις in TM Nam 1074.

⁶⁴⁵ In O. Bodl. II 1954, 1: Σεναχομνέως Σαχομνέως. Cf. the name Σαχομνεύς (< *Ns-n3-hmny.w*, “He/She belongs to the Ogdoad”) (TM Nam 186; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 680-682).

⁶⁴⁶ In O. Edfou III 428, 8: Σενενβήκι(ος).

⁶⁴⁷ In SB X 10225, 2: Σενεμγέ[ως].

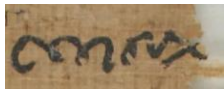
⁶⁴⁸ In O. Bodl. I 307, 5: Σενεχάτιος, from Thebes.

⁶⁴⁹ In P. Oxy. XIV 1686, Ro. 3: μητρός Σιννεχώτου, from Oxyrhynchus. The belonging of the names Σενέχατις and Σιννεχώτης to the prototype **T3-šr.t-n-n3-ht.w* seems to be confirmed by the dialectal variants: in the attestation from Thebes, the vocalization is represented with α – the same as in Šzy, “Shai”; and *sn*, “brother” –, and in the one from Oxyrhynchus, with ω. Cf. TILL, W., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 8: α is characteristic of Fayumic, Achmimic and Sub-Achmimic, and o/ω of Sahidic and Bohairic. Cf. also QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 245-261.

⁶⁵⁰ In SB VI 9601 (7), col. 7, 3-4: Σεννόβθως.


T3-šr.t-(n)-nfr-ḥr	The daughter of the one with beautiful face	Σεννεφέρω	12	23326
T3-šr.t-(n)-nfr-ḥtp	The daughter of The good one is satisfied	Σενεφώτης	3	13696
*T3-šr.t-n-Nḥs	The daughter of the Ethiopian	Χεννᾶς ⁶⁵¹	2	12890
T3-šr-(n)-nḥt-nb=f	The daughter of His master is strong	Σενέχηβις ⁶⁵² , Σενέχνηβις ⁶⁵³ , Σεννέχθηφίς ⁶⁵⁴ , Σιννεχθένιβις	4	13698
T3-šr.t-n-nsw-t3.wy	The daughter of the king of the two lands	Σενσοντωοῦς	18	19541
T3-šr.t-n-ns-Mn	The daughter of He/She who belongs to Min	Σενέσμινις	9	17893
T3-šr.t-n-ns-mtr	The daughter of He who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Θίνζμηθις	18	9568
*T3-šr.t-n-Ns-mtr-p3- 3	The daughter of He who belongs to the great emblem of Khnum	Θιζμέμπως, Θινζμέντπως	7	9567
*T3-šr.t-n-nḥt-Wsir	The daughter of Osiris is strong	Τσεννεχθόσιρις ⁶⁵⁵	1	23611
*T3-šr.t-n-nṯr	The daughter of god	[Τσεν]ουθ() ⁶⁵⁶	1	28079
		ΤΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ, ΤΩΜΝΟΥΤΕ ⁶⁵⁷	6	1085
*T3-šr.t-n-R	The daughter of Ra	Σενρης ⁶⁵⁸	1	23348


⁶⁵¹ Cf. for example the name Πνᾶς (> *P3-Nḥs*, “The Ethiopian”) (TM Nam 930).

⁶⁵² Presumably in P. Erl. 102 Ro. 4: Σενέχ[ηβις (?)] .

⁶⁵³ In the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 445, n. 815, A 2: *T3-šr-nḥt-nb=f*; and B 1: Σενέχνηβις.

⁶⁵⁴ In *CRIPEL* III 630, A 2: Σεννεχθνήφιος.

⁶⁵⁵ Presumably in P. Pher. col. 2, 10: μητ(ρος) Τσ(εν)νεχθόσι[ριος] .

⁶⁵⁶ Presumably in P. Ross. Georg. IV 24, 25: [Τσεν]ουθ() .

⁶⁵⁷ In TM Nam 1085 some female names are included, as the feminine article at the beginning of the name shows.

⁶⁵⁸ In O. Strasb. I 560, 2: Σενρης.

*T3-šr.t-n-rmt	The daughter of the man	Σενρωμε ⁶⁵⁹	1	26072
*T3-šr.t-n-llw	The daughter of the young one	Σενλελοῦς ⁶⁶⁰	1	18925
T3-šr.t-n-Hry=w	The daughter of They are happy	Σενεριεύς	17	1070
*T3-šr.t-n-hry-p3-m3y (?)	The daughter of The lion is satisfied (?)	Σενεριόφοις (?) ⁶⁶¹	1	36045
T3-šr.t-n-ḥsy	The daughter of the blessed one	Σενασιῆς	7	13642
*T3-šr.t-n-hkr	The daughter of the man of Arabia	Σενάκωρις ⁶⁶²	1	18074
*T3-šr.t-n-H'py	The daughter of Hapy	Σένωπις	4	5727
T3-šr.t-n-Hw.t-Hr	The daughter of Hathor	Σενάθυρις	4	1069
T3-šr.t-n-Hp	The daughter of Apis	Σέναπις ⁶⁶³ , Τενάπεις ⁶⁶⁴	1 2	1058 + 13795
T3-šr.t-n-Hr	The daughter of Horos	Σένυρις	124	1071
		Σίνυρις ⁶⁶⁵	1	12169
		Τίνυρις	1	27110
		Σένουρις	1	28251
		Σένωρος	2	12106


⁶⁵⁹ In O. Bodl. II 2146, 8: Σενρωμε.


⁶⁶⁰ In O. Wilcken II 1294, 5: μη(τρός) Σενλελ(οῦτος). The name is badly visible on the ostrakon because of the ink wear.

⁶⁶¹ In O. Bodl. II 1474, 6-7: Σεν[ε]ριόφοι(τος).

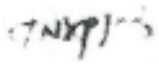
⁶⁶² In P. Flor. III 329, col. 2, 14: Σενάκωρις.

⁶⁶³ In P. Count. 26, 344: Σέναπις.

⁶⁶⁴ Presumably in SB XVIII 13362, 4: μη(τρός) Τ[ε]νάπειτο(ς) ; and SB XVIII 13363, 4:

Τενάπειτος .

⁶⁶⁵ We do not agree with MASSON, O., “Notes d’anthroponymie grecque et asianique”, p. 166 = *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* I, p. 26: “On pourrait citer d’autres noms de l’Égypte grecque qui évoquent des noms cariens. Le nom Σινυρις est identique au nom du dieu carien Σινυρι(ς) dont un sanctuaire a été découvert en 1935. Les noms Αρσηνις et Αρσησις sont proches du nom carien Αρσηλις, connu par Plutarque, Quest. gr. 45; de même Αρτυσις et Αρτωσις qui font penser au carien Αρτυασσις ou Αρθυασσις”. The name Σινύριος of the Trismegistos database is not attested in a document from Asia, but in SB XX 14710, col. 2, 12, from Hermopolis: Σινύριος. The reading of the name is correct: cf. VAN MINNEN, P., “Einer

Steuerliste aus Hermupolis. Neuedition von SPP XX 40 + 48”, p. 123 and plate 12: . Even though the complete Egyptian prototype of the name Ἀρσηνις is unknown, Ἀρσησις is probably the rendering of *Hr-s3-Is.t*, “Horos, son of Isis” (cf. TM Nam 298); and Ἀρτυσις/Ἀρτωσις are the transcriptions of **Hr-tš*, “Horos-Mars” or “Horos the red”. Cf. WINNICKI, J. K., “Hartysis und Ares (planet Mars) als Personennamen im griechisch-römischen Ägypten”, p. 321-325.

		Θίνηρις, Σένερις, Σένηρις	3	24691
		Σέναρις	2	18172
		Τσενυρία	2	24915
		Σένευρος	1	26171
		Χενάρης	3	2616
		Σενωρίων Σενωρείων	2 1	12105 27047
T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-iw.t	The daughter of Horos has come	Σεναργεύς ⁶⁶⁶ , Σενάργηις	1 1	17988 + 13688
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-w‘b	The daughter of Horos the priest	Σεναρούηβις ⁶⁶⁷	1	30759
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-wr	The daughter of the great Horos	Σεναρόηρις	3	12020
T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-wd3	The daughter of the healthy Horos	Σενάρυωτις	97	1068
		Σενάρυως	1	12023
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-Bḥ	The daughter of Horos-Bouchis	Σενάρβουχις	1	18862
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-(p3)- byk	The daughter of Horos the falcon	Σενάρβηχις	4	1066
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-p3- R‘	The daughter of Horos-Ra	Σεναρπρής, Σεχαρπρής	2	13801
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-(p3)- t3	The daughter of Horos of the land	Σενάρπτως	4	24472
T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-pa-Is.t	The daughter of Horos, the one of Isis	Σεναρπάησις, Σεαρπάησις	8	13802 + 30108
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr- m3y-ḥs	The daughter of Horos, the fierce looking lion	Σεναρμίνσις	9	13804
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-m3‘- ḥrw	The daughter of Horos is true of voice	Σενερμάχωρος ⁶⁶⁸	1	29458
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-my- Tb3	The daughter of Horos, who is in Apollonopolis	Σεναρμάτβως	1	23313
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-m- ḥb	The daughter of Horos is in feast	Σενάρμαις	4	13803

⁶⁶⁶ In *CRIPEL* IV 984, 3: Σεναργεύτος.

⁶⁶⁷ In *CRIPEL* III 685, A 2-3: Σεναρούήβιος. Cf. the name *Ḥr-w‘b* > Ἀρούηβις (TM Nam 13373).

⁶⁶⁸ In *CRIPEL* III 564, A 1: Σενερμαχώρου. Cf. also the name *Ḥr-m3‘-ḥrw* > Ἀρμάχωρος/Ερμάχωρος (TM Nam 269).

T3-šr-(n)-Hr-mh=f	The daughter of Horos, the pillar of his mother	Σεναρέμηφης	17	13690
*T3-šr.t-n-Hr-nb-Shm	The daughter of Horos, lord of Letopolis	Σεναρβέσχινις	1	18164
*T3-šr.t-n-Hr-P	The daughter of Horos of Pe	Σεναρέμπαις, Σεναρένπαις	2	24318
*T3-šr.t-n-Hr-r.r=w	The daughter of Horos is against them	Σενάραις	3	18596
*T3-šr.t-n-Hr-s3	The daughter of Horos the son	Σέναρσις	1	12022
T3-šr.t-n-Hr-s3-Is.t	The daughter of Horos, son of Isis	Σεναρσίησις, Τίναρσιέγετις	11 1	15713 + 34155
*T3-šr.t-n-Hr-Tb3	The daughter of Horos of Apollonopolis	Σενάρτβως	1	34163
T3-šr.t-n-Hp	The daughter of Apis	Σέναπις ⁶⁶⁹	1	1058
		Χενάπιος (?) ⁶⁷⁰	1	12888
		Σεναπίων ⁶⁷¹	1	13794
*T3-šr.t-n-htp-Hnm	The daughter of Khnum is satisfied	Σενατπέχνουβις ⁶⁷²	1	17845
T3-šr.t-n-ht(r.t)	The daughter of the twin	Σενατρής	22	13691
T3-šr.t-n-hmt-sn.w	The daughter of the three brothers	Σενχεμσενδς	18	12094
T3-šr.t-n-Hnsw	The daughter of Khonsu	Σένχωνσις, Σένχοσις ⁶⁷³	69 1	1062 + 18831
*T3-šr.t-n-Hnsw-p3-m3y	The daughter of Khonsu the lion	Σενχεσφομο ⁶⁷⁴	1	34790
T3-šr.t-(n)-Hnsw-Dhwtj	The daughter of Khonsu-Thoth	Σενχεσθώτης	31	13806

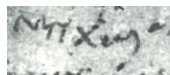
⁶⁶⁹ In P. Count. 26, 344: Σέναπις.

⁶⁷⁰ In O. Douch IV 434, 3-4: Παγ(ανοί) Χενάπιος. The editor is not sure on the male of female character of the name. Cf. O. Douch IV, p. 61: “Tous les noms en *Chen-* ne sont pas des noms de femmes (en particulier lorsque l’élément *Chen-* n’est pas « la fille de »), et la désinence paraît prêcher plutôt pour un nom d’homme ; si toutefois on considère *-ios* comme une graphie inverse pour *-is*, *Chenapis* pourrait constituer un nom de femme très acceptable ; dans cette hypothèse, la mention d’une femme parmi les « civils » serait une nouveauté intéressante”.

⁶⁷¹ In the bilingual mummy label *Short Texts* II 781, A 4 and B 2: *T3-šr.t-H3pyzn*; and C 2: μητρός Σεναπίων.

⁶⁷² In SB VI 9604 (22), 3: Σενατπέχνουβις.

⁶⁷³ In O. Cairo 91, 5: μη(τρός) Σενχόσιο(ς)



⁶⁷⁴ In O. Wilcken II 1156, 2: Σενχεσφομο<ις>.

T3-šr.t-(n)-Hnm	The daughter of Khnum	Σένχνουβις, Σένχουμις ⁶⁷⁵	10 1	1061 + 25894
*T3-šr.t-n-s3-Hnsw	The daughter of the son of Khonsu	Σενσέχωνσις ⁶⁷⁶	1	12084
T3-šr.t-n-Sbk	The daughter of Sobek	Σένσουχις	4	1087
		Τσενσεκη ⁶⁷⁷	1	34166
*T3-šr.t-n-Sbk-iw	The daughter of Sobek has come	Θενσοκεύς ⁶⁷⁸	1	18632
*T3-šr.t-n-sbt	The daughter of the hill	Θινάσεπτις ⁶⁷⁹	1	33104
*T3-šr.t-n-sbt-ʿ3.t (?)	The daughter of the great hill	Σενσέβθως ⁶⁸⁰	1	---
*T3-šr.t-n-sn.t-sn.wt	The daughter of the two sisters	Σενσενέσονθις ⁶⁸¹	1	17908
*T3-šr.t-n-St3=w-t3-wd3.t	The daughter of May they avert the calamity	Θενστοτόητις ⁶⁸²	7	21892
*T3-šr.t-n-Šzy	The daughter of Shai	τῳμααι ⁶⁸³	1	31260
T3-šr.t-n-Q ʿl3nd3		Σενκολανθᾶς	16	19354
		Σενκολάνθη ⁶⁸⁴	1	24037
		Σενκόλανθος ⁶⁸⁵	1	24037

⁶⁷⁵ In O. Edfou III 471, 3: Σενπάχου(μις) Σενχούμιο(ς).

⁶⁷⁶ In SB XX 14979, 2: Σενσέχω(νσις). Cf. SHELTON, J., “SB I 4331”, p. 146: “The tax payer does not appear to be known elsewhere and the name Σενσεχῶ(νσις) is known only from this text. Palaeographically Σενσαχωσ() is perhaps preferable, but this too would be unique”. No image of the text is available to check the reading.

⁶⁷⁷ In SB I 3498, 2-3: Τσενσεκη.

⁶⁷⁸ In SB VI 9572, 20: Θενσοκεύς. Cf. the name Σοκεύς as rendering of *Sbk-iw* (TM Nam 1129).

⁶⁷⁹ In O. Wilcken II 224, 4: μητ(ρὸς) Θινάσεπτος.

⁶⁸⁰ The name Σεν[σ]έβ(θως), in P. Achmim 9, 140 and 149, has been identified as a ghostname for Σενέβθως. Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1613>.

⁶⁸¹ In *CRIPEL* V 1125, 1: Σενσενέσονθις. On the name Σενέσονθις as rendering of *Sn.t-snw.t* (TM Nam 13471), cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 929. On the other hand, the name *T3-šr.t-n-sn-sn.w*, included in TM Nam 17908, is not the prototype of Σενσενέσονθις, but of Σενψάνσνωτος, “The daughter of the two brothers”, as the bilingual text edited by REVILLOUT, E., “Planchettes bilingues”, p. 29-30, n. 8, Greek part 4 and Demotic part 4, shows. Both names, the Demotic one and the Greek one, should consequently be splitted up on the Trismegistos database.

⁶⁸² Cf. the name Στοτόητις as rendering of *St3=w-t3-wd3.t* (TM Nam 1147).

⁶⁸³ In O. Crum VC 92, 1: τῳμααι.

⁶⁸⁴ In *CRIPEL* IV 805, A 3: Σενκολάνθης.

⁶⁸⁵ In SB I 809, Ro. col. 1, 2: Σενκόλαν(θος).

		Σενκολαντε ⁶⁸⁶	1	24037
*T3-šr.t-n-k3-mw.t=f	The daughter of the bull of his mother	Σενκάμητις	53	12041
		ΤCENKAMIT ⁶⁸⁷	1	31259
T3-šr.t-(n)-Kl(w)d(3)	The daughter of Kolluthos	Σενκολλούθη, Σενκόλλουθος	20	13809
*T3-šr.t-n-gbr	The daughter of the left-handed	Σενκάβιρις ⁶⁸⁸	2	17910
*T3-šr.t-n-Gbk	The daughter of Geb	Θένκηβκις	13	16889
*T3-šr.t-n-gl3(t)	The daughter of the lame	Σενκαλῆς ⁶⁸⁹	7	18747
*T3-šr.t-n-gl-šr	The daughter of Kalasiris	Σενκαλάσιρις ⁶⁹⁰	5	12038
T3-šr.t-n-t3-iḥ.t	The daughter of the sacred cow	Σένταις	3	1088
*T3-šr.t-n-t3-šwr(.t)	The daughter of the Syrian	Σεντέσαυρις ⁶⁹¹	1	35151
*T3-šr.t-n-t3y-š3y	The daughter of this one of Shai	Σεντίσαις ⁶⁹²	1	26622
*T3-šr.t-(n)-t3-wnš.t	The daughter of the wolf	Σεντούανσις ⁶⁹³	1	17874
*T3-šr.t-n-t3-Msy-3.t	The daughter of the Great of births	Σενθμεσίως	2	28424
*T3-šr.t-n-t3-nfr.t	The daughter of the good one	Χένθνουφις ⁶⁹⁴	1	25943
*T3-šr.t-n-t3-Rnn.t	The daughter of Thermuthis	Σενθερμουτι ⁶⁹⁵	1	34140
*T3-šr.t-n-t3-ḥsy.t	The daughter of the blessed one	Σενθασιῆς, Σενθασοιῆς ⁶⁹⁶	2	23324

⁶⁸⁶ In *CRIPEL* II 29, A 1: Σενκολαντε.

⁶⁸⁷ In O. Crum ST 151, 3: ΤCENKAMIT.

⁶⁸⁸ In O. Camb. 81, 8: Σενκάβιρις; and O. Strasb. I 555, 6: μη(τρός) Σενκαβίριο(ς).

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. the name Καλῆς as rendering of *Gl3* (TM Nam 391).

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. the anthroponym Καλάσιρις as transcription of *Gl-šr* (TM Nam 389). LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1033, does not give any translation for this name.

⁶⁹¹ Presumably in SB I 5986, 1: [Σ]εντέσαυρις.

⁶⁹² In *CRIPEL* V 1008, 4: Σεντίσαι<το>ς.

⁶⁹³ In P. Lond. III. 604 a, col. 3, 73: Σεντούανσις.

⁶⁹⁴ In P. Lond. II 324, Ro. 29: Χενθνούφις. Cf. the name *T3-nfr.t* (TM Nam 15657).

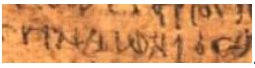
⁶⁹⁵ In *CRIPEL* III 641, 1: Σενθερμουτι. This name is the only word that this text contains, along with a drawing: it is not possible to know if this Greek rendering has no morphological ending, as it seems, or if it is a dative and a nominative Σενθερμοῦς should be reconstructed.

⁶⁹⁶ In *CRIPEL* IV 990, 1: Σενθασοιῆς.

*T3-šr.t-n-t3-šr.t-n- Hr-wd3	The daughter of the daughter of Horos is prosperous	Σενσεναρυώτης	1	26616
*T3-šr.t-n-t3-gwy.t	The daughter of the little one	Θενετκούεις	7	5453
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-İmn	The daughter of the one of Amun	Σεντάμουινς	1	1089
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-B3st.t	The daughter of the one of Bastet	Τσενθαύβασθις	1	28253
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-Bs	The daughter of the one of Bes	Σενταβες	1	26026
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-hr	The daughter of the one of the face	Σεντάως	1	34157
*T3-šr.t-n-ta- sn.(w)t	The daughter of the one of (the) sister(s)	Σεντάσνως	1	23351
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-Tr=w	The daughter of the one of Terou	Σεντατηρου	1	31690
T3-šr.t-n-Twtw	The daughter of Totoes	Σεντιθοῆς, Θεντειτουῆς ⁶⁹⁷	40 1	1094 + 21893
		Θιντιθίως	2	21927
T3-šr.t-n-t3y- d(w)y(.t)	The daughter of the bearer of the hairlock	Σενσίσοις	18	5458
*T3-šr.t-n-Dwn	The daughter of Thonis	Σίνθωνις, Σένθωνις	89 6	12165 + 17918
		Χίνθωνις ⁶⁹⁸	3	26239
		Σινθωνία ⁶⁹⁹	1	26681
T3-šr.t-n-Dḥwty	The daughter of Thoth	Σενθώτης	15	1093
T3-šr.t-n-Dḥwty- (i.)ir-rḥ-s	The daughter of Thoth is wise	Σενθοτορχῆς ⁷⁰⁰	1	13816
*T3-šr.t-n-Dḥwty- m3	The daughter of Thoth is righteous	Τσενθοτομοῦς ⁷⁰¹	1	1091

⁶⁹⁷ Presumably in P. Aberdeen 53, fr. 2 18: Θεντειτου[ητος].

⁶⁹⁸ In P. Oxy. XIV 1670, Ro. 1: Χίνθωνι τῇ ἀδελφῇ ; and 27: Χίνθωνι(v) ; and Vo. 35: Χίνθωνι.

⁶⁹⁹ In Stud. Pal. IV 636, 16: μητρὸς Σινθωνίας .

⁷⁰⁰ In the bilingual text in ARLT, C., *Deine Seele möge leben für immer und ewig: die demotischen Mumienbilder im British Museum*, p. 28, n. 40, A 3-4: T3-šr.t-n-Dḥwty-ir-rḥ-s; and B 2: Σενθοτόρχητος.

⁷⁰¹ In P. Count. 52 Ro., 47: [[Τσενθοτομοῦς]]. Cf. the name Θοτομοῦς < Dḥwty-m3 (TM Nam 1394); cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), DN, p. 1302; RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 408.3: “Thot ist wahrhaft”.

*T3-šr.t-n-Dḥwtj-mn	The daughter of Thoth is enduring	Σενθότμηνις	2	18780
T3-šr.t-(n)-Dḥwtj-sdm	The daughter of Thoth listens	Σενθοτοσύτης	8	13817
		Σενθόσυτμις ⁷⁰²	1	30112
*T3-šr.t-n-dd-ḥr-(iw=f/s-‘nh)	The daughter of The face says: (“He/She will live”) (<i>abbreviated name/hypocoristic</i>)	Θεντέως ⁷⁰³ , Θενχέως ⁷⁰⁴ , Σενσάως ⁷⁰⁵	1 1 3	21894 + 21897 + 24490

B. Hybrid names in Greek transcription

More than 80 names are composed of Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n-* in initial position plus a Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew or Aramaic name, as it can be seen in the list below:

Base name	LGPV (volume: page)	Hybrid Greek	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἀβδελλα ⁷⁰⁶	--- (Arabic name)	Θιναβδελλαῖς ⁷⁰⁷	1	14141
Ἀγάπη	II: 6; III.A: 6; IV: 4; V.B: 4	Τσαναγάπη ⁷⁰⁸	2	27451
Ἀκυληία	V.B: 16	Σενακυ[ληία ⁷⁰⁹	1	28057

⁷⁰² In I. Thèbes à Syène 31, 3: Σενθόσυτμις. Cf. I. Thèbes à Syène, p. 44: “Il faut comprendre Σεν-θωτ-συτμις « la fille de Thotsytmis » (« Thot qui écoute les prières »)”.

⁷⁰³ In P. Tebt. II 353, 5: Θεντέωτος.

⁷⁰⁴ In P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 8, 27: Θενχέωτο(ς). The quality of the image of the text available on http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/api/image/apis/X-3203/966R3_1.TIF/full/large/0/native.jpg is not good enough to check the reading. On the variants Τέως/Χέως as renderings of *Dd-ḥr*, cf. TM Nam 1349.

⁷⁰⁵ In P. L. Bat. XXVII 10, 1: Σενσάως and 11, 1: Σενσάως; and in O. Wilcken II 821, 4: Σενσάωτο(ς)



P. L. Bat. XXVII 11 is a bilingual text in which this name appears rendering Egyptian *T3-šr.t-dd-ḥr*. Cf. VAN LANDUYT, K., “The Soter Family: Genealogy and Onomastics”, p. 75.

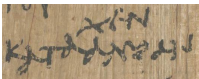
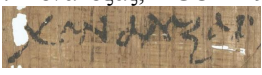
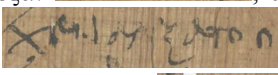

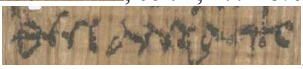
⁷⁰⁶ Cf. TM Nam 8292.

⁷⁰⁷ In O. Wilcken II 1157, 2: Θιναβδελλαῖς.

⁷⁰⁸ In SB XVI 12431, 18: Τσαναγάπη and P. Apoll. 80, 9: Τσαναγάπη. The Coptic names included in TM Nam 27451 are masculine.

⁷⁰⁹ Presumably in SB XII 11203, 1: Σενακυ[ληία.

Ἀλεξᾶς	I: 26; II: 20; III.A: 25; III.B: 22; IV: 17; V.A: 20; V.B: 19	Χεναλεξᾶς ⁷¹⁰ , Θεναλεξᾶς	5 1	19233 + 30290
Ἀλυπία	V.A: 22; V.B: 21	Σεναλυπία ⁷¹¹	2	28044
Ἀντειός ⁷¹²	III.B: 37	Σεναντειο() ⁷¹³	1	18541
Ἄντις	Ἄντις: I: 47 Ἄντις: III.A: 47; V.A: 38	Σενάντεις, Σέναντις ⁷¹⁴	2	19415
Ἀπόλλων	I: 52; IV: 36; V.A: 46	Σεναπ<όλ>ων ⁷¹⁵	1	27187
Ἀπολλωνία	I: 52; II: 44; III.A: 50; III.B: 47; IV: 36; V.A: 46; V.B: 39	Σεναπολλωνία	38	12017 ⁷¹⁶
Ἀπολλώνιος	I: 53-55; II: 45-48; III.A: 51-52; III.B: 48-49; IV: 37-39; V.A: 48- 55; V.B: 41-47	Σεναπολλώνιος	6	12017
Ἀπολλώς/-ῶς	Ἀπολλώς: I: 56; III.A: 52; V.A: 56; V.B: 47 Ἀπολλῶς: IV: 39; V.B: 47	Σεναπολλώς/-ῶς	25	12018
Ἀραβίων ⁷¹⁷	---	Σεναραβίων ⁷¹⁸	2	14243
Ἀρεία ⁷¹⁹ Ἀρία ⁷²⁰	Ἀρία: V.A: 59	Σεναρεία, Σεναρία	7	27137

⁷¹⁰ In I. Louvre 81, 1-2: Χεναλεξᾶς; BGU I 19, col. 1, 3: κατὰ Χεναλεξᾶν ; col. 1, 13: Χεναλεξᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρου Αἰγ[υπ]τία ; col. 2, 14: Χεναλεξᾶτος ; col. 2, 17: Χεναλεξᾶ . The variant Θεναλεξᾶ appears in the same text, BGU I 19, col. 2, 18: .

⁷¹¹ In SB I 5715, 1: Σεναλυπία; and SB X 10481, 1-3: Σεναλυπία.

⁷¹² Cf. also the names Ἄντιος (*LPGN* III.B, p. 42; V.A, p. 36) and Ἀνταῖος (*LPGN* I, p. 42; II, p. 33; III.A, p. 42; III.B, p. 37; IV, p. 27; V.A, p. 35; V.B, p. 29).

⁷¹³ In O. Wilcken II 592, 2. The editor has edited this name as Σεναντειό(υς). However, since the name is abbreviated, the morphological ending is not certainly known.

⁷¹⁴ In P. Lond. I 109 b, 46: Σωάντεις, which has been corrected to Σενάντεις at <http://papyri.info/ddb/p.lond;1;109B>; and in O. Bodl. II 1816, 6: Σενάντις. On the name Ἄντις, cf. TM Nam 6597.

⁷¹⁵ In the bilingual mummy label *CRIPEL* IV 750, A 1: Σενάπλωνι. The editor wonders if it is a mistake for Σεναπόλλωνι. The Demotic part is unfortunately unpublished.

⁷¹⁶ In TM Nam 12017 both the names Σεναπολλωνία and Σεναπολλώνιος and their variants appear together.

⁷¹⁷ Cf. TM Nam 2190. Ἀραβίων is not listed in the *LPGN*, but other anthroponyms with the same root are. Cf. Ἀραβις (I, p. 56), Ἀραβία (V.B, p. 48), Ἀραβιανός (II, p. 48; IV, p. 40; V.A, p. 58), Ἀραβιανή (V.A, p. 58), Ἀραβος (V.A, p. 58), Ἀράβιος (V.A, p. 58).

⁷¹⁸ In SB V 8481, 6: Σεναραβίωνος; and SB V 8506, 6: Σεναραβίωνος.

⁷¹⁹ Cf. TM Nam 2228.

⁷²⁰ Cf. TM Nam 8750.

Ἄρης	I: 58; II: 50; III.A: 54; V.A: 59; V.B: 50	Χενάρης (?) ⁷²¹	3	2616
Ἀριεύς	III.A: 54; IV: 42; V.B: 50	Σεναριεύς ⁷²²	1	18680
Ἄρις	III.B: 50; V.A: 60; V.B: 50	Σέναρις (?), Χένναρις (?) ⁷²³	2 1	18172 18195
Ἄρπαλος	I: 81; II: 65; IV: 47-48; V.A: 68; V.B: 60	Σενάρπαλος ⁷²⁴	1	28993
Ἄρτεμις	I: 82-83; II: 66; III.A: 73; III.B: 67; IV: 50-51; V.A: 74; V.B: 66-67	Τσενάρ(τεμις) (?) ⁷²⁵	1	17688
Ἄρκης/ Ἀρχῆς	Ἄρκης: V.A: 68 Ἀρχῆς: I: 86; V.B: 71	Θεναρκήεις, Θεναρκῆς ⁷²⁶	4	18705
Ἀσκληᾶς	I: 90; III.A: 80; IV: 54; V.A: 79-80; V.B: 72	Σενασκληᾶς ⁷²⁷	1	23316
Ἀφροδισία	I: 96; II: 81; III.A: 86; III.B: 82; IV: 62; V.A: 93; V.B: 79	Σεναφροδισία	2	28063
Ἀχιλλᾶς	I: 97; II: 85; III.A: 87; IV: 63; V.A: 94; V.B: 80	Σεναχιλλᾶς ⁷²⁸	1	13668
Ἀχυλλίς ⁷²⁹	---	Σεναχυλλίς ⁷³⁰	1	30111
Βίκτωρ	II: 88; III.A: 91; IV: 71	Τσενβίκτωρ	2	30799
Βοῦς	I: 104; III.A: 94; V.A: 104; V.B: 86	Σενβοῦς, Σενεβοῦς (?) ⁷³¹	1 1	18553 + 18910

⁷²¹ In P. Petrie III 117 e, 17: Χενάρεως; P. Count. 24, 132: Χεναρέους, and 138: Χεναρέους. This name is probably also attested in P. Col. Zen. II 106, 7: Χενά[ρ]ης.

⁷²² In O. Wilcken II 1031, 3: Σεναριεύς. On the name Ἀριεύς cf. also TM Nam 2245.

⁷²³ In SB I 5409, 1: Σέναρις Ἀρτεμιδώρου; *CRIPPEL* III 548, 1: Σεναρι; and O. Ont. Mus. II 235, 7: Χένναρις (the name in the image available in the edition is illegible). This names could also be considered as renderings of Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n-Hr*, “The daughter of Horos”.

⁷²⁴ In SB XXIV 16000, col. 10, 361: Σεναρπάλου.


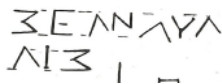
⁷²⁵ Presumably in SB I 3842, 1: Τσενάρ(τεμις). The reconstruction of the abbreviated part is doubtful.


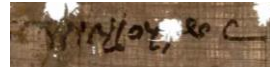
⁷²⁶ On the confusion of aspirated and voiceless stops in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 86-95.

⁷²⁷ In SB I 3557, 2: Σενασκληᾶς θυγάτηρ.

⁷²⁸ In the bilingual text in *Short Texts* II 609, A 1: *T3-šr.t-n-3ghyll3s*; B 1: Σεναχιλλᾶτος.

⁷²⁹ Cf. TM Nam 1719. This name is not listed in the *LGPN*, but Ἀχυλλῆς, with the same root, is (cf. III.A, p. 87).

⁷³⁰ In I. Akôris 60, 4-5: Σε<νά>χυλλίς  ; the reading is uncertain. Cf. I. Akôris, p. 71: “Σελχύλλις dont le *Namenbuch* donne ce seul exemple et inconnu par ailleurs. G. Wagner propose de reconnaître Σε(να)χύλλις, le lapicide ayant gravé un lambda pour un alpha et AN pour NA (...). On connaît les noms Ἀχυλλίς et Σεναχιλλᾶς”.

⁷³¹ In O. Mich. II 771, 2: Σενβοῦς ; and presumably in P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2848 Ro., col. 1, 8: Σενεβοῦτος . If the reading is correct, this latter name could also be a transcription of **T3-šr.t-n-3bz*, “The daughter of the panther”.

Γένης	I: 106	Σενπαγένης ⁷³²	1	23331
Γερμανός	II: 92; III.A: 98; III.B: 91; IV: 79; V.A: 108; V.B: 89-90	Σενγερμανός ⁷³³	1	33832
*Γονατίς ⁷³⁴	---	Θενγονατίς ⁷³⁵	1	29725
Δημᾶς	I: 124; II: 103; III.B: 110; IV: 90; V.A: 120; V.B: 99	Τσενδημᾶς ⁷³⁶	1	33852
Δία/Δῖα	Δία: I: 130 Δῖα: II: 114; III.A: 124; IV: 95; V.B: 106	Τσενδία ⁷³⁷	2	25967
Δίδυμος	I: 131; II: 114-115; III.A: 124; III.B: 114; IV: 96; V.A: 129; V.B: 107	Σενδίδυμος ⁷³⁸	1	26605
Δράκων	I: 143; II: 135; III.A: 134-135; III.B: 126; IV: 112; V.A: 148; V.B: 125-126	Σενδράκων ⁷³⁹	1	34138
*Δώτης ⁷⁴⁰	---	Σενδότης ⁷⁴¹	1	29789
Ἑρμία	II: 157; III: 153	Σενερμία ⁷⁴²	2	12029
Ἑρμίας ⁷⁴³	II, p. 157-158, III.A, p. 153, III.B, p. 143-144, IV, p. 125, V.A, p. 164-165, V.B, p. 149-150	Σενερμίας ⁷⁴⁴ ,	1 1	12029 23610

⁷³² In *CRIPEL* III 491, 1: Σενπαγένης. The first part of the name is the rendering of Egyptian *Tj-šr.t-n-ta*: “The daughter of the one of Genes”.

⁷³³ Presumably in O. Bodl. II 1842, 15: Σενγερμ(άνου).

⁷³⁴ The Greek name Γονατῆς is however listed in *LGPV* V.A, p. 113.

⁷³⁵ In O. Medinet Madi 11, 2-3: Θενγονάτιδο(ς); Γονατῆς: V.A, p. 113. Cf. also TM Nam 9099.

⁷³⁶ P. Oxy. I 78, 8: σὸν Τσενδηματ().

⁷³⁷ In P. Lond. V 1722, 4 and 48: Τσενδία.

⁷³⁸ In *CRIPEL* IV 876, A 2-3: Σενδίδυμος.

⁷³⁹ In *CRIPEL* III 451, 2: Σενδράκοντος.

⁷⁴⁰ Other Greek names seem to have the same root: Δῶτος (*LGPV* I, p. 146; V.A, p. 149), Δωτίς (*LGPV* II, p. 137), Δώτιος (*LGPV* IV, p. 114), Δωτοῦς (*LGPV* IV, p. 114).

⁷⁴¹ Presumably in BGU I 329, col. 1, 26: Σενδότην




⁷⁴² In P. Oxy. Census 106: Σενερμία. This name appears reconstructed in P. Oxy. Census 105: μητρὸς(ς) Σενερ[μίας].

⁷⁴³ Cf. also the name with the itacistic variant Ἑρμείας (*LGPV* I, p. 164; II, p. 156-157; III.A, p. 152; III.B, p. 143; IV, p. 124; V.A, p. 163; V.B, p. 148).

⁷⁴⁴ In *CRIPEL* V 1012, 1: Σενερμίας. This name seems to be in nominative. In TM Nam 12029 both the anthroponyms Σενερμία and Σενερμίας appear together.

		Τσενερμίας ⁷⁴⁵		
*Ερμοφίλη ⁷⁴⁶	---	Σενερμοφίλη	2	13689
Έρμων	I: 166-167; II: 159-160; III.A: 155; III.B: 144-145; IV: 127; V.A: 171; V.B: 154-155	Σενέρμων ⁷⁴⁷	3	19145
Έρμωνις	---	Σενέρμωνις ⁷⁴⁸	1	12030
Έρως	I: 167; II: 160; III.A: 155-156; III.B: 145; IV: 127-128; V.A: 171; V.B: 156	Θενήρω ⁷⁴⁹	1	9498
Ζωΐλα	I: 195, II: 194, III.A: 188, III.B: 176, IV: 145, V.B: 178	Θενζωΐλα ⁷⁵⁰	1	21884
Ήράκλεια	I: 202-203; II: 204; III.A: 193-194; III.B: 181; IV: 153; V.A: 200; V.B: 185	Θενηράκλεια	27	12033
Ήρακλῆς	I: 205; II: 206-207; III.A: 196; III.B: 183; IV: 156; V.A: 204; V.B: 187	Σενηρακλῆς, Χενηρακλῆς, Τσενηρακλ() ⁷⁵¹ (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	5 1	24007 + 38852
Ήρώδης ⁷⁵²	---	Σενηρώδης ⁷⁵³	1	23323
Θεοδώρα/ Θεόδωρος or a name with the same root	Θεοδώρα: I: 214; II: 215; III.A: 202; III.B: 190; IV: 163-164; V.A: 213; V.B: 194 Θεόδωρος: I: 214-215; II: 215-217; III.A: 202-203; III.B: 190-191; IV: 164-165; V.A: 213-214; V.B: 194-196	Σινθεοδω() ⁷⁵⁴ (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	1	30368


⁷⁴⁵ Presumably in SB XIV 12181, col. 1, 17: Τσενερμία[ς] Έρμίου . It is not possible to know if the name written was Τσενερμία[ς] or Τσενερμίας.


⁷⁴⁶ The anthroponym *Ερμοφίλη does not seem to be attested, but the masculine counterpart Έρμόφιλος is (*LGPN* I, p. 166; II, p. 159; IV, p. 127; V.A, p. 171; V.B, p. 154).

⁷⁴⁷ A name Έρμωνις could be attested in SB VI 9405, 8: Ταῖσει Έρμώνιος. In P. Lond. III 1159, col. 3, 76, on the other hand, the anthroponym Έρμωνίου (nominative Έρμώνιος) seems to occur (cf. TM Nam 4492).

⁷⁴⁸ If the reading is correct, this name occurs in SB XXII 15435, 1: Σενέρμωνις νεωτέρᾳ.

⁷⁴⁹ In SB XX 15024, fr. 1, col. 3, 7: μη(τρὸς) Θενήρωτος.

⁷⁵⁰ In P. Tebt. II 318, 7: Θενζω[ί]λας .

⁷⁵¹ In P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 17: μη(τρὸς) Τσενηρακλ() .

⁷⁵² The name Ήρώδης is not listed in *LGPN* but it is attested. Cf. in TM Nam 4585.

⁷⁵³ In *CRIPEL* III 458, 1: Σενηρώδης.

⁷⁵⁴ In PSI XII 1237 Vo. 6: μη(τρὸς) Σινθεοδω() . The reading Σεν- or Σιν- is uncertain.

Ἰέραξ	I: 231, II: 232, III.A: 216, III.B: 205, IV: 172, V.A: 222, V.B: 209	Σενιέραξ	4	12037
Ἰσαάκ	I: 237; IV: 177; V.A: 231	ΤΣΕΝΕΙΣΑΚ ⁷⁵⁵	1	27829
*Ἰπαλις ⁷⁵⁶	---	Σενίπαλις ⁷⁵⁷	1	17951
Ἰουλία	I: 235; II: 236; III.A: 220; III.B: 207; IV: 174-175; V.A: 226; V.B: 214	Σενιουλία ⁷⁵⁸	1	24078
Ἰσοῦς ⁷⁵⁹	---	Σενθαισοῦς ⁷⁶⁰	1	24210
Κρονιαίνα ⁷⁶¹	---	Σενκρονιαίνα ⁷⁶²	1	24032
Κρονοῦς ⁷⁶³	---	Σενκρονοῦς ⁷⁶⁴	1	18909
Λέων	I: 286-287; II: 283; III.A: 273-274; III.B: 259; IV: 209-210; V.A: 267; V.B: 258-260	Σενλέων ⁷⁶⁵	1	26633
Μαρῖνα	V.A: 281; V.B: 272	Θινμαρείνα ⁷⁶⁶	1	25525
Μαριανή	IV: 221; V.B: 272	Σενμαριανή ⁷⁶⁷	1	26498

⁷⁵⁵ In O. Crum ST 148, descr.: ΤΣΕΝΕΙΣΑΚ.

⁷⁵⁶ The name *Ἰπαλις is not attested, but Ἰπαλος, with the same root, is (cf. *LGPN* I, p. 235; IV, p. 176).

⁷⁵⁷ In SB I 5442, Ro. 1: Σενίπαλις.

⁷⁵⁸ In P. Achmim 9, col. 3, 185: Σενιουλίας θυγ(ατρὸς) Ἰουλ(ίου) .

⁷⁵⁹ Cf. TM Nam 9686.

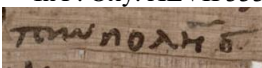
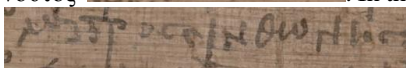
⁷⁶⁰ In P. Oslo III 111, col. 1, 24: Σενθαισοῦτος. On the name Ἰσοῦς, a Greek derivation of Egyptian *Īs.t*, “Isis”, cf. TM Nam 9686. The first part of the name is the rendering of Egyptian *Tj-šr.t-n-ta-*, “The daughter of the one of Isous”.


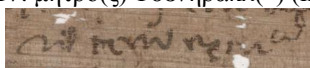
⁷⁶¹ Cf. TM Nam 3770.


⁷⁶² In O. Bodl. II 1784, 5: Σενκρονιαίνης.

⁷⁶³ Cf. TM Nam 34847. In *LGPN* this name is not listed, but others with the same root are. Cf. Κρονίδης (II, p. 274; IV, p. 203; V.B, p. 248), Κρόνιος (II, p. 274; IV, p. 203; V.A, p. 258-259; V.B, p. 248), Κρόνος: V.B, p. 24), Κρονίων (I, p. 275; III.A, p. 260; IV, p. 203; V.A, p. 259).


⁷⁶⁴ In P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 32: μη(τρός) Σενκρονοῦτος . In the same text, line 11: Τσενπολή(μιος)

; 16: μητρός Σινθώνιος ; 17: μητρὸς(ς) Τσενηρακλ() (image

supra); 19: μητρὸς(ς) Τσενύριος ; 33: μη(τρός) Τσενεριέω(ς) ; 39:

μη(τρός) Τσενπετσορολλοῦτος .

⁷⁶⁵ In *CRIPEL* III 684, A 3: Σενλέων<τος>.

⁷⁶⁶ In SB VI 9545 (33), 2, with an itacistic variant: Θινμαρείνη . Cf. also the masculine counterpart Μαρῖνος (*LGPN* I, p. 298; II, p. 297-298; III.A, p. 288; IV, p. 221; V.A, p. 281; V.B, p. 272).

⁷⁶⁷ In P. Giss. I 98, 2: Σενμαριάνην .

Μάρων	I: 299; II: 298-299; III.A: 288; III.B: 270; IV: 223; V.A: 284; V.B: 274	Θενμάρων	5	19102
Μίκκαλος ⁷⁶⁸	I: 314; III.B: 284; IV: 237; V.A: 317	Σενμίκκαλος	3	28650
Μῶρος	V.A: 328	Σενμῶρος	3	29479
Νεῖλος	I: 325; II: 328; III.A: 312; IV: 247; V.A: 329; V.B: 312	Σεννεῖλος ⁷⁶⁹	1	28652
Νίγερος ⁷⁷⁰	---	Σεννίγερος, Σεννίκηρος	4	26172
Ὅδιος/ Ὀδῖος	Ὅδιος: I: 347; V.B: 326 Ὀδῖος: V.A: 343	Σεννόδιος/Σεννοδῖος ⁷⁷¹	1	34027
Οὐαλέρις	IV: 265; V.A: 349; V.B: 333	Θινουαλέρις ⁷⁷²	1	16910
Παμμένης	I: 357; II: 356-357; III.A: 348; III.B: 331; V.A: 353; V.B: 338	Σενπαμμένης ⁷⁷³	1	23334
Πάνθεος ⁷⁷⁴	I: 358	Σενπάνθεος ⁷⁷⁵	1	29926
*Πανισκῆς ⁷⁷⁶	---	Σενπανισκῆς ⁷⁷⁷	1	30395
Πανίσκος	I: 358; III.A: 350; IV: 268	Σενπανίσκος	4	13664
Πελεγρῖνα/ Πελεγρῖνος	Πελεγρῖνα: III.A: 359 Πελεγρῖνος: III.A: 359	Σενπελεγρι() ⁷⁷⁸	1	30645
Πέρσης	I: 371; II: 367; III.B: 344; IV: 279; V.A: 365	Σενπέρσης ⁷⁷⁹	2	24048

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. also the name Μίκκαλος with simple *kappa* (cf. *LGP*N I, p. 313; II, p. 313; IV, p. 236; V.A, p. 317). Both variants are included in TM Nam 10623.

⁷⁶⁹ In SB XXIV 16000, col. 4, 130: Σεννεῖλου.

⁷⁷⁰ On the variants of this Latin name attested, cf. TM Nam 10759. The following variants, on the other hand, are listed in the *LGP*N: Νίγερ (II, p. 329; III.A, p. 314; III.B, p. 298; IV, p. 248; V.A, p. 331; V.B, p. 314), Νίγρος (II, p. 330; III.A, p. 314; III.B, p. 298; IV, p. 249; V.A, p. 331; V.B, p. 314), Νικέρως (I, p. 332; II, p. 331-332; III.A, p. 319-320; III.B, p. 302; IV, p. 251; V.A, p. 333; V.B, p. 316).

⁷⁷¹ In I. Syr. 1480, 1: Σεννόδιος/Σεννοδῖος.

⁷⁷² In O. Wilcken II 196, 3: μητρ(ὸς) Θινουαλέρις.

⁷⁷³ In O. Strasb. I 638, 1: Σενπαμμένης.

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. also the names with the same root Πάνθεια (*LGP*N III.A, p. 350; IV, p. 268; V.A, p. 354; V.B, p. 339) and Πανθειδης (*LGP*N V.B, p. 339).

⁷⁷⁵ In *CRIPEL* IV 696, A 1: Σενπάνθεος.

⁷⁷⁶ A name *Πανισκῆς or *Πανίσκης does not seem to be attested, but others with the same root are. Cf. the following name and the next note.

⁷⁷⁷ In *CRIPEL* IV 901, A 2-3: Σενπανισκῆτος.

⁷⁷⁸ In P. Bour. 41a, col. 1, 20: Σενπελεγρι().

⁷⁷⁹ In SB 6 9604 (18), 4: Σενπέρσης ; and O. Cairo 71, 2: Σενπέρσης .

Πλουτογένεια ⁷⁸⁰	III.A: 365; V.A: 369	Σενπλουτογένεια ⁷⁸¹	1	31639
Πολεμαῖος	II: 370; III.A: 366; III.B: 348; IV: 282; V.A: 370; V.B: 356	Σενπορεμαῖος ⁷⁸²	1	26727
Πόλεμις/ Πολεμῖς	Πόλεμις: I: 375 Πολεμῖς: I: 375	Τσενπόλη(μις) ⁷⁸³	1	18822
Πόλλοῦς ⁷⁸⁴	---	Σενπολλοῦς ⁷⁸⁵	2	19623
Πόσις	I: 383; II: 378; III.A: 373; IV: 288; V.A: 377; V.B: 362	Θινπόσις ⁷⁸⁶	1	18803
Πρίσκοις	I: 387; II: 380; III.A: 377; IV: 290; V.B: 380-381; V.B: 364	Σενπρίσκοις ⁷⁸⁷ , Σερενπρίσκοις ⁷⁸⁸	2	26966
Πτόλλις ⁷⁸⁹	---	Σενπτόλλις ⁷⁹⁰	3	12081
Σαβῖνος	I: 400; II: 392; III.A: 386; III.B: 372; IV: 302; V.A: 395-396; V.B: 376	Σενσαβείνος ⁷⁹¹	1	34320
Σαβουρίων	---	Χενσαβουρίων ⁷⁹²	1	23698

⁷⁸⁰ Cf. also the masculine counterpart Πλουτογένης (*LGNP* I, p. 374; II, p. 360; IV, p. 281; V. A, p. 369; V. B, p. 355).

⁷⁸¹ In *CRIPEL* III 646, 1-2: Σενπλουτογένεια.

⁷⁸² In O. Strasb. I 606, 1: Σενπορεμαῖος.

⁷⁸³ Presumably in P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 11: <μη(τρὸς)> Τσενπολή(μιος). On the interchange of and , cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 242-249.

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. TM Nam 18531. The names Πολλίς (*LGNP* III.A, p. 367) and Πόλλις (*LGNP* I, p. 375-376; II, p. 371; III.A, p. 367; III.B, p. 350; IV, p. 283; V.A, p. 370-371; V.B, p. 357) seem to have the same root.


⁷⁸⁵ In *CRIPEL* II 1, A 2-3 and B 2: μητρὸς Σενπολλοῦτος.


⁷⁸⁶ In SB I 5316 (100-199 AD), 3: Θινπόσιος. On this anthroponym, cf. LANCIERS, E., “The Woeful Adventures of a Small Greek Papyrus from Elephantine”, p. 269. On the name Πόσις, cf. also TM Nam 5238.

⁷⁸⁷ In the bilingual mummy label edited in *CRIPEL* III 500, A 1: Σενπρίσκοις. The Demotic part is unpublished.

⁷⁸⁸ In the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 784, A 4-5: Τζ-šr.t-n-Phrysq; B 1-2: Πρεῖσκου μητρὸς Σερενπρίσκου.

⁷⁸⁹ Cf. TM Nam 5352. On the names starting by Πτολλ-, cf. MASSON, O., *Onomastica* III, p. 156 = “Quand le nom Πτολεμαῖος était à la mode”, p. 164.

⁷⁹⁰ Cf. the transcriptional variant in P. L. Bat. XXV 27 Ro. 15: Ἡ Τεσενπτόλλις . Cf. P. L. Bat. XXV, p. 138, n. 15: “One might waver between ἡ τε Σενπτόλλις and ἡ Τεσενπτόλλις. Because τε cannot be explained satisfactorily, we probably have to read Τε-. If Τεσεν- stands for Τσεν- here (cf. however J. QUAEGBEUR, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, pp. 204-206 for the difficulties in taking Τε- as the Egyptian feminine article), it might be the first element of an Egyptian woman’s name: ‘the daughter of’. Τεσενπτόλλις is as yet unattested elsewhere and Σενπτόλλις has only occurred in P. Oxy. VI 984 at the end of the first century A. D. The form of the first sigma, a downward curve, is not

unlike the one in ἔστι in l. 20”. Cf. ἔστι in P. L. Bat. XXV 27 Ro. 20: .

⁷⁹¹ In O. Bodl. II 901, 2: Σενσαβείνο(υ).

⁷⁹² In P. Ryl. Gr. II 102, col. 1, 22: μητρὸς Χενσαβουρίω(νος). The anthroponym Σαβύρου is listed in *LGNP* III.B, p. 372 (Thessaly), but it is not possible to know if both names are related. The name Σαβουρίων (cf. TM Nam 11891) is well-attested. The origin of this name and other variants may be Iranian. Cf. HUYSE, P., *Iranische Namen in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens*, n. 97-109.

Σάλυμις	--- (Hebrew name)	Τσενπασάλυμις ⁷⁹³	1	17697
Σωτήρ	I: 426; II: 421; III.A: 417; III.B: 397; IV: 325; V.A: 421; V.B: 398	Σενσωτήρ	4	12085
Σωτηρίων	I: 427; II: 422; III.A: 419; V.A: 421	Σενσωτηρίων ⁷⁹⁴	1	24176
Ταυρίνος	I: 429; III.A: 421; III.B: 401; V.B: 403	Σενταυρεϊνός ⁷⁹⁵	1	28589
Τούρβων	I: 447; II: 434; IV: 334; V.B: 412	Τσεντούρβων ⁷⁹⁶	1	25652
Φανῆς/ Φάνης	Φανῆς: I: 453; II: 440; IV: 339; V.A: 443; V.B: 421 Φάνης: III.A: 443; III.B: 416; V.A: 443; V.B: 421	Θενφανῆς, Σενφανῆς ⁷⁹⁷	2	19374
Φιλάμμων	I: 459; II: 446; III.B: 421	Σενφιλάμμων	7	12093
Φιλοκράτης	I: 466-467; II: 455-456; III.A: 457-458; III.B: 427-428; IV: 347; V.A: 451-452; V.B: 429	Χενφιλοκράτης ⁷⁹⁸	1	30141
Χαταβοῦς/ Σαταβοῦς ⁷⁹⁹	--- (Aramaic name)	Σενχαταβοῦς	4	24221
Σίμων	I: 407; II: 398-399; III.A: 396; III.B: 379; IV: 311; V.A: 404-405; V.B: 385	Σενσιμωνοῦς ⁸⁰⁰	1	18424
Σύρος	I: 417; II: 411; III.A: 408; III.B: 388; IV: 321; V.A: 416; V.B: 394	Σενψύρος, Τσεμψύρος ⁸⁰¹	2	28144

C. Anthroponyms with a prototype unknown

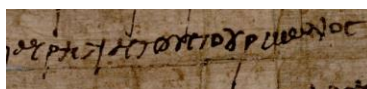
⁷⁹³ In SB XIV 12181, col. 2, 26: Τσενπασάλυμις(ις)



⁷⁹⁴ In SB III 7112, 2: Σενσωτηρίωνος.

⁷⁹⁵ In O. Bodl. II 1944, 4: Σενταυρεϊνίου.

⁷⁹⁶ In P. Oxy. XLIII 3103, 3: Αὐρηλίας Τσεντούρβωνος



⁷⁹⁷ In P. Mich. II 121 Ro., col. 3, 5, 1: Θενφανῆ(τι) ; and P. Achmim 9, col. 3, 181: Σενφανείο(υς).

⁷⁹⁸ In I. Louvre 85, 1-3: Χενφιλοκράτης.

⁷⁹⁹ Cf. TM Nam 1030.

⁸⁰⁰ In SB I 4433, 2: Σενσιμωνοῦς Σίμωνος (?). This name has been corrected at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/stud.pal;13/pg9,18>, since the anthroponym Σενσίμων Ο.σιμινο(ς) appears in SB I 4433. The morphological ending -οῦς seems doubtful.

⁸⁰¹ In *CRIPeL* IV 738, 1-2: Σενψύρος; SB I 2653, 1-2: Τσεμψύρος. As the ψ shows, the name Σύρος seems to be preceded by the Egyptian masculine article *p3*.

a) Anthroponyms for which there is no a image available⁸⁰²

Most frequent rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Θεμπέστωκις ⁸⁰³	1	29685
Θενάπαιτις ⁸⁰⁴	2	21881
Θεναντ() ⁸⁰⁵	1	28365
Θενάως, Σενάως ⁸⁰⁶	1 1	21883 + 24187
Θενμενυτ() ⁸⁰⁷	1	37618
Θενπετίων ⁸⁰⁸	1	21890
Θένπρακις ⁸⁰⁹	3	9502
Θενσίενσις ⁸¹⁰	1	16891
Θεντούαπις ⁸¹¹	1	7814
Θινμενεύς ⁸¹²	1	18636

⁸⁰² The name Σενπανάπωτις (TM Nam 38612) has not been included here since its first part is reconstructed. Cf. O. Eleph. DAIK 112, 6: [Σε]νπανάπω(τις), in which also the possibility of reconstruction of [Ψε]νπανάπω(τις) is considered.

⁸⁰³ In P. Strasb. Gr. IV 257, 3: Θεμπεστώκεως.

⁸⁰⁴ In SB I 5247, col. 2, 26: Θεναπαί(τιος) and presumably in SB I 5247, col. 1, 15: Θεν]απαίτιος. This name has been completely reconstructed in SB I 5247, col. 1, 2: [Θεναπαίτιος].

⁸⁰⁵ In P. Lond. II 257 Ro., col. 7, 258: Θεναντ().

⁸⁰⁶ In O. Bodl. II 1873, 3: Σενάωτος and presumably in BGU IX 1891, col. 3, 86: Θενάω(τος).

⁸⁰⁷ In BGU IX 1898, col. 5, 101: Θενμενυτ(). It is not possible to know if this could be a hybrid anthroponym. The Greek names Μενοίτας (LGPN II, p. 309; III.A, p. 298; III.B, p. 281; IV, p. 231; V.A, p. 300; V.B, p. 290); Μενοίτης (LGPN II, p. 309; IV, p. 231; V.A, p. 300; V.B, p. 290); Μενοίτιος (LGPN II, p. 309; III.A, p. 298; III.B, p. 281; V.A, p. 300; V.B, p. 290), or Μενοίτιος (LGPN III.B, p. 281) could have the same root than a possible name Μενυτ-. On the confusion of οι and υ in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 197-199.

⁸⁰⁸ In P. Petaus 93 Ro., col. 4, 92: Θενπετίων[ο]ς. The image available of the text is not clear enough for the reading of the name. The reading of a name Πετίων (TM Nam 24155) is not sure in CPR XV 52, 10: Πετίωνος



. Could it be a ghostname for Πέτρων (TM Nam 5125)? On the other hand, the name Πετίω(ν) in P. Princ. I 13, col. 12, 38 has been identified as a ghostname for Πασίω(ν). Cf. HANSON, A. E., “P.Princeton I 13: Text and Context Revised”, p. 270 (= SB XX 14576, 326); <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1596>.

⁸⁰⁹ In SB XX 15024, col. 2, 7: Θενπράκιος; P. Mich. II 124, col. 2, 16: Θενπράκιος(ς); P. Mich. V 238 Ro., col. 4, 206: Θένπρακις. The images available for the two latter attestations are illegible. On the other hand, a name Πρᾶκις seems to be attested in P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 12, 19: Πρᾶκιν (cf. TM Nam 33637). The anthroponyms Πρᾶξις (cf. LGPN I, p. 385; V.B, p. 363) and Πραξις (LGPN III.B, p. 361) are attested (cf. also TM Nam 5259); could Θένπρακις be a hybrid name?

⁸¹⁰ In BGU XI 2073, col. 1, 16: Θενσίενσις.

⁸¹¹ In BGU IX 1891, col. 10, 298: Θεντούαπις. The last part of this name could render Egyptian *Hp*, “Apis”.

⁸¹² In O. Bodl. II 1839, 1: Θινμενεύς. This name could represent Egyptian **Tj-šr.t-n-Īmn-īw*, “The daughter of Amun has come” (cf. TM Nam 18693) without the rendering of the Egyptian *yod* of Amun.

Θιννεβδοοῦς ⁸¹³	1	18394
Θινσένπω ⁸¹⁴	4	27131
Θίνσουα() ⁸¹⁵	1	24829
Θιντρεμίθη (?) ⁸¹⁶	1	21928
Θινφάνωφίς (?) ⁸¹⁷	1	9573
Θίνψανίς ⁸¹⁸	1	29609
Θίνψηπις ⁸¹⁹	1	16913
Σενάγωγ ⁸²⁰	1	28438
Σεναπλουᾶς ⁸²¹	1	19255
Σεναραιο() (?) ⁸²²	1	33869
Σεναρσενατε ⁸²³	1	26095
Σενβάηρις ⁸²⁴	1	17937
Σενβαμπούηρις ⁸²⁵	1	17830
Σένβηις ⁸²⁶	1	5713
Σενεμίηφις ⁸²⁷	1	17968

⁸¹³ In O. Wilcken II 210, 3: Θιννεβδοοῦς. The first part of the name could render Egyptian **Tj-šr.t-n-nb*..., “The daughter of the lord...”.

⁸¹⁴ In P. Paris 17, 11: Θινσέν[πως; 12: Θινσένπωτος; 15: Θινσένπως; 24: [Θ]ινσέμπωτι.

⁸¹⁵ In O. Bodl. II 1839, 1: Θίνσουα().

⁸¹⁶ In O. Wilcken II 181, 4, the fragmentary name Θιν . ρ . αθι . ης is found, which has been corrected to Θιντρεμίθης(?) at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;181>, with dots under *tau* and *rho*. It is possible that this anthroponym may be a ghostname for Θιντρεμίθης, from a prototype *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-rj-mḥt*, “The daughter of the northern gate”. Cf. the name *Σενπαπρεμίθης* (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pa-pj-rj-mḥt*) (TM Nam 12058).

⁸¹⁷ Presumably in O. Eleph. DAIK 79, 2: Θινφαν(ώφιος).

⁸¹⁸ In SB I 5346, 2: Θινψάνε(ως).

⁸¹⁹ In P. Aberdeen 91, 5: Θίνψηπις.

⁸²⁰ In *CRIPEL* V 1174, A 2-3: Σενάγωγος.

⁸²¹ In SB I 5124, col. 5, 160: Σεγαπλουᾶτος. If the reading is correct, this name could be hybrid: the anthroponym Ἄπλος, which might have the same root, is listed in *LGPN* III.A, p. 49.

⁸²² In O. Wilcken II 1225, 1 the reading found is Σεσ . . αίου, which has been corrected to Σεναραιο() at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;1225>. The reading of the name is consequently uncertain. A presumable name Αραι- does not seem to be related to the Greek anthroponym Ἄρειος (*LGPN* I, p. 57; II, p. 49; III.A, p. 53; IV, p. 41; V.A, p. 59; V.B, p. 49).

⁸²³ In O. Bodl. II 1349, 3: Σεναρσενατε.

⁸²⁴ In P. Aberdeen 98, 5: Σενβάηρις. In P. Aberdeen, p. 79, the editor considers that this name could have been written instead of Σενφάηρις (< *Tj-šr.t-pa-iry*, “The daughter of the one of the companion”).

⁸²⁵ In O. Wilcken II 148, 4: Σενβαγπούηρις, with a dot under the second nu. The last part of this name seems to render Egyptian *pj-wr*, “the great one”.

⁸²⁶ In O. Bodl. I 295, 2: Σένβηις. This name might render Egyptian *Tj-šr.t-n-Bs*, “The daughter of Bes” (cf. TM Nam 13638), but a Greek morphological ending -ίς for a name with *Bs* in final position is uncommon.

⁸²⁷ In *CRIPEL* II 89, A 2: Σενεμίηφις.

Σενένθυρις ⁸²⁸	2	23319
Σένεφρις ⁸²⁹	1	23320
Σε νεφουτ ⁸³⁰	1	23320
Σενθεντορσεύς ⁸³¹	1	28421
Σενθοταρε ⁸³²	1	26029
Σενθωρ ⁸³³	1	12036
Σενκαγοῦς ⁸³⁴	1	18522
Σενκαλαθαῖς ⁸³⁵	1	19253
Σενκατάνναρις ⁸³⁶	1	18786
Σενκέμουις ⁸³⁷	1	24321
Σένκρις ⁸³⁸	1	19389
Σένκυσις ⁸³⁹	1	34940
Σενμαρετι() ⁸⁴⁰	1	28467
Σενμόκαις ⁸⁴¹	1	18783
Σεννέσως ⁸⁴²	1	24479

⁸²⁸ In *CRIPEL* II 78, A 1 and B1: Σενενθύριος.

⁸²⁹ In O. Bodl. II 923, 2: Σένεφριος. Cf. O. Bodl. II, p. 111: “Perhaps Σενπέφριος meant”.

⁸³⁰ In SB I 3556, Ro. 1-2: Σε νεφουτ. The name Σε νεφουῖς that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;3556> seems to be incorrect. This name and Σένεφρις, which appear together in TM Nam 23320, are indeed different anthroponyms.

⁸³¹ In *CRIPEL* II 142, A 3-4: Σενθεντορσεῦτος.

⁸³² In *CRIPEL* III 462, 1: Σενθοταρε. The beginning of the name could render *Tj-šr.t-n-Dḥwty*..., “The daughter of Thot...”.

⁸³³ In I. Deir el-Bahari Lajtar 185, 6: Σενθωρ(?).

⁸³⁴ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 14, 4: Σενκαγοῦ[ς].

⁸³⁵ In *CRIPEL* II 110, A 2: Σενκαλαθαῖος. This name could be a mistake for Σενκαλανθαῖος, which would derive from a prototype **Tj-šr.t-n-Qlnḏ*.

⁸³⁶ In P. Achmim 7, col. 2, 32: Σενκαταννάρι(ος).

⁸³⁷ In O. Petrie Mus. II 416, 5: Σενκεμουί(τος). The reading is uncertain. Cf. O. Petrie Mus. II, p. 515: “Forse *l.* Σενκαμουί(τος). Le tracce incerte non sono compatibili, per es., con Σενκεμήτι(ος) (*l.* Σενκαμήτιος); il nome non è attestato ma è verosimile come ibrido del comune Σενκαμήτις e i tantissimi nomi in -μοῦις”. The name Σενκάμητις derives from a prototype **Tj-šr.t-n-kz-mw.t=f*, “The daughter of the bull of his mother”.

⁸³⁸ In P. Paris 18, Ro. 5: Σένκρις.

⁸³⁹ In SB XVI 12934, 8: Σένκυσις. The name is illegible in DEVAUCHELLE, D., WAGNER, G., *Les graffites du Gebel Teir. Textes démotiques et grecs*, n. III.7, pl. XXXIII. This name might render Egyptian **Tj-šr.t-n-Īkš*, “The daughter of the Kushite”. Cf. *Īkš* > Έκυσις (TM Nam 2919).

⁸⁴⁰ In P. Strasb. Gr. VII 614, 4: Σενμαρετι(). It is not possible to know if the second element of this name could have the same root as Μαρεις or Μαρευς (without accent in *LGPN* V.B, p. 272).

⁸⁴¹ In O. Strasb. I 202, 2: Σενμόκαιο(ς).

⁸⁴² In *CRIPEL* III 580, 3: Σεννέσωτος.

Σενόνης ⁸⁴³	2	23330
Σενοσή ⁸⁴⁴	1	24258
Σένοσις ⁸⁴⁵	1	24258
Σενπάαυτος ⁸⁴⁶	1	29041
Σενπαβεύς ⁸⁴⁷	3	27158
Σενπάηκις ⁸⁴⁸	1	17807
Σένπαλλις ⁸⁴⁹	1	30446
Σενπάνχως ⁸⁵⁰	3	23335
Σενπάσμουθις ⁸⁵¹	1	18788
Σενπατελλώλη, Σενπατέλλωλις ⁸⁵²	2	12063
Σενπάτσουντις ⁸⁵³	1	18044
Σενπαύασις ⁸⁵⁴	1	17963
Σενπαύφωις ⁸⁵⁵	1	12066
Σενπαχεμήφιος ⁸⁵⁶	1	23337
Σενπέαμυς,	17	24851

⁸⁴³ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 18, 3: Σενόνης; and P. Ross. Georg. V 61, Vo. fr. A 6: Σενόνη. These are possibly different anthroponyms. The name Όνης (*LGPNI*, p. 351), which is attested in Cyprus, does not seem to be related to this Egyptian names.

⁸⁴⁴ In SB XXIV 16000, col. 6, 203: Σενοσήτος.

⁸⁴⁵ In O. Bodl. II 986, 2-3: Σένοσις. This name seems to be different from the previous one, although they are included in TM Nam 24258 in the Trismegistos database.

⁸⁴⁶ In P. Lond. I Ro., col. 3, 41: Σενπααῦ(του).

⁸⁴⁷ In SB I 787, 2-3: Σενπαβέως; SB X 10482, 1: Σενπάβευ(ος); SB XXIV 16000, col. 7, 247: Σενπαβεῦτος. In SB I 787, 1, the simple name Παβέως occurs.

⁸⁴⁸ In O. Bodl. II 879, 1: Σενπάηκις. Cf. O. Bodl. II, p. 102: “On attendrait évidemment Σενπαηῆσις”. However, the transcriptions of **Tj-šr.t-n-pa-Is.t*, “The daughter of the one of Isis”, are not rendered with two *etas*. Cf. TM Nam 23332.

⁸⁴⁹ In *CRIPEL* IV 800, 4-5: Σενπάλλιτος.

⁸⁵⁰ In CPR XVII.2 1, col. 1, 1: Σενπάνχως Πάνχωτος; CPR XVII.2 1, col. 1, 12: Σενπάνχωτος; CPR XVII.2 1, col. 1, 20: [Σε]νπανχω().

⁸⁵¹ In P. Achmim 7, col. 1, 86: Σενπασμούθ(ιος). This name could represent Egyptian **Tj-šr.t-n-pa-ns-Mw.t*, “The daughter of He of the one who belongs to Mut”. The anthroponym *Ns-Mw.t*, “He/She who belongs to Mut” is attested in hieroglyph and Demotic. Cf. TM Nam 15095 and RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 176.10.

⁸⁵² In SB XXII 15394, 1-2: Σενπατελλώλη; and SB XXII 15403, 1-2: Σενπατέλλωλις.

⁸⁵³ In O. Strasb. I 540, col. 2, 9: Σενπάτσουντις.

⁸⁵⁴ In O. Ont. Mus. II 245, 5: Σενπαύασις.

⁸⁵⁵ In P. Oxy. Census 403 (BR1): Σενπαυφώ(ιτος). In the image available in the edition, the name is illegible.

⁸⁵⁶ In *CRIPEL* IV 899, A 1: Σενπαχεμήφιος. The document is bilingual, but the Demotic part is unfortunately unpublished. The last part of the name could represent Egyptian *mh=f*, “the pillar of his mother”.

Σενπέασμυς ⁸⁵⁷		
Σενπεμαούς ⁸⁵⁸	1	28423
Σενπερθ() ⁸⁵⁹	1	34501
Σενπεσοῦς ⁸⁶⁰	1	24206
Σενπετέκαις/- καίος ⁸⁶¹	1	35979
Σενπετεχραίτης ⁸⁶²	2	26491
Σένπεφίς ⁸⁶³	3	23343
Σενπέψαυς ⁸⁶⁴	1	12076
Σενπλαβούρης ⁸⁶⁵	1	23345
Σενπνάητις ⁸⁶⁶	1	18106
Σενπνιχ() ⁸⁶⁷	1	28361
Σενπνόνθυρις ⁸⁶⁸	2	18839
Σενπνουαν ⁸⁶⁹	1	33983

⁸⁵⁷ All the attestations of this name occur in O. Edfu I and II. The anthroponym Σενπέασμυς seem to appear complete in O. Edfou I 193, 1, with a dot under the *alpha*, and Σενπέαμυς in O. Edfou I 179, 1; 180, 1; 182, 1, 183, 1; II 289, 1. In O. Edfou I 178, 1; 181, 1; 184, 1; 185, 1-2; 186, 2; 187, 2; 188, 2; 189, 1; 190, 1-2; 192, 1; 194, 1; 195, 1, the name appears abbreviated or partially reconstructed, and in O. Edfou I 191, 2, completely reconstructed.

⁸⁵⁸ In SB I 145, 1-3: Σενπεμαούτος.

⁸⁵⁹ In SB XVI 12461, 1: Σενπερθ().

⁸⁶⁰ In *CRIPEL* III 687, 1: Σενπεσοῦτος. The name Σοῦς, which is attested in Bithynia and listed in the *LGPV* V.A, p. 407, does not appear to be related to this anthroponym. On the other hand, the name Πεσοῦς (TM Nam 18390), is attested in SB I 1228, 2.

⁸⁶¹ In P. Lond. I 119, col. 3, 37: Σενπετέκαίος(ς). The anthroponym Καίς, which is attested in Cilicia Tracheia and listed in *LGPV* V.B, p. 222 – without accent – does not seem to be related to this name. It is not impossible, on the other hand, that this name may be an hybrid anthroponym with the first part as rendering of *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-*, “The daughter of He who has been given by”, and the Latin name Κάιος/Κάις (< Caius) (cf. TM Nam 9067).

⁸⁶² In SB I 5477, 2: Σενπετεχραίτου; and *CRIPEL* II 52, A 3: Σενπετεχραίτου, which is a bilingual text but the Demotic part is unfortunately unpublished. This name could be a transcription of Egyptian **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-hrd*, “The daughter of He who has been given by the child”, but the vocalization of *hrd* usually appears as α (cf. -χράτης) and not as αι. However, on the interchange of α and αι in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 194-195.

⁸⁶³ In O. Bodl. II 734, 2: Σενπέφιος(ς); O. Bodl. II 736, 2: Σενπέφιος(ς); O. Bodl. II 1532, 3: Σενπέφιος. Cf. O. Bodl. II 1532 (p. 237): “Σενπέφιος is probably an abbreviated form of Σενπετεμενώφιος”. Σενπετεμενώφιος is the rendering of Egyptian **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Imn-(m)-Ip.t*, “The daughter of He who has been given by Amun is in Opet” (cf. TM Nam 12073). The three attestations of Σένπεφίς come in fact from Thebes.

⁸⁶⁴ In I. Deir el-Bahari Lajtar 287, 2: Σενπέψαυς.

⁸⁶⁵ In SB XVI 12447, 1: Σενπλαβούρης. A name **Λαβούρης is not attested in Greek, but the Latin name Λαβώριος is (cf. TM Nam 28967) seems to be. It is not impossible that this may be a hybrid Egyptian-Latin anthroponym with the first part transcription of *T3-šr.t-n-p3-* plus a Latin name in Greek characters.

⁸⁶⁶ In *CRIPEL* II 243, A 1: Σενπνάητις.

⁸⁶⁷ In P. Achmim 7, col. 2, 23: Σενπνιχ().

⁸⁶⁸ In SB I 5474, Ro. 2-3: Σενπνονθύριος; and SB I 5474, Vo. 2: Σενπνονθύριος.

⁸⁶⁹ In *CRIPEL* IV 942, fr. 1 1-2: Σενπνουαν.

Σενποῦς ⁸⁷⁰	1	18505
Σενπούχουμις ⁸⁷¹	1	28258
Σενπρέμακίς ⁸⁷²	1	17942
Σένπτομνίς ⁸⁷³	1	24728
Σενπτουμ ⁸⁷⁴	1	12083
Σένπτουλος ⁸⁷⁵	1	26168
Σενσαράραιχθος ⁸⁷⁶	2	29302
Σενσασίως ⁸⁷⁷	1	34321
Σεντεῖ ⁸⁷⁸	1	24036
Σεντισενπουη ⁸⁷⁹	1	18258
Σενφωτιασει ⁸⁸⁰	1	34276
Σενψεκῆς ⁸⁸¹ , Σενψεκῆς ⁸⁸²	3 1	23356 + 12097
Σένψεμμίς ⁸⁸³	2	12099
Σενψι() ⁸⁸⁴	2	30352
Σένψισυς ⁸⁸⁵	1	38622

⁸⁷⁰ In O. Strasb. I 648, 5: Σενποῦς. This name is probably not related to the anthroponym Πους, listed in *LGN V.B*, p. 363 – without accent – and attested in Cilicia Tracheia and Pamphylia.

⁸⁷¹ In SB I 5699, 3-4: Σενπουχούμις. The last part of the name could render Egyptian *ḥm*, “eagle”.

⁸⁷² In O. Edfou I 208, 1: Σενπρέμακίς(?). This name could represent Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n-p3-rmt-n-Mḥn*, “The daughter of the man of Hierakonpolis”. Cf. O. Elkab, 1989, p. 40. Cf. also the name Πρεμμής (TM Nam 17992).

⁸⁷³ In SB I 2073, 2: Σενπόμνιος.

⁸⁷⁴ In SB XXII 15395, 1: Σενπτουμ.

⁸⁷⁵ In SB V 8060, 1: Σένπτουλο(ς). Although a name *Πτοῦλος is not attested in Greek, this could be a hybrid anthroponym: the names Πτολᾶς (*LGN I*, p. 390), Πτολλᾶς (*LGN I*, p. 391; IV, p. 294), and Πτολλίων (*LGN V.B*, p. 368), which could contain the same root, are in fact attested.

⁸⁷⁶ In *CRIPEL* II 49, A 2-3: Σενσααραίχθου; and *CRIPEL* II 50, A 2-3: Σενσααραίχθου.

⁸⁷⁷ In *CRIPEL* II 31, A 2-3: Σενσασίω{σ}τος.

⁸⁷⁸ In O. Strasb. I 641, 7: Σεντεῖς.

⁸⁷⁹ In O. Bodl. II 806, 6: Σεντισενπουη.

⁸⁸⁰ In O. Bodl. I 350, 4: Σενφωτιασει.

⁸⁸¹ In *CRIPEL* III 476, 2: Σενψεκῆτος; *CRIPEL* V 1085, 1-2: Σενψεκῆς; and *CRIPEL* V, 1: Σενψεκῆς.

⁸⁸² In SB XXII 15404, 1: Σενψεκῆτος. Cf. also WILFONG, T. G., “Mummy Labels from the Oriental Institute’s Excavations at Medinet Habu”, p. 166.

⁸⁸³ In SB XXII 15415, 3: Τσένψεμμίς and reconstructed in SB XXII 15428, 1: Σέ[νψεμ]μίς. The names Ἐμμεῖς (*LGN IV*, p. 118, in Cimmerian Bosphoros) and Εμμύς (*LGN V.B*, p. 135 – without accent –, in Cilicia) are attested, but they are probably not related with those anthroponyms of unknown etymology.

⁸⁸⁴ In P. Achmim 7, col. 1, 83: Σενψι() and P. Achmim 7, col. 2, 28: Σενψι().

⁸⁸⁵ In *CRIPEL* III 389, A 3: Σενψίσυτος.

Σένψουλις	1	23358
Σένωθις	1	26217
Τσενονπμοῦς ⁸⁸⁶	1	5716 + 34224
Τσενπαναμεύς ⁸⁸⁷	1	34011
Χεένναμις ⁸⁸⁸	1	18190
Χενέπεις ⁸⁸⁹	2	17925
Χενέφνιβις ⁸⁹⁰	2	23694
Χενοῦς ⁸⁹¹	1	12891
Χενπαλαυς ⁸⁹²	1	2618
Χενσειβατ ⁸⁹³	2	28317
Χενσιπτοῦς ⁸⁹⁴	1	12892
Χεντώεις ⁸⁹⁵	1	18178

⁸⁸⁶ In SB V 8033, 5: Τσενόνπμουτι. The etymology of this name is uncertain. Cf. KUENTZ, C., “À propos des noms propres du papyrus Baraize”, p. 52-54.

⁸⁸⁷ In SB XIV 11735, 1: Τσενπαναμεῦ. Cf. WAGNER, G., “Ostraca grecs trouvés en 1941 à Karnak-Nord”, p. 49: “Nom de femme encore inconnu: Τσεν + Παναμεῦς, un nom fréquent dans les ostraca thébains”. The name Παναμεῦς, whose prototype is unknown, is attested more than 300 times. Cf. TM Nam 7277.

⁸⁸⁸ In O. Claud. I 162, 3: Χεένναμις.

⁸⁸⁹ In P. Amh. Gr. II 71, 2: Χενέπειτος; 22: Χενέπεις.

⁸⁹⁰ In UPZ I 124, 7: Χενεφνίβιος; 17: Χενέφνιβιν. The last part of the name, -νιβ-, could represent Egyptian *nb*, “lord”.

⁸⁹¹ In SB XX 14116, 3: Χενοῦτος. The reading of the name is not completely sure. Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., “Fragmentari Papyri from the University of Princeton Papyrus Collection”, p. 37: “The proper name Χενοῦς is unattested. The chi may be a psi (less likely a tau) and instead of ny an eta could be read”.

⁸⁹² In SB XVIII 13244, col. 1, 25: μη(τρός) Χενπαλαυς.

⁸⁹³ In UPZ I 98, Ro. col. 2, 5: Χενσειβατ; col. 5, 89: Χενσειβατ.

⁸⁹⁴ In SB XX 14577, Ro. col. 2, 34: Χενσιπτοῦς.

⁸⁹⁵ In P. Strasb. Gr. IX 823, 6: Χεντώεις ἀδελφή. Cf. P. Strasb. Gr. IX, p. 35: “son nom est à rapprocher de celui de Sentoîs”. However, the name Σέντωις seems to be a rendering of *Sm3-t3.wy*, “He who unites the two lands”, which is a masculine name. Cf. TM Nam 1044.

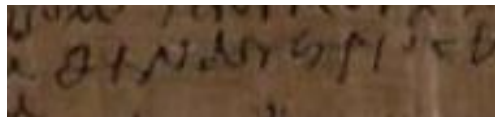
b) Anthroponyms with a reading uncertain

- **Θενάλυμις** (TM Nam 37616: one attestation in P. Tebt. II 343 Vo., 11: Θεναλύμεως): the letters Θεν- and the ending -μεως are visible, but the letters that the editor reads as -λυ- are uncertain.



P. Tebt. II 343 Vo., 11: Θεναλύμεως

- **Θενάτηρις** (TM Nam 21882: one attestation in P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 14, 23: Θενατήριος): the beginning Θενα- and the ending -ριος are visible; the middle letters, which have been read as -τη- by the editor, are not certain. The provenance of P. Mich. II 123 is Tebtynis; thus, the vocalisation of *Tʒ-šr.t-n-* seems to be represented as ε (Θεν-) and not as ι (Θιν-), since Θιν- is the common rendering of *Tʒ-šr.t-n-* in the dialect of Elephantine.



P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 14, 23: Θενατήριος

- **Θεννέψησις** (TM Nam 18806: one attestation in PSI VIII 907, 21: Θεννεψήσιο(ς)): the reading of the beginning Θεν- seems certain. The letter after the nu of Θεν- seems rather a *pi* than a *nu*; after it, an *epsilon* can be read. The reading of the following letters of the anthroponym is uncertain.



PSI VIII 907, 21: Θεννεψήσιο(ς)

- **Θενφρώκως** (TM Nam 21896: two attestations in P. Baden IV 75 a, 12: Θενφρώκως, and presumably in P. Baden IV 75 a, 14: Θενφ[ρως]()): in P. Baden IV 75 a, 12 only Θεν- can be read, and in P. Baden IV 75 a, Θε- can be read.

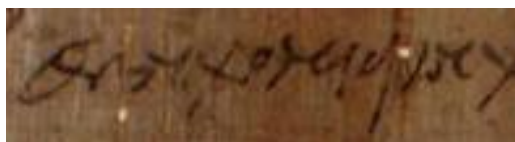


P. Baden IV 75 a, 12: Θενφρώκως



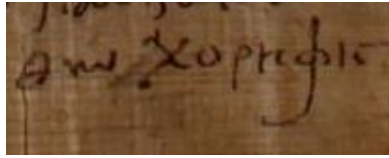
P. Baden IV 75 a, 14: Θενφ[ρως]()

- **Θενχόνηφις** (TM Nam 29714: one attestation in P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 3, 6: Θενχόνηφιν): the beginning Θενχο- and the ending -τιν can be read, but the middle letters are uncertain. However, in the same document, P. Mich. II 121 Ro., col. 3, xii, 3, the anthroponym Θενχόρηφις, written by a different hand and alluding to the same person, occurs⁸⁹⁶. Should the name Θενχόρηφιν be read here as well? Both the names *Χόρηφις and *Χόνηφις are unattested.



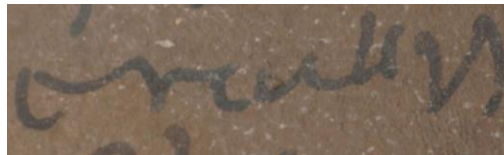
P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 3, 6: Θενχόνηφιν

⁸⁹⁶ Cf. P. Mich. II, p. 58: “There the name of the wife is given as Θενχονῆφις instead of Θενχορῆφις as it is spelled in l. 3 of the abstract”.



P. Mich. II 121 Ro., col. 3, xii, 3: Θενχόρηφης

- **Σεναβώτης** (TM Nam 34179: presumably one attestation in O. Wilcken II 489, 2: Σεναβ(ώτου)): except the *beta* read by the editor, the letters composing this name are uncertain.



O. Wilcken II 489, 2: Σεναβ(ώτου)

- **Σεναιαντος** (TM Nam 34180: one attestation in genitive in P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2846, 2: Σεναιαντος): only the first part Σε- can be read.

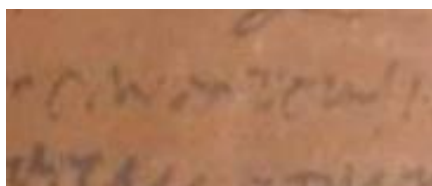


P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2846, 2: Σεναιαντος

- **Σεναλεροῦς** (TM Nam 38600: one attestation in O. Petrie Mus. II 435, 3: Σεναλβυκ(), which has been corrected to Σεναλ<ε>ροῦ(τος)⁸⁹⁷: the letters after Σενα- are uncertain in the image available⁸⁹⁸.

⁸⁹⁷ At <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.petr.;:357>.

⁸⁹⁸ Cf. O. Petrie Mus. II, p. 540: “riteniamo sicuro uno scambio ρ/λ (vd. Gignac, Gram., I, 103-107); sono ben attestati i nomi in Σεναρβ- e Ψεναρβ-, in particolare si segnala Σεναρβοῦχης in O. Wilck. 436, 2 (Theb., 75)”.



O. Petrie Mus. II 435, 3: Σενάλ<ε>ροῦ(τος)

- **Σεναμωοῦς** (TM Nam 12016: one attestation in O. Kellis 59, 2: Σεναμωοῦ(τος)): the editor also proposes the reading Σεναμού(νιος)⁸⁹⁹, from a prototype *T3-šr.t-n-Īmn*, “The daughter of Amun”, which in fact seems more probable here.



O. Kellis 59, 2: Σεναμωοῦ(τος)

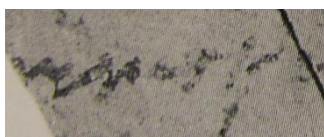
- **Σενάπετις** (TM Nam 34251: one attestation in P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 12, 29: Σενάπετιν): the beginning Σενα- and the ending -τιν can be seen in the image available, but the reading of the letters between both is not sure.



P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 12, 29: Σενάπετιν

- **Σενάπωτις** (TM Nam 18210: one attestation in P. Brooklyn Gr. 55, 3: [Σ]ενάπωτις): the anthroponym in this text is illegible.

⁸⁹⁹ Cf. O. Kellis, p. 68: “Probably NOT Γενα instead of Σενα-. An alternative reading for the name might be Σεναμού(νιος), but the space between the -μ- and the -ν- seems to be too wide for holding only an omikron”.



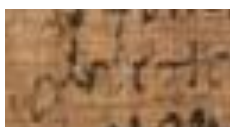
P. Brooklyn Gr. 55, 3: [Σ]ενάπωτις

- **Σένβαγης** (TM Nam 5712: one attestation in P. Giss. Univ. I 9, 8): the letters Σενβα- seem clear, but what the editor reads as -γι- could also be an *eta*. The editor considers that Βάγης could be a Persian name⁹⁰⁰. On the other hand, some names with the root Βαγ- are attested in Greek⁹⁰¹, which leads to think that this may be a hybrid anthroponym.



P. Giss. Univ. I 9, 8: Σενβάγης

- **Σένητις** (TM Nam 18070: one attestation in P. Petaus 108, col. 4, 121: Σένητις – with a dot under the *eta* –): the editor hesitates between this reading and Σένυτις⁹⁰². The ending -τις can be seen in the image available, but the previous letters cannot be certainly identified.



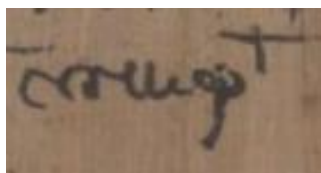
P. Petaus 108, col. 4, 121: Σένητις

⁹⁰⁰ Cf. P. Giss. Univ. I 19: “Der Bestandteil βαγης mag zu den persischen Namen mit gleichem Stamme . Βαγώας (vgl. SB. 378. 5065), Βαγαῖος u. a. gehören”.

⁹⁰¹ Cf. Βάγας (LGN V.A, p. 95); Βαγατεύς (LGN V.A, p. 95); Βαγώας (LGN II, p. 85; V.A, p. 95; V.B, p. 81); Βάγης (LGN IV, p. 63, V.A, p. 95), Βάγιος (LGN IV, p. 63).

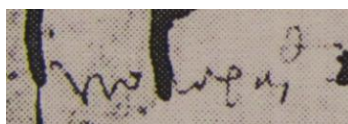
⁹⁰² Cf. P. Petaus, p. 348: “Vielleicht auch Σενῦτις”. However, a prototype *Šr-n-ntr, “Son of God”, is not probable for a presumable anthroponym Σένυτις given the date of the text (ca. 185 AD).

- **Σενκορ()** (TM Nam 30417: one attestation in SB XXIV 15989, 12: Σενκορ()): the letters Σεν- are visible, but the reading of the following part of the name is uncertain.



SB XXIV 15989, 12: Σενκορ()

- **Σενπάραιθις** (TM Nam 12060: one attestation in P. Oxy. Census 154 (AR12): Σενπάραιθ(ις)): the ending -αραιθ() ; the previous letters, on the other hand, are uncertain.



P. Oxy. Census 154 (AR12): Σενπάραιθ(ις)

- **Σενπάχως** (TM Nam 24508: one attestation in P. Erl. 40, Ro. 3: Σενπάχωτος): the beginning Σενπαχ- seems certain, but the following letters are not visible due to the faded ink⁹⁰³. A final *sigma* can also be read.



P. Erl. 40, Ro. 3: Σενπάχως

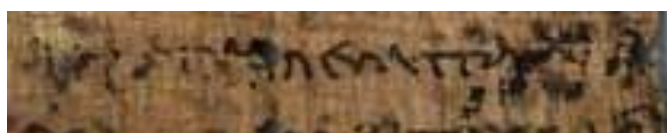
⁹⁰³ Cf. YOUTIE, H. C., YOUTIE, L. C., “P. Erl. 40”, p. 135: “Σενπαχ . . . ς : Σενπαχῶτος ed.pr. Nothing is really sure after χ until final sigma. Schubart notes that the space is insufficient for Σενπαχῶμις, and the same way he said for Σενπαχοῦμις”. We do not agree with Schubart: the name Σενπάχουμις, from a prototype *T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm*, “The daughter of the eagle” (cf. nam_id 12069), can fit in the space, and the ending -ις is indeed visible.

- **Σενπείμανος** (TM Nam 18776: one attestation in PSI III 162, 22: Σενπείμαντος – with a dot under the first *sigma* –): the letters -πειμαντος can be seen – although -πειμουτος could also be read –, and an *epsilon* followed by a *nu* can be presupposed before, but the reading of a *sigma* as first letter of the name is doubtful. On the other hand, the limit between this anthroponym and the previous one is not clear: this could be a ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division. In the previous name, the letters Παθατ- can be seen, but no strokes of a *rho* can be seen: rather a *psi* or a *phi* with a vertical stroke could be presupposed.



PSI III 162, 22: Παθατρῆς Σενπείμαντος

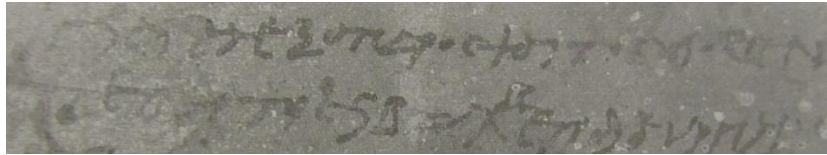
- **Σενπετεπαας** (TM Nam 5720: one attestation in SB XVIII 13241, col. 1, 2: παρὰ Σενπετεπαας (presumably genitive)): only the letters -πετ- and -πα- can be seen in the image available. If the reading proposed by the editor is correct, this name may render Egyptian **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-...*, “The daughter of He who has been given by...”.



SB XVIII 13241, col. 1, 2: παρὰ Σενπετεπαας

- **Σενπετρῆς** (TM Nam 12075: one attestation in O. Kellis 9, 1-2: Σενπετρῆτος): only the letters Σενπε- and the ending -τος are visible in the image available. If the reading of the editor is correct⁹⁰⁴, a prototype **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-R* ‘, “The daughter of He who has been given by Ra”, does not seem probable, since the name *R* ‘ usually appears preceded by the masculine definite article.

⁹⁰⁴ Cf., however, O. Kellis, p. 37: “I prefer a reading -πετρῆτος to a reading -πεβῆτος”. The name Πεβῆς (nam_id 11423) is well attested, but its Egyptian prototype is unknown.



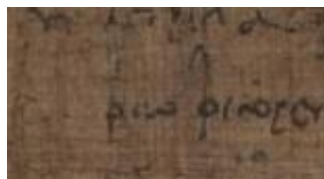
O. Kellis 9, 1-2: Σενπετρῆτος

- **Σενπίμω**ς (TM Nam 24478: one attestation in O. Wilcken II 593, 3: Σενπίμωτ(ος)): no letter of the anthroponym can be certainly read⁹⁰⁵.

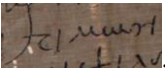


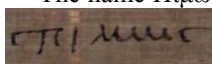
O. Wilcken II 593, 3: Σενπίμωτ(ος)

- **Σένρωφ**ις (TM Nam 18012: one attestation in P. Alex. Giss. 17, 22: Σένρωφις): the ending -ωφίς can be seen, the two previous letters are uncertain and what the editor has read as Σεν- is not visible.



P. Alex. Giss. 17, 22: Σένρωφις

⁹⁰⁵ The name Πίμω (nam_id 23144) seems to be however attested three times in P. Mich. V 251, 5:  17:



and partially reconstructed in the line 33.

- **Σεντέρως** (TM Nam 23352: one attestation in P. Erl. 102 Ro., 7: Σεντέρως): only the beginning Σεν- can be presupposed.



P. Erl. 102 Ro., 7: Σεντέρως

- **Σεντή** (TM Nam 26557: one attestation in O. Mich. I 21, 2: Σεντῆ ἀδ(ελφῆ)): the letters Σεν- could be read, but the following part of the anthroponym is not sure.



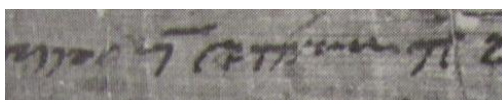
O. Mich. I 21, 2: Σεντῆ ἀδ(ελφῆ)

- **Σεντιεύς** (TM Nam 5723: two attestations in P. Count. 6, 49: Σεντιεύς – with a dot under the first *sigma* – and in P. Coll. Youtie I 58, col. 2, 5: Σεντιέως). In P. Count. 6, 49, only the letters -ιεύς are really visible⁹⁰⁶, and in P. Coll. Youtie I 58, col. 2, 5 the letters Σε- could be presupposed. The following letter could be a *nu* but also a *pi*, and after it the reading is not certain.



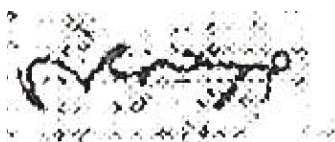
P. Count. 6, 49: Σεντιεύς

⁹⁰⁶ Cf. P. Count, p. 211: “Sentieus also is far from certain”.



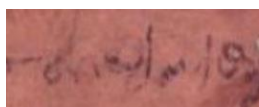
P. Coll. Youtie I 58, col. 2, 5: μη(τρός) Σεντιέως

- **Σέντρις** (TM Nam 12088: two attestations in P. Oxy. Census 378 (AR30): Σέντρ[ι]ς and in P. Achmim 9, col. 3, 188: Σέντριος – for which no image is available –); in P. Oxy. Census 378 Σεντρ- can be seen, but the *rho* is not certain and the following letters are not visible in the picture available.

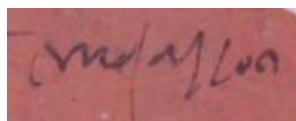


P. Oxy. Census 378 (AR30): Σέντρ[ι]ς

- **Σένφαφίς** (TM Nam 18153: 6 attestations in O. Ashm. 80, 4: Σενφάφεις; O. Bodl. II 429, 2: Σένφαφίς; O. Elkab 23, 1: Σενφάφιος; O. Petrie Mus. II 252, 1: Σενφάφιος; O. Petrie Mus. II 296, 1: Σενφάφιο(ς); and O. Petrie Mus. II 311, 1: Σενφάφιος). In O. Bodl. II 429, 2, the name Φᾶφίς is found.



O. Petrie Mus. II 296, 1: Σενφάφιο(ς)

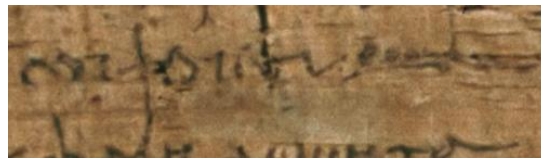


O. Petrie Mus. II 311, 1: Σενφάφιος



O. Petrie Mus. II 252, 1: Σενφάφιος

- **Σενψένεμις** (TM Nam 29607: one attestation in P. Hibeh II 280, Ro. 18: Σενψενέμεως): the letters after Σενψεν- (< *P3-šr-n-p3-šr-n-*, “The son of the daughter of...”) are uncertain.



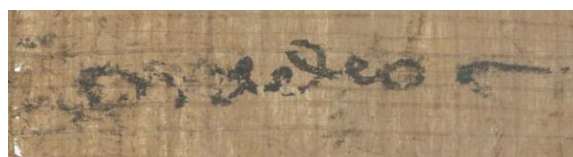
P. Hibeh II 280, Ro. 18: Σενψενέμεως

- **Σενψίραιθις** (nam_id 12103: one attestation in P. Oxy. Census 172 (AR14): Ψιραίθου μη(τρὸς) Ξενψιρα[ίθιος]): only the letters -ψι- can be seen in the picture available.



P. Oxy. Census 172 (AR14): Ψιραίθου μη(τρὸς) Ξενψιρα[ίθιος]

- **Σένωθις** (nam_id 26217: one attestation in BGU VII 1638 a-b, B col. 2, 7: μη(τρὸς) Σενώθιος): only the ending -θιος can be certainly read.

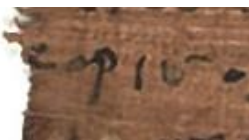


BGU VII 1638 a-b, B col. 2, 7: μη(τρὸς) Σενώθιος

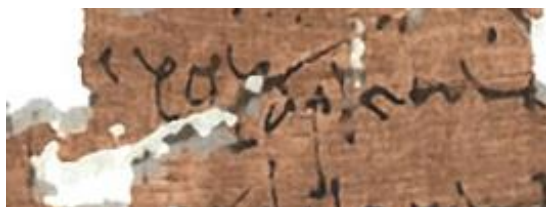
- **Τσενούαρις** (nam_id 17847: presumably attested in PSI VIII 897 (1), 55: Τσενούαρις; and reconstructed in PSI VIII 897 (1), 3: Τσενο]ύαρις and PSI VIII 897 (1), 40: Τσενο]ύαρις): in the pictures available, the letters -αρις can be read, but the rest of the name is uncertain.



PSI VIII 897 (1), 3: Τσενο]ύαρις



PSI VIII 897 (1), 40: Τσενο]ύαρις

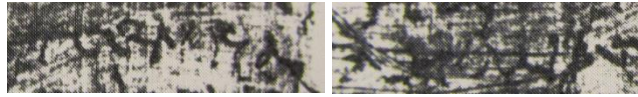


PSI VIII 897 (1), 55: Τσενούαρις

- **Τσενπάλημις** (nam_id 28269: one attestation in SB XVI 12763, 3-4: Τσενπαλήμιος): only the letters Τσενπα- are visible⁹⁰⁷.



⁹⁰⁷ The name Πάλημις/Πάλμις is attested (cf. nam_id 17264), but its prototype is unknown.



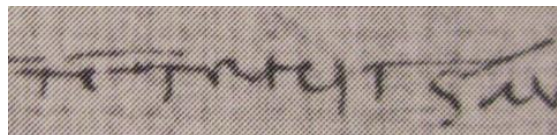
SB XVI 12763, 3-4: Τσενπαλήμιος

- **Τσένταυσις** (nam_id 25892: one attestation in P. Pheretnuis, col. 7, 193: Τσ(εν)ταύσιο(ς)): no letter of the name read by the editor is legible in the picture available.



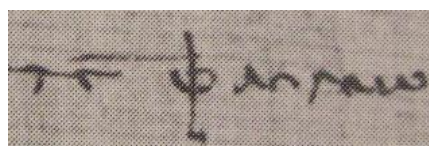
P. Pheretnuis, col. 7, 193: Τσ(εν)ταύσιο(ς)

- **Τσεντέης** (nam_id 25756: one attestation in P. Pheretnuis, col. 7, 185: Τσ(εν)τεηίτ(ος)): the reading proposed by the editor could be correct, but the reading of the sequence between the second *tau* and -ιτ is not completely sure.



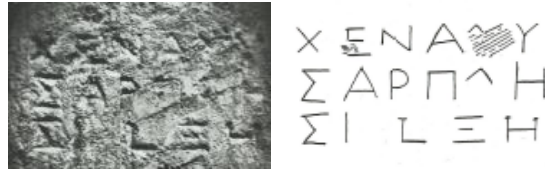
P. Pheretnuis, col. 7, 185: Τσ(εν)τεηίτ(ος)

- **Τσένφασλις** (nam_id 29608: one attestation in P. Pheretnuis, col. 10, 263: Τσ(εν)φάσλεω(ς)): the reading of the name may be correct, but the last three letters, which the editor consider to be -λεω, are not completely certain.



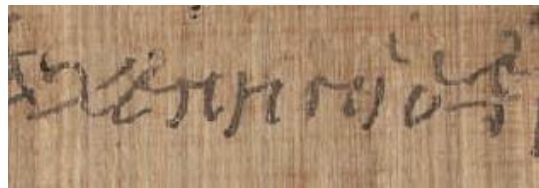
P. Pheretnuis, col. 10, 263: Τσ(εν)φάσλεω(ς)

- **Χέναμυς** (nam_id 12887⁹⁰⁸: one attestation in I. Akôris 55, 1-2: Χέναμυς): the letter previous to the *upsilon*, which the editor reads as *mu*, has not been preserved.



I. Akôris 55, 1-2: Χέναμυς

- **Χένηνις** (nam_id 23695: P. Tebt. II 401, col. 6, 21: Χενήνι(ος?)): the reading proposed by the editor could be correct, but what he reads as two *nus* could also be two *pis*.



P. Tebt. II 401, col. 6, 21: Χενήνι(ος?)

⁹⁰⁸ The names Σενάμου (P. Oxy. VI 999 descr.) and Χενάμου (P. Oxy. LIX 3997, Vo. 41) included in nam_id 12887 are renderings of Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n-Īmn*, “The daughter of Amun”.

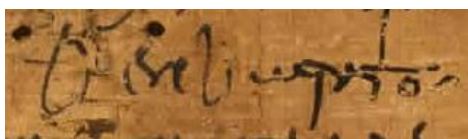
c) **Anthroponyms with a reading certain**

- **Θεναληρ** (TM Nam 16886: one attestation in BGU XIV 2426, 18): the etymology of what is represented as –αληρ in Greek is unknown⁹⁰⁹.



BGU XIV 2426, 18: Θεναληρ

- **Θενβωτᾱς** (TM Nam 5452: one attestation in PSI 1 32, 2: Θενβωτᾱτος⁹¹⁰): a name *Bωτᾱς is not attested elsewhere.



PSI 1 32, 2: Θενβωτᾱτος

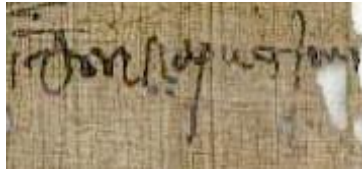
- **Θενπάροτις/Θενπάρωτις** (TM Nam 5457: two attestations in P. Petaus 45, col. 1, 15: Θενπαρώτιως and P. Petaus 46, 22: Θενπαρότιως – with the genitive ending -ιως instead of -ιος): Πάροτις/Πάρωτις does not seem to be attested elsewhere. The anthroponym Ῥῶτις⁹¹¹ is attested in Samos in the fifth century BC, but Θενπάροτις/Θενπάρωτις do not seem to be hybrid names constructed of Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n-ta-*, “The daughter of the one of...”, and a Greek name.

⁹⁰⁹ It is not possible to know if -αληρ is also represented in the name Φάληρις (TM Nam 25948), which appears abbreviated in SB I 4351, 4, 5 and 7: Φαλή(ριος).

⁹¹⁰ In LIFSHITZ, B., “Inscriptions de Sinaï et de Palestine”, p. 158, n. 12, pl. VIb (= SEG XLVII 2126 (1467), 2-3), from Northern Sinai, this name has been reconstructed: Θενβ[ωτᾱς]. In the image available, only the letters Θενβ are visible:



⁹¹¹ Cf. *LGPN* I, P. 400.

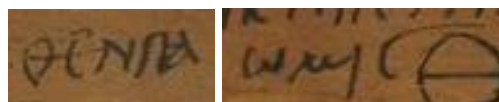
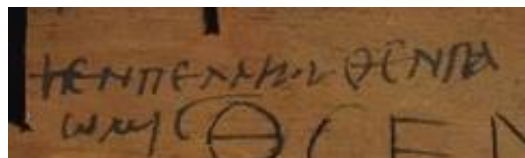


P. Petaus 45, col. 1, 15: Θενπαρότιως



P. Petaus 46, 22: Θενπαρότιως

- **Θενπάωμις** (TM Nam 28152: one attestation in SB I 5212, 1-2, read with a dot under the *pi*): the masculine name Πάωμις is well attested, but its etymology is unknown⁹¹². Nevertheless, it could start by the masculine possessive pronoun *pa-*, or by the definite article *p3* followed by *-αωμις*.



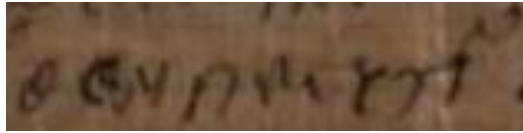
SB I 5212, 1-2: Θενπάωμις

- **Θενπέσυτις** (TM Nam 33122: one attestation in P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 14, 30: Θενπέσυτιν): the name Πέσυτις is attested⁹¹³, but its etymology is unknown.

⁹¹² Cf. TM Nam 7299.

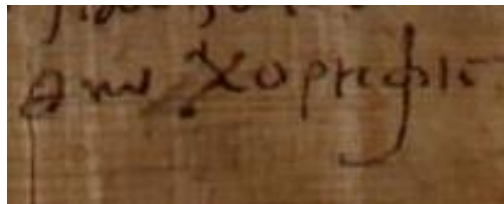
⁹¹³ In P. Count. 6, 256: Πέσυτις; P. Count. 24, 87: Πέσυτις; and P. Tebt. III 1013 descr., 1: Πέσυτις





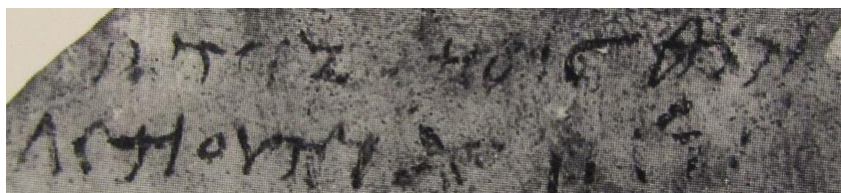
P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 14, 30: Θενπέσουτιν

- **Θενχόρηφης** (TM Nam 16892: one attestation in P. Mich. II 121 Ro., col. 3, xii, 3). On this name, cf. Θενχόνηφης in the list of names with uncertain reading.



P. Mich. II 121 Ro., col. 3, xii, 3: Θενχόρηφης

- **Θινπετίουτις** (TM Nam 9572: one attestation in O. Eleph. DAIK 91, 1-2: Θινπετιούτει): no name *Πετίουτις seems to occur elsewhere. The anthroponym Οὔτις is attested in Boiotia (169-172 AD)⁹¹⁴, but it is not probably represented here. The Egyptian prototype of the name could start by *T3-šr.t-n-p3-dī*..., “The daughter of He who has been given by...”.



O. Eleph. DAIK 91, 1-2: Θινπετιούτει

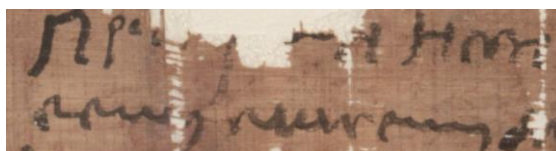
- **Σεναμουλ** (TM Nam 28397: one attestation in SB I 1236, 2): a name *Αμουλ is not attested.

⁹¹⁴ Cf. *LGP*N III.B, p. 329.



SB I 1236, 2: Σεναμουλ

- **Σενεέως** (TM Nam 28190: one attestation in P. Rainer Cent. 62, 1-2): preceded by the feminine Greek article in nominative ἡ, this anthroponym seems to be in nominative despite its ending -εως. No name *(N)εέως is on the other hand attested⁹¹⁵.



P. Rainer Cent. 62, 1-2: ἡ Σενεέως

- **Σενεπη** (TM Nam 18357: one attestation in O. Ashm. Shelton 59, 3 – read with a dot under the *eta* –). No name *(N)επη is attested elsewhere.

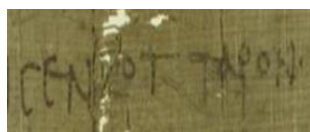


O. Ashm. Shelton 59, 3: Σενεπη

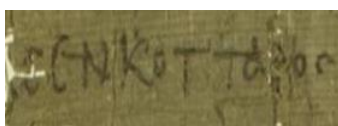
- **Σενκότταρος** (TM Nam 12043: two attestations in SB XX 15147, 9: Σενκότταρον and SB XX 15147, 10: Σενκότταρος): the anthroponym Κότταρος, which is considered as Greek in the

⁹¹⁵ Cf. P. Rainer Cent., p. 352: “The name Seneeos appears to be a sound reading from the point of view of palaeography, but the form seems peculiar, and such a name does not occur elsewhere in the papyri. The closest similarities I can find are Σενσνῶς (in SB III 7045) and Σενσαῶς (SB V 8371)”. This anthroponym does not seem to be related to Σάνσνως or its variants, which, deriving from a prototype *Sn-sn.w*, “The two brothers” (cf. TM Nam 1029), are masculine names.

Trismegistos database, is attested seven times in different documents⁹¹⁶. In addition, other anthroponyms with the same root are attested (cf. Κοτταρᾶς, Κοτταρίων, Κοττάριος, Κοτταρᾶς)⁹¹⁷ and also considered as Greek. However, none of these names are listed in the *LGN*. The name Κότταβος is attested in Eubolia⁹¹⁸, but here the second element of the anthroponym appears in fact to be Κότταρος, since the *rho* is clear in SB XX 15147, 9. If, despite the fact that it is not listed in the *LGN*, Κότταρος is a Greek name, the anthroponym Σενκότταρος would be a hybrid anthroponym.



SB XX 15147, 9: Σενκότταρον



SB XX 15147, 10: Σενκότταρος

- **Σένμαυς/Σενμάαυς/Σενμέαυς** (TM Nam 19600: 5 attestations in O. Wilcken II 126, 2: Σενμάαυς⁹¹⁹; SB VI 9117 (9), 1: Σενμαύ(τος); O. Wilcken II 133, 3: Σενμέ<αυ>τος; O. Bodl. II 1924, 1: Σενμέαυτο(ς) – for which no images are available –; and P. Brooklyn Gr. 36, 2: Σενμέαυτος): the names *Μαυς/*Μααυς/*Μεαυς are not attested, but the ending -μεαυς is found in other names such as Θιμεαῦτος (genitive)⁹²⁰ and Θιμεαοῦς⁹²¹. These names could be the equivalent to Σένμαυς with Egyptian *Tj-šr.t-n-* represented as Θι(μ) – with contraction of the *n* of *Tj-šr.t-n-* and the *m* of the following element – in the dialect of Elephantine. Since

⁹¹⁶ Cf. TM Nam 9975.

⁹¹⁷ Cf. TM Nam 9973, 9974, 22239, 9973, respectively.

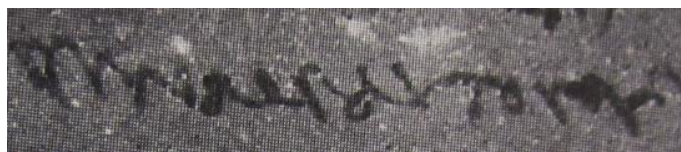
⁹¹⁸ Cf. *LGN* I, p. 270. Cf. also TM Nam 3719.

⁹¹⁹ The name Σε . . . ξ . . αυς that can be found in the edition has been corrected to Σενμάαυς at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;126>.

⁹²⁰ In O. Wilcken II 145, 4 and O. Wilcken II 194, 7 (cf. TM Nam 19597)

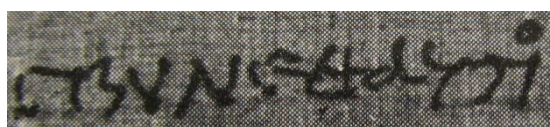
⁹²¹ In O. Wilcken II 299, 4 (cf. TM Nam 19597).

these anthroponyms do not occur in any bilingual text, the etymology of the second part is unknown.



P. Brooklyn Gr. 36, 2: Σενμέαυτος

- **Σεννέθαντις** (TM Nam 18817: one attestation in SB XIV 11266, col. 1, 4: Σεννεθαύτιο(ς)). No image *Νέθαντις seems to occur in any other document. It is consequently not possible to know the Egyptian prototype of the second part of the anthroponym.



SB XIV 11266, col. 1, 4⁹²²: Σεννεθαύτιο(ς)

- **Σενπάνχναυς** (TM Nam 17983: SB VI 9604 (15), 2: Σενπάνχναυτις – with a dot under the second *nu* –): as pointed out by G. Nachtergaele⁹²³, the names ending by -τχναυτις, such as Πάτχναυς and other derivations, are characteristic of Elephantine. The Egyptian prototype of these anthroponyms is unknown. Given that in this name a *nu* appears instead of a *tau*, G. Nachtergaele considers that this anthroponym could be due to a mistake of the scribe or of the editor⁹²⁴. Between the *alpha* and the *chi*, a *nu* and not a *tau* can be seen; thus, Σενπάνχναυτις may have been written instead of Σενπάτχναυτις by the scribe.

⁹²² Image from CASANOVA, G., “Papyri documentari dell’Università Cattolica: Lista di popolazione”, p. 12-13, pl. III.

⁹²³ Cf. NACHTERGAEL, G., “Papyrologica. II”, p. 235: “Les noms de ce type sont caractéristiques d’Éléphantine”.

⁹²⁴ Cf. NACHTERGAEL, G., “Papyrologica. II”, p. 235: “Le féminin Σενπατχναυτις ne figure pas dans le *Namenbuch*, ni non plus dans l’*Onomasticon*, où apparaît la forme Σενπανχναυτις, d’après S.B. VI, 9604, 15, 2, qui contient apparemment une faute du scribe ou de l’éditeur”.



SB VI 9604 (15), 2: Σενπάνχναυτις

- **Σενπάτχναυτις/Σενπάτκναυτις** (TM Nam 9570 + 38613: 11 attestations from Elephantine and Syene⁹²⁵): on these anthroponyms, cf. the previous one, Σενπάνχναυς. It is not possible to know if Greek -πατ- could represent Egyptian *p3-di*, the possessive pronoun *pa-* plus a tau representing the first letter of the next element or the masculine definite article *p3* plus an element starting by ατ-.



O. Eleph. DAIK 51, 4: Σενπατχναύτ(ιος)



P. Bingen 81, 3: Θινπατχναύτ(ιος)

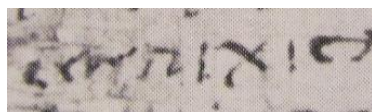
- **Σενπιέοις** (TM Nam 17950: one attestation in SB I 5201, 1): no name *Πιέοις is attested. The etymology of the last part of the name is unknown.



SB I 5201, 1: Σενπιεόις

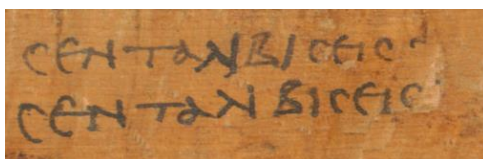
⁹²⁵ Cf. the two previous notes.

- **Σένπιχis** (TM Nam 17808: one attestation in P. Coll. Youtie I 26, 14): the masculine name Πίχis, of unknown etymology, is attested four times⁹²⁶.



P. Coll. Youtie I 26, 14: Σένπιχis

- **Σεντάλιβis** (TM Nam 17846: two attestations in SB I 4171, Ro. 1 and 2): at first sight, it is not possible to know if in this mummy label the name that should be read is Σεντάλιβis or Σενταλιβίσεις. Since the name Ταλείβιος is attested⁹²⁷, probably the anthroponym Σεντάλιβis should be read. The last part of the anthroponym may render Egyptian *hb*, “ibis”. It is not possible to know whether or not -τα- represents the feminine possessive pronoun.



SB I 4171, Ro. 1 and 2: Σεντάλιβis Εἰς

- **Σενταρέμουτις** (TM Nam 16720: one attestation in BGU VI 1473, 1: Σενταρέμουτ[is]): two interpretations are possible for this name. On the one hand, his proper name could have the etymology **T3-šr.t-n-ta-Hr-Īy-m-ḥtp*, “The daughter of the one of Horos-Imhotep”⁹²⁸, with the representation of Egyptian *Īy-* with *epsilon* instead of *iota* and *tau* instead of *theta*⁹²⁹. On the other, it could derive from Egyptian **T3-šr.t-n-ta-Hr-(īwn)-mw.t=f*, “The daughter of the one of Horos, the pillar of his mother”, with an *epsilon* representing the /ə/ between *Hr* and

⁹²⁶ Cf. P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 11, 36: Πίχis(ς); P. Flor. III 329, col. 4, 35: Πίχis(ς); P. Flor. III 329, col. 5, 39: Πίχis(ς); P. Flor. III 329, col. 6, 47: Πίχ[ι]s(ς) (cf. TM Nam 24709).

⁹²⁷ Presumably in P. Achmim 7, col. 1, 28: μη(τρός) Ταλείβ(ιος) (cf. TM Nam 19409).

⁹²⁸ On the different Greek transcriptions of *Hr-Īy-m-ḥtp*, “Horos-Imhotep”, cf. TM Nam 265.

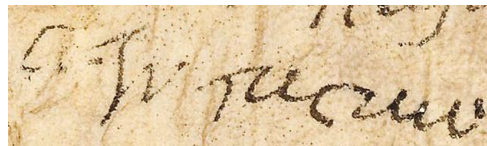
⁹²⁹ On the confusion of ε and ι in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 249-262; on the interchange of aspirated and voiceless stops, cf. *ibidem*, p. 86-95.

*mw.t=f*⁹³⁰. Given the lack of aspiration in *tau* as the representation of Egyptian *-ht-*, this latter interpretation seems the most probable.

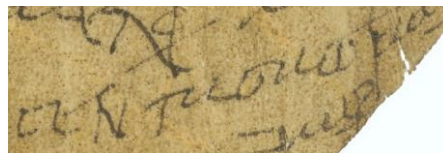


BGU VI 1473, 1: Σενταρέμουτ[ις]

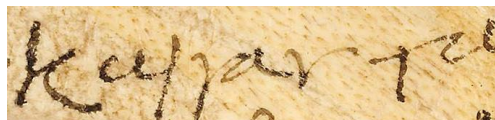
- **Σεντασαω** (TM Nam 12086: two attestations in Stud. Pal. III 129, 8 and Stud. Pal. III 130, 5⁹³¹): no name *Τασαω is attested. The readings of the two attestations are correct, considering the way the scribes writes the alpha in other parts of the text (cf. Stud. Pal. III 129, 2; and 130, 2: καὶ ταῦτα). If the bearer of this anthroponym is a woman, this name could represent *T3-šr.t-n-ta-*, “The daughter of the one of...”; the etymology of the last part of the name is unknown.



Stud. Pal. III 129, 8: Σεντασαω



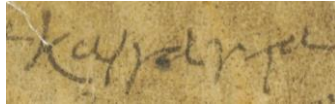
Stud. Pal. III 130, 5: Σεντασαω



⁹³⁰ Cf. for instance Demotic *P3-di-Hr-iwn-mw.t=f*, “He who has been given by Horos, the pillar of his mother”, which appears in Greek as Πετσαρμούθης in the bilingual documents *Short Texts* II 529, A 2, B 1, C 6; 672, A 3 and B 1 (cf. TM Nam 7939).

⁹³¹ The context in which this name appears in these documents – alluding to a witness – does not allow to know if the bearer was a man or a woman.

Stud. Pal. III 129, 2: καὶ ταῦτα



Stud. Pal. III 130, 2: καὶ ταῦτα

- **Σεντοεύς** (TM Nam 23353: one attestation in genitive P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2850, 20: Σεντοεῦτως, instead of Σεντοεῦτος): a name *Τοεύς is not attested elsewhere.



P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2850, 20: Σεντοεῦτως

- **Σενψᾶς** (TM Nam19338: one attestation in O. Wilcken II 1030, 2: Σενψᾶτος): the masculine anthroponym $\Psi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ ⁹³² is well attested, but its Egyptian prototype is unknown.

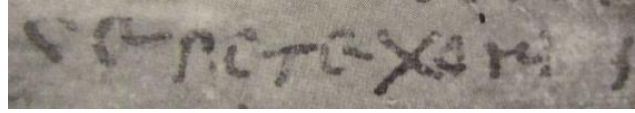


O. Wilcken II 1030, 2: Σενψᾶτος

- **Σεπετέχονις** (TM Nam 24669: one attestation in P. Sorb. I 68, 5: Σεπετεχόνι(ος)): in this name, Σε- has probably written instead of Σεν-, with the *n* of *T3-šr.t-n-* omitted. Even though the etymology of the first part of the name is clear, *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-*, “The daughter of He who has been given by...”, the Egyptian prototype of -χονις is not certainly known. It also seems to

⁹³² Cf. TM Nam 12968: 30 attestations.

occur in the name Πάχονις⁹³³. Could -χονις – written without *omega* and *sigma* – represent *Hnsw*, “Khonsu”, in final position?



P. Sorb. I 68, 5: Σεπετεχόνι(ος)

- **Τινέσεντις** (TM Nam: 19430: one attestation in SB VI 9545 (24), 4): Greek Σέντις/Σέντιος is attested as rendering of Egyptian *Sm3-t3.wy*, “He who unites both lands”⁹³⁴. Τινέσεντις might consequently represent the anthroponym *T3-šr.t-n-Sm3-t3.wy*, “The daughter of He who unites both lands”, which is attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription⁹³⁵. The second *epsilon* of the name could represent Egyptian /ə/, probably pronounced between the elements *T3-šr.t-n-* and *-Sm3-t3.wy*.



SB VI 9545 (24), 4: Τινέσεντις

- **Τσενπανας/Τσενπανασε** (TM Nam 38853: one attestation in SB XVIII 13326, 1-3/4)⁹³⁶: the masculine name Παύασις/Παούασις, which seems to have the same root, is attested five times⁹³⁷ but its Egyptian prototype is unknown.

⁹³³ Cf. TM Nam 17405.

⁹³⁴ Cf. TM Nam 1044.

⁹³⁵ Cf. TM Nam 19541.

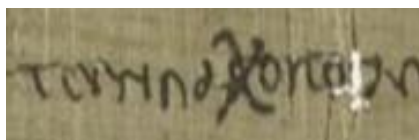
⁹³⁶ Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Tablai de Thèbes au Musée de Birkenhead (GB)”, p. 267 : “On est porté à considérer ε comme le nombre 5, mais ce nom de femme, qui est nouveau, resterait sans interprétation. Quand on lit (Τσεν)πανῶσε, il faudrait penser à une forme non grécisée, à rapprocher de Παῦσις, variante de Πα(ο)υήσις”

⁹³⁷ Cf. TM Nam 11184.



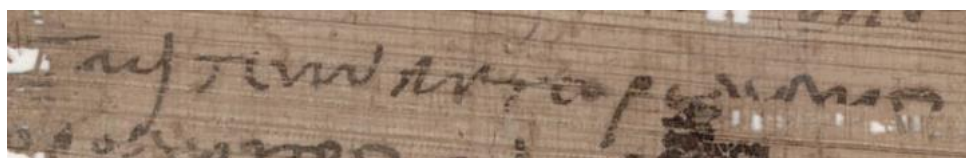
SB XVIII 13326, 1-3/4⁹³⁸: Τσενπαυας/Τσενπαυασε

- **Τσενπαχοῦς** (TM Nam 34864: one attestation in P. Oxy. IV 719, 10: Τσενπαχοῦτος): the anthroponym Παχοῦς is attested⁹³⁹, but its etymology is unknown.



P. Oxy. IV 719, 10: Τσενπαχοῦτος

- **Τσενπετσορολλοῦς** (TM Nam 38854: one attestation in P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 39: Τσενπετσορολλοῦτος): the name *Σορολλοῦς is not attested and its etymology is unknown. The anthroponym Πετσορολλοῦς occurs, however, in the same text (l. 36 and 40). Nevertheless, Τσενπετσορολλοῦς seems to represent Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n-p3-dī-*, “The daughter of He who has been given by...” plus *Σορολλοῦς.



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 39: Τσενπετσορολλοῦτος

⁹³⁸ Image from QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Tablai de Thèbes au Musée de Birkenhead (GB)”, p. 266.

⁹³⁹ Cf. TM Nam 24205.



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 36: Πετσορολλοῦτος



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 40: Π[ετ]σορολλοῦτος

- **Χεναμῆς** (TM Nam 23692: one attestation in P. Col. Zen. II 106, 7: Χενα[μ]ῆς): the reconstruction of the fifth letter of this name is uncertain because the papyrus is lacking some fibres. The name Ἀμῆς, of unknown etymology, is however well attested⁹⁴⁰. Other possibility is the reconstruction of a *rho*: Χενά[ρ]ης; in this case, the anthroponym would be hybrid and mean “The daughter of Ares”.



P. Col. Zen. II 106, 7: Χενα[μ]ῆς

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. TM Nam 1957: 11 attestations.

3.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

More than 50 different variants in transcription are attested for Egyptian *Tj-šr.t-n-*. The common variant to all the areas is Σεν-, which is the best attested variant for Lower and Upper Egypt, whereas in the Fayum Θεν- is the most frequent⁹⁴¹.

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L13	L16
Ζεν-	1						
Θεμ-	2						
Θεν-	400	2					2
Θενε-	7						
Θενν-	1						
Θι-							
Θιεν-							
Θιν-							
Θινν-	1						
Θσεν-	3				3		
Σε-	2						
Σεγ-							
Σε(μ)-							
Σεμ-	1						
Σε(ν)-	14						
Σεν-	127	4	6	1			
Σενε-	3						
Σενν-	1						
Σερεμ-							
Σερεν-							
Ση-							
Σην-							
Σιμ-			1				
Σιν-	3						
Σν-	1						
CN-							
Στεν-							
Συ(μ)-	1						
Συμ-							
Τεν-	4						

⁹⁴¹ The following names have been partially or completely reconstructed and have not been included here: [Ζεν]άμουιν (P. Athen. 35, 15), [Θε]νάμουιν (SB X 10239, 8), [Θεν]φατρήτος (P. Vet. Aelii 5, 6), [Θενπάχγουβις (P. Vet. Aelii 5, 22), [Θ]ενπάχγουβις (P. Vet. Aelii 5, 13), [Θ]ενέκουιτος (P. Fay. 91, 44), [Θιψενμών]θου (O. Wilcken II 99, 4-5), Θι[v (SB XX 14326, 3), Θίν]νησις (O. Wilcken II 256, 3),]έμμινις (P. Count. 40, 4), [Σέμμωνθις] (P. Dryton 3, col. 1, 33), Σεμμίν(?)ιος (UPZ II 223 b, 10), [Σέμμινιν] (UPZ II 220, col. 2, 16), [Σέμμινιν] (UPZ II 220, col. 1, 4), [Σέμμινιν] (UPZ II 221, col. 1, 4), [Σε]νίθης (P. Lond. II 258 Ro., col. 9, 213), Σέν]ουφις (Stud. Pal. 22 173, 25-26), Σ]ενουφίου (SB I 4695, 4), Σεν[εφώτου(?)] (O. Wilcken II 772, 2), Σενεσενν] (P. Brux. Gr. I 20, 16), Σενά]μουιν (P. Leipz. 31 Ro., 3), [Σε]νάμουιν (Stud. Pal. XX 11, 17), [Σ]ενάμουιν[ς] (SB I 1463, 1), Σίνθ]ωνις (PSI XII 1238, fr. B 4), Σί]νθωνις (PSI XII 1238, fr. B 22), [Τσεν]ουθ(ια) (P. Ross. Georg. IV 24, 25), Τσέ]νουθ(ις) (P. Lond. IV 1437, 17), [Τσ]ενσμητ (I. Thèbes à Syène 306, 7-8), Τσενο]ύρις (PSI VIII 897 (1), 3), Τσενο]ύρις (PSI VIII 897 (1), 40), [Τσ]ενμούνει (SB XVIII 13130, 19), Τσενησ]ί[ου] (SB XXIV 16324, 21), [Χενούφις] (UPZ I 106, 10), [Χενούφις] (UPZ I 107, 11), [Χ]ενούφ[ι]ος (UPZ I 109, 2), Χεν]φατρήους (SB XVIII 13176, col. 2, 58), Χεν]φατρήους (SB XVIII 13176, col. 1, 21). On the other hand, the name Σερενάψαις that can be found in the Trismegistos database (TM Nam 12104) and at <http://papyri.info/hgv/55277> is erroneous and should be corrected to Σερένψαις as it appears in *CRIPEL* V 1174, A 1.

Τενν-							
Τεσεν-							
Τζεν-	1						
Τιμ-							
Τιν-							
Τσαν-							
Τσε-							
Τσε(μ)-							
Τσεμ-							
Τσε(ν)-							
τσε(ν)-							
Τσεν-	25					1	
Τσενε-	1						
Τσενν-							
Τσιν-							
Τσομ-							
τωε(ν)-							
Χε-							
Χεμ-							
Χε(ν)-							
Χεν-	19						
Χιν-		3					
Χεν-							
ΧΝ-							
Total attestations	618	9	7	1	3	1	2

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U07	U08	U09	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
Ζεν-														
Θεμ-														
Θεν-				3				2					1	36
Θενε-														
Θενν-				1										
Θι-	17													
Θιεν-											1			
Θιν-	101							1						
Θινν-	2			1										
Θσεν-				1				1						
Σε-				1				3			1			
Σεγ-					1									
Σε(μ)-							1							
Σεμ-				22				6						
Σε(ν)-				3				13		3				
Σεν-	90	43	20	857	5	5	3	889	67	39	24	1	34	10
Σενε-		1		2										
Σενν-	1			28			1	6						
Σερεμ-								11						
Σερεν-								10						
Ση-								1						
Σην-														1
Σιμ-														
Σιν-	1			1							3		95	1
Σν-														
CN-				1										
Στεν-	1													

Συμ-				1										
Συ(μ)-														
Τεν-				1										
Τενν-	1													
Τεσεν-										1				
Τζεν-														
Τιμ-													1	
Τιν-	2									1				
Τσαν-		2												
Τσε-								1						
Τσε(μ)-									1					
Τσεμ-				1					1					
Τσε(ν)-									2					
τσε(ν)-				1										
Τσεν-	5	1		14				4	5		1	15	44	
Τσενε-														
Τσενν-				4										
Τσιν-													2	
Τσομ-				1										
τωε(ν)-				2										
Χε-								1						
Χεμ-				1				1			2			
Χε(ν)-														
Χεν-				2							35		4	
Χιν-														
Χεν-	2													
ΧΝ-				1										
Total attestations	223	47	20	950	6	5	5	950	76	42	69	16	181	48

3.3. Linguistic characteristics

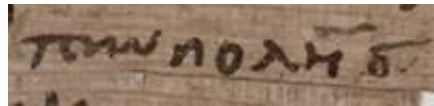
The best attested transcriptional variants for the Egyptian feminine definite article *t3* and the *š* of *šr.t*, “daughter”, appear to be Θ-, Σ-, Τσ- and Χ-. The percentages of the attestations from the different geographical areas for every variant can be seen in the table below. Even though at first sight the definite article only seems to be represented in the Τσ- variant⁹⁴², bilingual material shows that variants such as Σεν- also represent *T3-šr.t-n-...*⁹⁴³, written with the definite article in Demotic.

⁹⁴² Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu Égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 211-212: “L’article féminin, que nous retrouvons dans la forme copte (...) τωεπωαις (avec désinence grecque !) et dans Τσενποις disparaît normalement devant σεν-. Les noms dont Σεν- constitue le premier élément peuvent d’ailleurs généralement être attribués à des femmes. L’article féminin réapparaît en quelque sorte dans l’emploi de Θ où la dentale semble influencée par la chuintante. D’autre part, les sons *t + š* sont rendus Χ dans Χενποις”.

⁹⁴³ Cf. for example *Short Texts* II, p. 1062-1068.

$T_3 + \text{š}$	Fayum	Lower Egypt	Upper Egypt
Θ-	66.50 %	17.39 %	6.29 %
Σ-	24.75 %	52.17 %	87.41 %
Τσ-	4.20 %	4.34 %	3.98 %
Χ-	3.07 %	13.04 %	1.74 %

The appearance of several variants in a same document seems in addition to indicate that the variants starting by Σ- and Τσ- were probably considered as equivalent by the speakers. These different variants appear to be due to the attempts to reflect the Egyptian feminine definite article and the *š* as accurately as possible in an alphabet without letters representing some Egyptian phonemes and consonantal groups. Thus, in P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, a document written by two different hands⁹⁴⁴, the variants Σεν- (l. 32: μη(τρὸς) Σενκρονοῦτος – a hybrid name –), Σιν- (l. 16: Σινθώνιος < **T_3-šr.t-n-Dwn*) and Τσεν- (cf. l. 11: Τσενπολή(μιος); 17: Τσενηρακλ() – two hybrid anthroponyms –; 19: Τσενύριος (< *T_3-šr.t-n-Hr*); 33: Τσενερίω(ς) < *T_3-šr.t-n-Hry=w*; 39: Τσενπετσορολλοῦτος⁹⁴⁵) are found. The choice of a specific variant seems consequently to depend on each specific anthroponym, since several variants have been written by a same hand.



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 11: Τσενπολή(μιος) (hand 2)



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 16: μητρὸς Σινθώνιος (hand 2)



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 17: μητρὸς Τσενηρακλ() (hand 2)

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, p. 59: “The document is the work of two scribes who wrote alternately but according to no very clear principle of the division of work”.

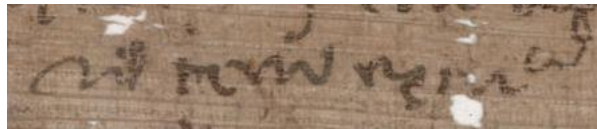
⁹⁴⁵ On this anthroponym, cf. names starting by *T_3-šr.t-n-* with a prototype unknown.



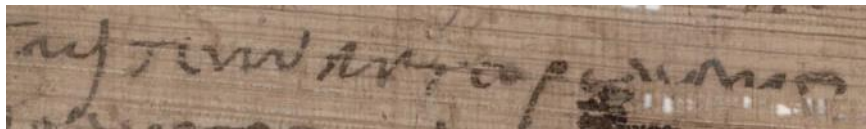
P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 19: μητρὸς) Τσενύριος (hand 2)



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 32: μη(τρὸς) Σενκρονοῦτος (hand 1)



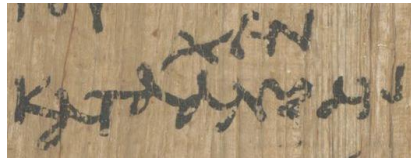
P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 33: μη(τρὸς) Τσενερίω(ς) (hand 1)



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 39: μη(τρὸς) Τσενπετορολλοῦτος (hand 1)

Although the rendering of $t\zeta + \varsigma$ as Θ- seems to be characteristic of the Fayum and Σ- typical of Upper Egypt, these variants are attested in all the geographical areas. In the Herakleopolites (U20), a zone close to the Fayum, 75 % (36) of the attestations start by Θ-, and in Elephantine (U01) Θ- appears in 54.05 % (120) of the attestations. Τσ- is represented in less than 5 % of the anthroponyms in all the geographical areas. In the Hermopolites (U15), the variants with X- represent 53.62 % (37) of the attestations, even though in Upper Egypt this variant occurs in 1.74 % of the transcriptions. In Lower Egypt, X- appear in three attestations⁹⁴⁶. The variant X- is attested in both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods in these areas and appears to have been contemporary to other variants such as Σ- or Θ-. Indeed, in BGU I 19, a document from the Arsinoites both the hybrid names Χεναλεξῆς (col. 1, 3; 2, 14; 2, 17) and Θεναλεξῆς (col. 2, 18) – alluding to the same person – occur.

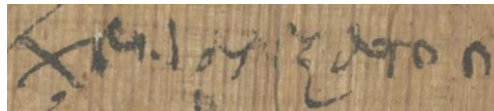
⁹⁴⁶ In the three attestations of the name Χίθωνις (**T\zeta-sr.t-n-Dwn*) in P. Oxy. XIV 1670, Ro. 1, 27 and Vo. 35.



BGU I 19, col. 1, 3: κατὰ \Χεν/αλεξῶν



BGU I 19, col. 1, 13: Χεν/αλεξῶν



BGU I 19, col. 2, 14: Χεν/αλεξῶτος



BGU I 19, col. 2, 17: Χεν/αλεξῶ



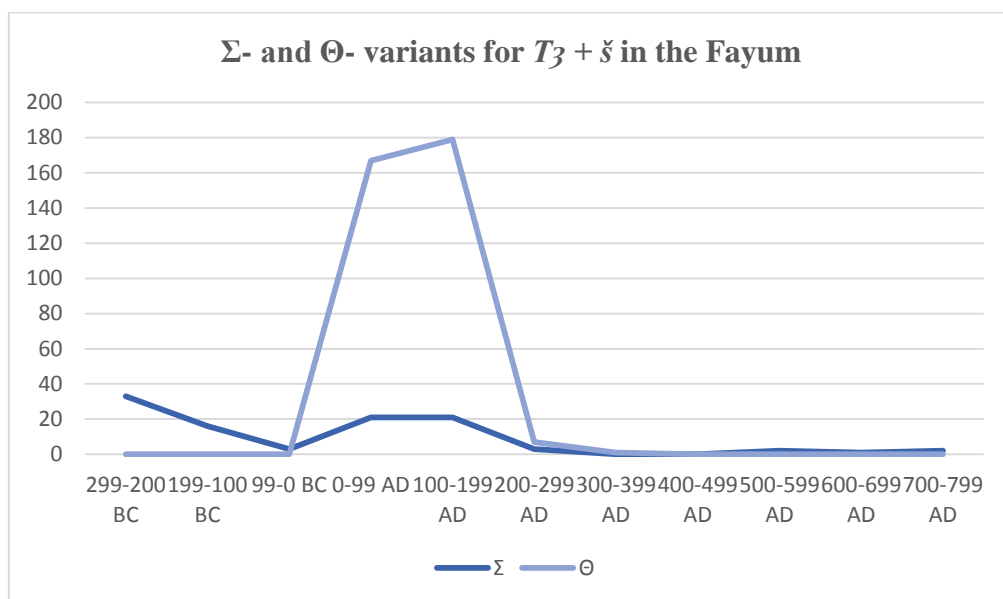
BGU I 19, col. 2, 18: Θεν/αλεξῶτος⁹⁴⁷

In the Fayum, the Θ- variant for $T_3 + \delta$ is not certainly attested in the Ptolemaic Period⁹⁴⁸. As it can be seen in the graph below, it especially occurs between the first and the second centuries AD, whereas the transcriptional variants starting by Σ- are mainly attested – in a lower number – between the third century BC and the second century AD⁹⁴⁹.

⁹⁴⁷ In the edition: Θεν/αλεξῶ (sic) τὸ πατρῷον. We read Θεν/αλεξῶτος πατρῷον.

⁹⁴⁸ The name in SB III 7203, Ro. 6: ἐν Θενέρμῳ, included in TM Nam 1084, does not seem to be an anthroponym.

⁹⁴⁹ In figures, 167 variants starting by Θ- date from the first century AD; 179 from the second century; 7 from the third century and one from the fourth century; on the other hand, 33 renderings beginning by Σ- date from the third century BC; 16 from the second century BC; 3 from the first century BC; 21 from the first century AD; 21 from the second century AD;

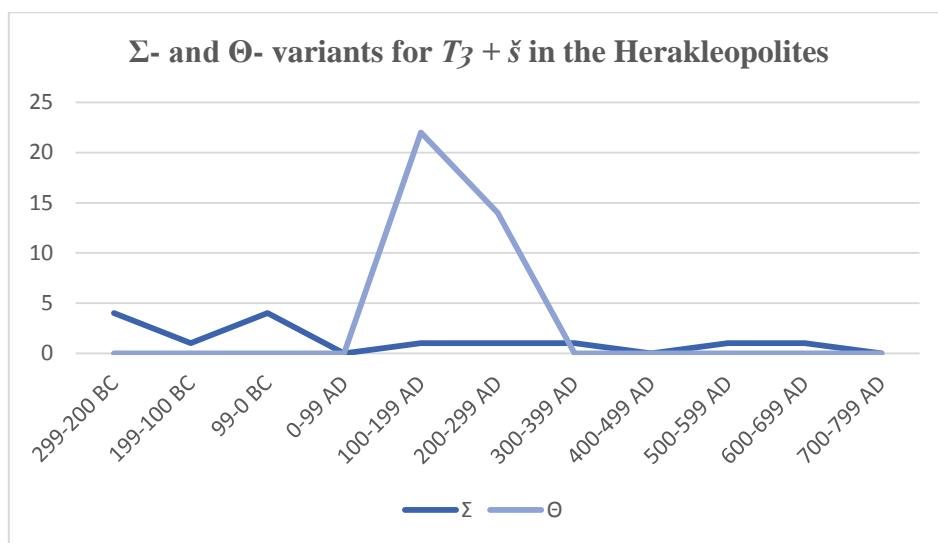


A similar chronological trend for the Θ- and Σ- variants is found for the attestations from the Herakleopolites (U20): in this nome, the anthroponyms starting by Θ- only occur in the second and the third centuries AD (cf. the graph below)⁹⁵⁰. Even though the variants with Θ- are also attested in other nomes of Lower and Upper Egypt⁹⁵¹, their frequency in the Fayum and in the Herakleopolites leads to think that these variants are dialectal. In this respect, if Θ- as transcription of $T_3 + \text{š}$ can be considered as a dialectal feature of Fayumic, the influence of this dialect could also be appreciated in the Herakleopolites, given the geographical proximity of the two areas.

3 from the third century AD; 2 from the sixth century AD, one from the seventh century AD; and 2 from the eighth century AD.

⁹⁵⁰ In figures, 22 attestations starting by Θ- date from the the second century AD and 14 from the third century AD. In addition, 4 anthroponyms beginning by Σ- date from the third century BC; 1 from the second century BC; 4 from the first century BC; 1 from the second century AD; 1 from the third century AD; 1 from the fourth century AD; 1 from the sixth century AD; and 1 from the seventh century AD.

⁹⁵¹ Cf. in Lower Egypt Θενηρακλείας and Θενηρακ[λείας] (P. Tebt. II 317, Ro. 4 and Vo. 39, from Alexandria (L00), a person who seems to come from the Fayum; Θενένουφης ($T_3\text{-}\dot{s}r.t\text{-}n\text{-}\dot{I}npw$) (P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr.) and Θενόβ(αστις?) (< $T_3\text{-}\dot{s}r.t\text{-}n\text{-}B_3st.t$) (P. Ryl. Gr. II 429 descr.), from Thmouis (L16). In Upper Egypt, cf. Θεννήσιος (< $T_3\text{-}\dot{s}r.t\text{-}n\text{-}\dot{I}s.t$) (P. Tor. Choach. 3, Ro. 5 = UPZ I 189, 5), Θεναμούνι{ος} (< $T_3\text{-}\dot{s}r.t\text{-}n\text{-}\dot{I}mn$) (P. Lips. I 68, 2), μη(τρός) Θενπίκω(τος) (< $T_3\text{-}\dot{s}r.t\text{-}n\text{-}p_3y\text{-}k_3$) (O. Wilcken II 568, 3), Θενηρακ.... (PSI VIII 987, 3), from Thebes; Θενπάωμις (cf. names with a prototype unknown and a certain reading) (SB I 5212, 1), from Sohag (U09); μη(τρός) Θενπνεφόρωτο(ς) (< $*T_3\text{-}\dot{s}r.t\text{-}n\text{-}p_3\text{-}nfr\text{-}hr$) (SB XIV 11631, Ro. 9), from the Oxyrhynchites. These could be individuals coming from the Fayum or the Herakleopolites. We do not agree with PESTMAN, P. W., *The Archive of the Theban Choaites*, p. 440, n. 4, who considers that Θέννησις is a rendering of $T_3\text{-}\dot{h}m\text{-}ntr(.t)\text{-}\dot{I}s.t$, only attested in P. Eheverträge 38, 5-6. "I suppose that the female title $t_3\text{-}\dot{h}m\text{-}ntr(.t)$ n corresponds with θεν-; in that case the personal name Θεννήσις [i. e. $T_3\text{-}\dot{h}m\text{-}(ntr.t)\text{-}n\text{-}\dot{I}s.t$] is the feminine counterpart of Φεννήσις". However, the Demotic and the Greek names do not occur in a bilingual text, and in the transcriptions of $\dot{h}m\text{-}ntr$, the t of ntr is usually reflected in Greek transcription.



The rendering Θiv- for *T3-šr.t-n-* and other variants such as Θi<v>- or Θivv- have traditionally been considered as the characteristic dialectal variants of Elephantine and Syene⁹⁵². In this area, however, the variant Σev- is also well attested. Both the renderings starting by Θ- and Σ- seem to have coexisted and used at the same time, as chronology shows (cf. the graph below)⁹⁵³. In fact, both variants can even appear in the same text⁹⁵⁴. The impression here is that the variants starting by Θ- and Θiv- in particular were characteristic of the pre-Coptic dialect of Elephantine⁹⁵⁵, and that, at the same time, Σev-, the variant mainly used in Akhmimic, was also used possibly due to the influence of some characteristics of this dialect in the speech of Elephantine. Moreover, other features characteristic of

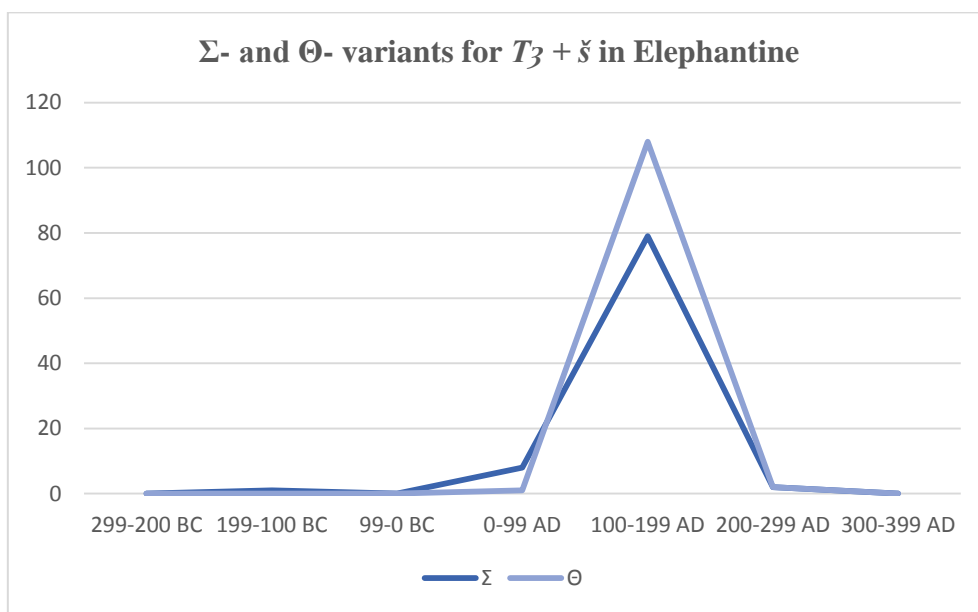
⁹⁵² Cf. SPIEGELBERG, W., *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der roemischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 29; QUAEGBEUR, J., “Le nom propre Tsonesontis”, p. 166; QUAEGBEUR, J., “The Study of Egyptian Proper Names in Greek Transcription. Problems and Perspectives”, p. 410; DE MEULENAERE, H., “L’enseigne sacrée du dieu Khnoum dans l’onomastique gréco-égyptienne”, p. 239.

⁹⁵³ In figures, 1 anthroponym starting by Σ- dates from the second century BC; 8 from the first century AD; 79 from the second century AD; and 2 from the third century AD. On the other hand, 1 transcription beginning by Θ- dates from the first century AD; 108 from the second century AD; and 2 from the third century AD. In addition, four attestations of the Θiv- variant occur in O. Leiden Gr. 285 (cf. Ro. 5: Θινπάχνουμ(ις); Ro. 11: Θινπάχνου(μ(ις)); Vo. 20: Θινπάχνου(μ(ις)); and Vo. 24: Θινπάχνουμ(ις)) (< **T3-šr.t-n-pa-Hnm*), dated from the Ptolemaic period; a precise datation of this text is, however, unknown.

⁹⁵⁴ Cf. SB VI 9604 (12), 3: μητ(ρὸς) Θιψάνσνωτ[ος] (< *T3-šr.t-n-p3-sn-sn.w*); (15), 2: μητ(ρὸς) Σεμπάνχναντις – the etymology of the last part of the name is unknown but is characteristic of Elephantine (cf. NACHTERGAEEL, G., “Papyrologica. II”, p. 235-236) –; (18), 4: Σεμπέρσης (hybrid name); (21), 3: μητ(ρὸς) Θινπελ[αίας] ? (< **T3-šr.t-n-p3-mr-ih*); (22), 3: μ(η)τ(ρὸς) Σεναπέχνουβις (< **T3-šr.t-n-htp-Hnm*). No images of these names are currently available.

⁹⁵⁵ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. XI-XII on the dialect of Elephantine of the pre-Coptic period: “Survivances dans les noms propres en transcription grecque, des emprunts en méroïtique et vieux-nubien. Nous ne possédons pas de texte de ce dialecte”.

Akhmimic, such as the vocalisation α for the god of the fate $\mathcal{S}\mathcal{Z}\mathcal{Y}$ and the word sn , “brother”, occur in Elephantine⁹⁵⁶. It is not possible to know, with the current data available, if there was a specific dialect in Elephantine that was influenced by Akhmimic at a later stage or if Akhmimic with some local features was spoken in this area.



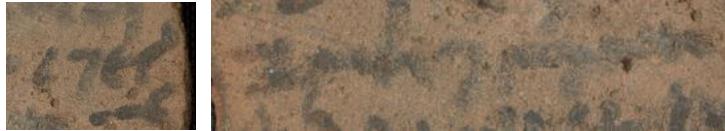
Apart from the variants Θ-, Σ-, Τσ- and Χ-, some other transcriptions are attested for $t\mathcal{Z} + \mathcal{S}$. In P. L. Bat. XXVI 22, 4-5, the name Στενζμητ instead of Τσενζμητ – probably with a methatesis of Τσ- – is found. The rendering Θσ-, which appears to be a variant of Τσ- with the representation of the definite article with aspiration, occurs in 3 attestations from the Fayum⁹⁵⁷, 3 from Lower Egypt⁹⁵⁸ and 2 from Upper Egypt⁹⁵⁹. In SB I 5212, a mummy label from Sohag (U09), both the variants Θεν- (l. 1-2: Θενπάρωμης) and Θσεν- (l. 3: Θσενπάρχουμης) seem to have been written by different hands.

⁹⁵⁶ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 248-255; VAN MAELE, B., *De Egyptische naam “de twee broers” in Griekse transcriptie*, p. 116-163; TILL, W., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 8.

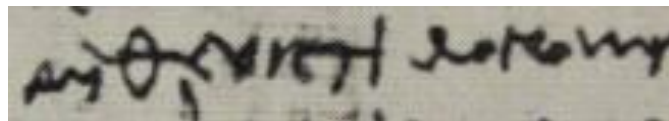
⁹⁵⁷ In Suppl. Mag. I 46, 9, 22 and 26: Θσενουβάσθις (< $T\mathcal{Z}$ -šr.t-n-B3st.t).

⁹⁵⁸ In P. Brux. Gr. I 10, 46: Θσεναμούν(ιος); 10, 49: Θσενάμουνις (< $T\mathcal{Z}$ -šr.t-n-Īmn); 13, 14: μητ(ρὸς) Θσεντιθοήους (< $T\mathcal{Z}$ -šr.t-n-Twtw).

⁹⁵⁹ In SB I 3556, Vo. 11: Θσ(ε)ναπύγχιος (< $T\mathcal{Z}$ -šr.t-n-īw.f-‘nh); and SB I 5212, 3: Θσενπάρχουμης (< $T\mathcal{Z}$ -šr.t-n-p3-‘hm).



P. L. Bat. XXVI 22, 4-5: Στενζμητ γυνή



P. Brux. Gr. I 13, 14: μητ(ρὸς) Θσεντιθοήους



SB I 5212, 1-3 : Ψενπελαηου Θενπάωμις. Θσενπάχυμις

The editor of P. L. Bat. XXV 27 Ro. 15 has read the hybrid name ἡ Τεσενπτόλλις, considering Τεσεν- instead of Σεν- as rendering of *Tj-šr.t-n-*⁹⁶⁰. If the hypothesis of the editor is correct, this would be the only transcription of *Tj-šr.t-n-* as Τεσεν-.



P. L. Bat. XXV 27 Ro. 15: ἡ Τεσενπτόλλις

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. P. L. Bat. XXV, p. 138, n. 15: “One might waver between ἡ τε Σενπτόλλις and ἡ Τεσενπτόλλις. Because τε cannot be explained satisfactorily, we probably have to read Τε-. If Τεσεν- stands for Τσεν- here (cf. however J. QUAEGEBEUR, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, pp. 204-206 for the difficulties in taking Τε- as the Egyptian feminine article), it might be the first element of an Egyptian woman’s name: ‘the daughter of’. Τεσενπτόλλις is as yet unattested elsewhere and Σενπτόλλις has only occurred in P. Oxy. VI 984 at the end of the first century A. D. The form of the first sigma, a downward curve, is not

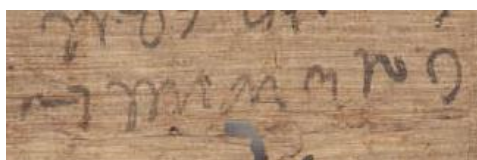
unlike the one in ἔστι in l. 20”. Cf. ἔστι in P. L. Bat. XXV 27 Ro. 20:



In P. Enteux. 50, Ro. 3, the variant Τζεν-, with confusion of σ and ζ⁹⁶¹, appears in the name Τζενάμουvi. In 4 attestations from the Fayum⁹⁶² and 6 from Upper Egypt⁹⁶³, Egyptian *Tj* + *š* has presumably been rendered as T-. However, for most of these attestations no image is available, and the reading of the names for which an image can be found is not completely sure. J. Quaegebeur pointed out that Tiv- could be a variant of Θiv- in the area of Elephantine⁹⁶⁴. Given the scarce attestations of this transcription, it is not unfortunately possible to confirm this hypothesis.



SB XVIII 13362, 4: μη(τρὸς) Τ[ε]νάπειτο(ς) (?)



SB XVIII 13363, 4: μη(τρὸς) Τενάπειτος (?)



CPR VI 72, Ro. 8: μοι γυναικὸς Τίγυρις (?)

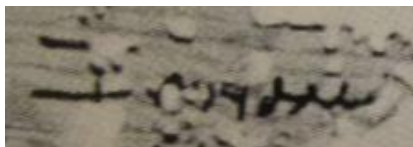
⁹⁶¹ Cf. GIGNAC, T. F., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 120-124.

⁹⁶² In BGU III 802, col. 9, 16: Τενουβέστεις (< *Tj-šr.t-n-B3st.t*); SB XVIII 13362, 4: μη(τρὸς) Τ[ε]νάπειτο(ς); SB XVIII 13363, 4: μη(τρὸς) Τενάπειτος (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Ḥp?*; P. Lond. II 254 Vo., col. 3, 51: (μητρὸς) Τενουσίρ(εως) (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Wsir*).

⁹⁶³ In O. Bodl. I 320, Vo 8: Τενεμένωφισ (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Ḥmn-(m)-Ḥp.t*); P. Eheberträge 28, 1: Τεννησι (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Ḥs.t*); P. Oxy. X 1296, Ro. 16: τὴν μητέρα μου Τιμπέσουρ(ιν) (< *Tj-šr.t-(n)-p3-Ḥswr*); O. Wilcken II 202, 4: μητρὸς Τιναρπάησις (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Ḥr-pa-Ḥs.t*); O. Wilcken II 202, 8-9: μητρὸς Τιναχομπαόννοφρις (< **Tj-šr.t-n-p3-Ḥm-pa-Wn-nfr*); CPR VI 72, Ro 8: μοι γυναικὸς Τίγυρις (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Ḥr*).

⁹⁶⁴ Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Le nom propre Tsonesontis”, p. 166: “Dand la région d’Éléphantine/Syène, Tive- pourrait être une variante locale de Tsene-. En effet, nous y rencontrons Θiv- et même Tiv- comme variantes de Σεν-, Τσεν-, Θεν- et Χεν- = *tj-šr.t-n*”.

In P. Athen. 35, 3, the name Ζενάμ[ουινς] (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Īmn*) has also been read⁹⁶⁵. If the reading and the reconstruction are correct, the Egyptian group *Tʒ + š* would have been represented here as Z-:



P. Athen. 35, 3: Ζενάμ[ουινς] (?)

In 21 attestations from Sohag (U09) dated between the second and the third centuries AD, the full form Σερεν-/Σερεμ- occurs as rendering of *Tʒ-šr.t-n*⁹⁶⁶. In some of these texts, the variant Σεν- as transcription of *Tʒ-šr.t-n*- also appears (cf. for example *CRIPEL* II 139, A 1: Σερέμβησις (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Bs*) and 2: μη(τρός) Σενπαχούμιος (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-ḥm*); *CRIPEL* IV 825, A 1-2: Σενψενόσιρις (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-šr-n-Wsir*) and 3-4: Σερεμβήσιος, from *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Bs*). The attestation of the hybrid name Σερενπρίσκου (nominative Σερενπρίσκος) in the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 784, B 2 as equivalent to Demotic *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Phrysqs* (A 4-5) shows that the full form Σερεν-/Σερεμ- was still considered as productive at this period for the composition of new anthroponyms.

In Coptic names, the variants c-⁹⁶⁷, τc-⁹⁶⁸, τϣ-⁹⁶⁹ and x-⁹⁷⁰ are attested for *tʒ + š*. The attestations in which these variants occur are unfortunately too scarce to reveal if some of them (cf. τϣ-, x-) are due to dialectal variation.

⁹⁶⁵ In P. Athen. 35, 15, the first part of the name is reconstructed: [Ζεν]άμουινν.

⁹⁶⁶ Cf. QUAEGERBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 212: “À côté de la transcription Σεν- pour *tʒ-šr(t)-n(t)*, il existe une vocalisation plus développée Σερεν- avec sa variante Σερεμ-, où le v s’est partiellement assimilé au ψ; comparer Σεμ-, variante de Σεν- (...). La forme plus développée Σερεν- se retrouve au masculin dans Σενψηρενψαις signifiant « la fille du fils de Psais ». Ce nom prouve à son tour l’existence de l’anthroponyme masculin *Ψηρενψαις”.

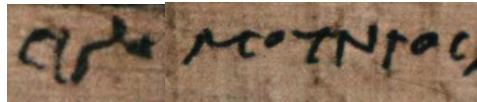
⁹⁶⁷ In P. Mon. Epiph. 553, 1: cηκολε (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Klwdʒ*). It is not possible to know if in this attestation c represents *tʒ + š* as possibly in Greek transcriptions or just *š*. The use of c instead of ϣ seems to be due to the influence of Greek renderings.

⁹⁶⁸ In P. KRU 35, 13: τcενογτε (< **Tʒ-šr.t-n-ntr*).

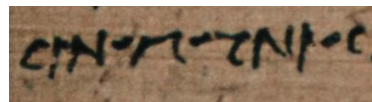
⁹⁶⁹ In O. Vind. Copt. 128, 5: τϣενογτε; and P. KRU 36, 5: τϣενογτε (< **Tʒ-šr.t-n-ntr*).

⁹⁷⁰ In O. Crum VC 19, 2: xηνωρ; O. Vind. Copt. 126, 6: xηνωρ (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Hr*); O. Crum ST 91, 1: xηναμονε (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Īmn*). Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 585: “often x- for τϣ-”.

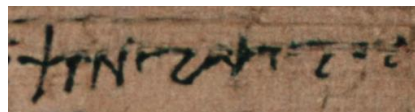
In 99.02 % (612) of the attestations from the Fayum, 82.60 % (19) from Lower Egypt and 90.94 % (2399) from Upper Egypt, the vocalisation of *šr.t* appears represented with the etymologically short Greek vowel ε/ε̣. However, in 4 (0.64 %) transcriptions from the Fayum⁹⁷¹, 4 (17.39 %) from Lower Egypt⁹⁷² and 229 (8.68 %) from Upper Egypt, it has been rendered as ι.



P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro. 8-9: Σινομούνιος



P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro. 28: Σινομούνιος



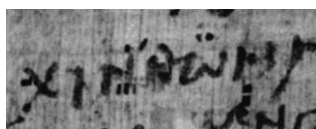
P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro. 22: Ψιντάητος



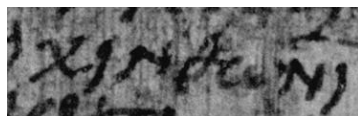
PSI XII 1238, fr. B 34: Σίνθωνιν

⁹⁷¹ In P. Petaus 100, Ro. 16: Θιννπάθωνις (< **T3-šr.t-n-pa-Dwn*) – for whom the provenance is not mentioned in the text, although it is possible that his woman came from the area of Elephantine –; P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro. 8-9 and Ro. 28: Σινομούνιος (< *T3-šr.t-n-İmn*); PSI XII 1238, fr. B 34: Σίνθωνιν (< **T3-šr.t-n-Dwn*). In P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro., the name Ψιντάητος (< *P3-šr-n-t3-ih.t*), with Ψιν- as transcription of *P3-šr-n-*, is found.

⁹⁷² In UPZ I 96, col. 2, 44: Σίμμινι, for which no image is available; P. Oxy. XIV 1670, Ro. 1: Χίνθωνι τῇ ἀδελφῇ; Ro. 27: Χίνθωνι(ν); and presumably in Vo. 35: Χίνθωνι (< **T3-šr.t-n-Dwn*).



P. Oxy. XIV 1670, Ro. 1: Χίνθωνι



P. Oxy. XIV 1670, Ro. 27: Χίνθωνι(ν)



P. Oxy. XIV 1670, Vo. 35: Vo. 35: Χίνθωνι

In Upper Egypt, the variant with ι is mainly attested in Elephantine, where it represents 55.15 % (123) of the attestations (cf. the rendering Θιν- for *Tj-šr.t-n-* characteristic of this area⁹⁷³), and in Oxyrhynchus (cf. the variant Σιν- in this zone⁹⁷⁴), where it appears in 54.14 % (98) of the transcriptions. The renderings with ι attested in the other areas of Upper Egypt are a minority, although they also occur in Thebes⁹⁷⁵, Panopolis⁹⁷⁶, Hermopolis⁹⁷⁷ and Herakleopolis⁹⁷⁸.

⁹⁷³ Cf. also the variants Θι-, Θινν- (in O. Leiden Gr. 183, 4: Θιννήσεως; and O. Wilcken II 241, 3: Θίννησις, from *Tj-šr.t-n-Īs.t*), Σιν- (O. Wilcken II 199, 5: Σινπελαίας < **Tj-šr.t-n-pj-mr-ih*), Τιν- (O. Wilcken II 202, 4: μητρὸς Τιναρπάησις, from *Tj-šr.t-n-Hr-pa-Īs.t*; O. Wilcken II 202, 8-9: μητρὸς Τιναχομπαόννοφρις, from **Tj-šr.t-n-pj-ḥm-pa-Wn-nfr*) in Elephantine.

⁹⁷⁴ Cf. also for Oxyrhynchus the variants Τιμ-, presumably attested in P. Oxy. X 1296, Ro. 16: τὴν μητέρα μου Τιμπέσουρ(ιν) (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-Īswr*), for which no image is available; and Τσιν-, in PSI XII 1262, col. 3, 3 and 15: Τσιντοτοῆς (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Twtw*).

⁹⁷⁵ Cf. O. Amst. 85, 10: Θίννησις (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Īs.t*) – in the Trismegistos database Thebes is considered as a possible place of provenance for this document, but it is indeed unknown, although it could be Elephantine –; and UPZ II 180 a, col. 43, 1: Σινάριος, which is possibly a hybrid name.

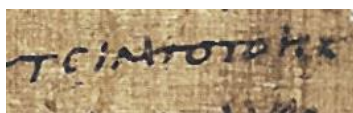
⁹⁷⁶ In SB III 7110, 1-2: Θινψόναντος (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-sn-sn.w?*), a person of unknown provenance.

⁹⁷⁷ In PSI XII 1237 Vo. 5: μητρὸς Σινθώ[νιος] (< **Tj-šr.t-n-Dwn*); PSI XII 1237 Vo. 6: μητρὸς Σινθεοδω(), a hybrid anthroponym; SB XX 14710, col. 2, 12: Σινύριος (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Hr*); and resumably in CPR VI 72, Ro. 8: μοι γυναῖκός Τίγυρις (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Hr*).

⁹⁷⁸ Presumably in P. Tebt. III 834, 22: Σι[ν]πάθωτος (< **Tj-šr.t-n-pa-Dḥwty*). The reading of this name is however uncertain.



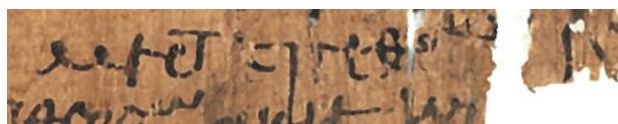
PSI XII 1262, col. 3, 3: Τσιντοτοῆς



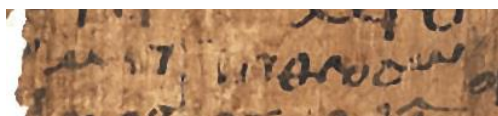
PSI XII 1262, col. 3, 15: Τσιντοτοῆς



CPR VI 72, Ro. 8: μοι γυναῖκός Τίνυρις.



PSI XII 1237 Vo. 5: μητ(ρὸς) Σινθώ[νιος]

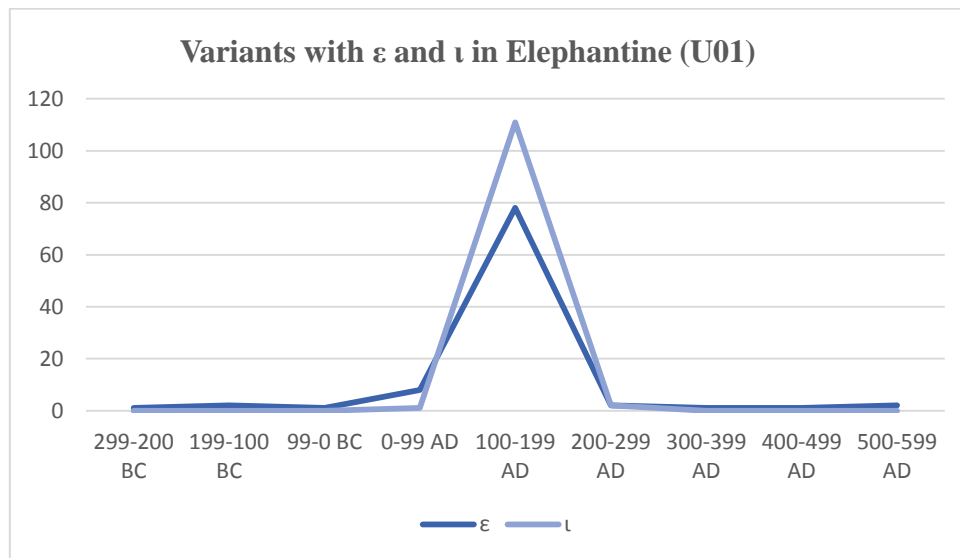


PSI XII 1237 Vo. 6: μητ(ρὸς) Σινθεοδω()



P. Tebt. III 834, 22: Σι[ν]πάθωτος (?)

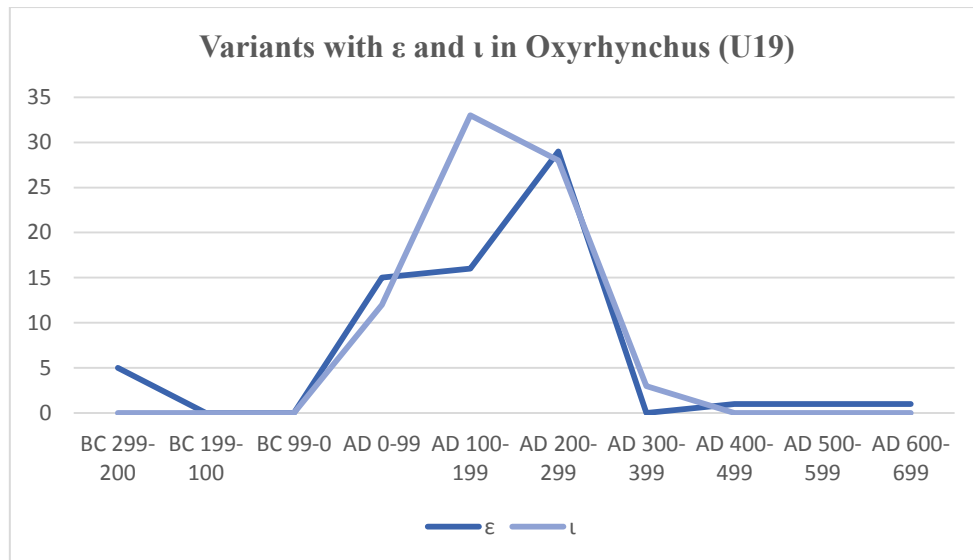
Except 3 attestations⁹⁷⁹, all the transcriptions of *Tʒ-šr.t-n-* with *ι* from Elephantine are preceded by *Θ-* as representation of *Tʒ + š*: the variants *Θιv-*, *Θι<v>-*, *Θιvv-* are characteristic of this area as it has been traditionally considered and seem consequently dialectal. It is not possible to know, however, to what extent *Σιv-* was also dialectal or a variation of *Σεv-*⁹⁸⁰, although it appears to have been characteristic of Oxyrhynchus. The chronology of the *ε* and *ι* variants in these two areas shows that both of them were contemporary (cf. the graphs below)⁹⁸¹. As previously said, it is possible that the variants *Θιv-* and *Σιv-* were dialectally characteristic of Elephantine and Oxyrhynchus, respectively, and that, at the same time, other variants such as *Σεv-* and *Τσεv-* firstly characteristic of other geographical areas were used due to the predominance of the Akhmimic dialect in Elephantine and of Sahidic in Oxyrhynchus.



⁹⁷⁹ Cf. O. Wilcken II 199, 5: Σινπελαΐας (< **Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-mr-ih*); O. Wilcken II 202, 4: Τίναρπάησις (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Ḥr-pa-Ḳs.t*); O. Wilcken II 202, 8-9: Τίναχομπάόννοφρις (< **Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-ḥm-pa-Wn-nfr*).

⁹⁸⁰ On the interchange of *ε* and *ι* in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 249-262.

⁹⁸¹ In Elephantine, 1 variant with *ε* is attested for the third century BC; 2 for the second century BC; 1 for the first century BC; 8 for the first century AD; 78 for the second century AD; 2 for the third century AD; 1 for the fourth century AD; 1 for the fifth century AD; and 2 for the sixth century AD; and 1 variant with *ι* dates from the first century AD; 111 from the second century AD; and 2 from the third century AD. In Oxyrhynchus, on the other hand, 5 attestations with *ε* date from the third century BC; 15 from the first century AD; 16 from the second century AD; 29 from the third century AD; 1 from the fifth century AD; 1 from the sixth century AD; and 1 from the seventh century AD; and 12 attestations with *ι* from the first century AD; 33 from the second century AD; 28 from the third century AD; and 3 from the fourth century AD.



In two attestations from the Fayum and Thebes, the vocalisation of *šr.t* has been represented as υ⁹⁸², and in two attestations from the Panopolites and the Herakleopolites as η⁹⁸³. In one anthroponym from Tenis (U15), the vocalisation seems to appear as ιε⁹⁸⁴. In two attestations of the hybrid name Τσαναγάπη⁹⁸⁵, the vocalisation of *šr.t* has been written as α. This can be explained by assimilation with the following *alphas*, one of which was accented in Greek. In one name⁹⁸⁶, Τσομμαντ (< *T3-šr.t-(n)-Mnt*)⁹⁸⁷, the vocalisation seems to have been represented as ο. In three attestations – the names

⁹⁸² Cf. P. Lond. II 258 Ro., col. 9, 211: μη(τρός) Συμούθιος (< *T3-šr.t-n-Mw.t*); O. Bodl. I 309, Ro. 1: Συμποηρ (< *T3-šr.t-n-p3-wr*).

⁹⁸³ Cf. *CRIPPEL* IV 699, A 2: Σήψαιτος, probably for Σένψαιτος (< *T3-šr.t-n-p3-š3y*); and P. Tebt. III 860, col. 6, 101: Σηνόβαστις (< *T3-šr.t-n-B3st.t*). Cf. however P. Tebt. III 860, col. 6, 103: Ψενάμουνης (< *P3-šr-n-Imn*), in which Ψεν- has been written with ε. On the interchange of ε, υ and η in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 242-275.

⁹⁸⁴ Cf. I. Akôris 82, 1-2: Θιενούσειρις (< *T3-šr.t-n-Wsir*). Cf. *ibidem*, p. 83: “G. Lefebvre remarque que le premier élément du nom doit avoir la même valeur que Θεν- ou Θιν- ou Τσεν-, « la fille de » ... Il rapproche Θιενπασιήνης d’une épitaphe d’Antinooupolis (*Recueil*, 199), à côté de Θινπασιήνης (cf. *Namenbuch*). Le nom équivaut à. Σενοσίρις”.

⁹⁸⁵ In SB XVI 12431, 18: Τσαναγάπη; and P. Apoll. 80, 9: Τσαναγάπη. On SB XVI 12431, 18: Τσαναγάπη.

⁹⁸⁶ The anthroponym Τσωνθωνθ (O. Taxes II 43, 5) that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.bodl;1;18> is incorrect and should be corrected to Τσενθωντ (< *T3-šr.t-n-Dhwty*), with a dot under

the *epsilon*, as it appears in the edition:

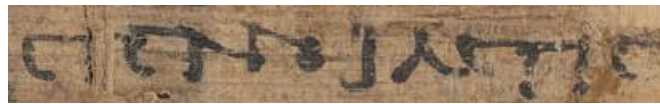


⁹⁸⁷ In the bilingual text O. Med. Habu 12, Greek part, 5. Cf. BAGNALL, R. S., “Notes on Greek and Egyptian Ostraka”, p. 143-144: “We can scarcely doubt that the writer intended Tsommant to represent as closely as possible what he heard in *T3-šr.t-(n)-Mnt*. The writing is very unusual for Greek texts of the Ptolemaic period. First, the phrase *t3-šr.t-(n)-* is usually transcribed in Greek as Σεν-, although several other options are found; and the standard transcription of the name of the taxpayer here is Σενμώνης. More unusual is the use of ο instead of ε as the vowel of the word in the syllable. But alternation of ε and ο for a schwa-like sound in unaccented syllables is common enough and has been explained by LACAU as a

Σγανουβᾶς⁹⁸⁸ (< *Tȝ-šr.t-n-Ḥnpw*), ΚΝΚΟΛΘΕ⁹⁸⁹ (< *Tȝ-šr.t-n-Klwḏȝ*) and ΧΝΖΩΡ⁹⁹⁰ (< *Tȝ-šr.t-n-Ḥr*) – no vocalisation has been noted, which shows its situation in an unstressed syllable.



I. Akôris 82, 1-2: Θιενούσειρις



P. Tebt. III 860, col. 6, 101: Σηνόβαστις



Stud. Pal. XX 2, 1: Σγανουβᾶς

The Egyptian preposition of genitive *n* has been rendered as *v/n* in 96.27 % (595) of the attestations from the Fayum, 95.65 % (22) from Lower Egypt and 94.46 % (2492) in Upper Egypt. Geminated *v* seems to have been written in 49 transcriptions: except 4 attestations⁹⁹¹, all the names with double *v* are renderings of *Tȝ-šr.t-n-Ḥs.t*, “The daughter of Isis”⁹⁹². In 52 attestations Egyptian *n* has been

phenomenon produced by the attempt of scribes to represent in Greek a sound in Egyptian which resembled both Greek sounds but neither perfectly”. On the vocalisation of *Mnṯ* in this name, cf. *ibidem*, p. 144.

⁹⁸⁸ In Stud. Pal. XX 2, 1.

⁹⁸⁹ In P. Mon. Epiph. 553, 1.

⁹⁹⁰ In O. Vind. Copt. 126, 6.

⁹⁹¹ Σεννέμωνις (SB V 7576, 1), Θεννέμουινις (< *Tȝ-šr.t-n-Ḥmn*) (P. Dime III 24, GH 1), Θιννπάθωνις (< **Tȝ-šr.t-n-pa-Dwn*) (P. Petaus 100, Ro 16), Σεννοννώφριος (< *Tȝ-šr.t-n-Wn-nfr*) (CRIPEL III 450, A 2).

⁹⁹² Cf. TM Nam 1065.

rendered by μ before μ , β , π , ϕ or ψ due to progressive assimilation⁹⁹³. This notation of μ because of the assimilation with the next phoneme is not, however, systematic: in a same text, as in P. Adler Gr. 9 (cf. Σεμπελαίας: col. 1, 6; col. 2, 9 and 13; Σενπελαίας: col. 3, 3, from **Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-mr-ih*) or – according to the editor – in I. Akôris 107 (cf. 1-2: Χενπετέσουχος; and 4-5: Χεμπε<τε>σούχου, from **Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-di-Sbk*)⁹⁹⁴, both variants, with ν and μ , can be found. In the name Σέγχωνσις⁹⁹⁵ (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Hnsw*), Egyptian n has been noted as γ also because of the assimilation with the χ . In 3 attestations⁹⁹⁶ Egyptian n has been contracted with a following m represented as μ in Greek transcription, and in 9 names⁹⁹⁷ with the next n .



P. Tebt. II 291, 28: Θεμβά[κ]ηβκις



I. Akôris 107, 1-2: Χενπετέσουχος



I. Akôris 107, 4-5: Χεμπε<τε>σούχου

⁹⁹³ Cf. for example Σέμμωνθις (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Mnt*) (TM Nam 1075), Θεμβά[κ]ηβκις (< **Tʒ-šr.t-n-pa-Gbk*) (P. Tebt. II 291, 28), Σερέμβησις (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Bs*) (TM Nam 13638), Σεμπελαίας (< **Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-mr-ih*) (TM Nam 1083), Σεμφασιής (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-hsy*) (TM Nam 13642), Σέμψαις (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-šʒy*) (TM Nam 12104).

⁹⁹⁴ The *mu* in I. Akôris 107, 4-5, is not completely visible in the picture available.

⁹⁹⁵ In O. Bodl. I 24, 6. In the l. 5 of the same document, Ψεγχώνσιος (< *Pʒ-šr-n-Hnsw*) is also found.

⁹⁹⁶ In I. Memnonion 401, 1: Σέμινις (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Mn*); P. Lond. II 258 Ro., col. 9, 211: Συμούθιος (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Mw.t*); P. Cairo Masp. II 67146, 11: Τσεμούθης (< *Tʒ-šr.t-n-Mw.t*).

⁹⁹⁷ In P. Lond. IV 1431, 44: Τσένουθ(ις); P. Lond. IV 1521, 24: Τσένουθ(ις); P. KRU 35, 13: τσενουγτε; O. Vind. Copt. 128, 5: τωενογτε; P. KRU 36, 5: τωενογτε, from **Tʒ-šr.t-n-ntr*.

No *n* has been noted in 22 transcriptions (0.67 % of the total number of attestations), probably due to mistakes of the scribes⁹⁹⁸. In 14 attestations (0.42 %), *ε* has been rendered as reflection of the Egyptian /ə/ pronounced between *Tj-šr.t-n-* and the following element⁹⁹⁹.



O. Wilcken II 1202, 4: Σεχωνς

⁹⁹⁸ Cf. for example the attestations of Θι<v>ψάνσνω<ς>/Θι<v>ψένσνω<ς> (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-sn-sn.w*) (TM Nam 12096); or the names Σε<v>χωνς (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Hnsw*) (O. Wilcken II 1202, 4); Σε<v>πετερμούθου (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-di-Rnn.t*) (*CRIPEL* II 165, A 1); Σε<v>σάνσνω<ς> (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-sn-sn.w*) (*CRIPEL* IV 992, 2); Σε<v>πετεμείνιος (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-di-Mn*) (*Short Texts* II 881, B 1), Σε<v>αρχήσις (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Hr-pa-Is.t*) (I. Akôris 95, 1),... On the other hand, in O. Wilcken II 1300, 4 and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;;1300> the anthroponym Σεχαπρής is found; this anthroponym appears however as Σεναπρής (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Hr-pj-R*) in the index and the image available confirms that the reading of the index is correct. Σεχαπρής is consequently a ghostname resulting from a printing error. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.

⁹⁹⁹ Cf. the name Θενεκούεις (< **Tj-šr.t-n-tj-gwy.t*) attested 7 times in P. Fay. 91, 1, 6, 15-16, 28, 33-34, 35 and 44; Θενέφωι (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-mjy*) (SB III 7203, Ro. 6.); Σενέθωις (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Dhwy*) (P. Count. 43, 5); Σενεφο[ύς] (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-mwt*) (P. Count. 6, 45); Σενεπμο[ύς] (< *Tj-šr.t-n-pj-mwt*) (P. Count. 19, 5); Σενεβήκι(ος) (< **Tj-šr.t-n-nj-byk.w*) (O. Edfou III 428, 8); Σενεμουτ (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Mw.t*) (SB I 1727, 4.); Σένεγρος (< *Tj-šr.t-n-Hr*) (O. Wilcken II 954, 5).

4. *T3-ŠR.T-N-* IN MIDDLE POSITION

4.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

Egyptian *-t3-šr.t-n-* in middle position appears in more than 40 names. None of them, however, has more than 20 attestations:

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-...	The son of the daughter of... (<i>incomplete name</i>)	Ψενσεν...	7	39018
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n- İy-m-ḥtp	The son of the daughter of Imhotep	Ψενσενιμούθης	1	23776
P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n- İw=f-ḥnh	The son of the daughter of He will live	Ψενσενεπώνυχος	1	26336
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n- İmn	The son of the daughter of Amun	Ψενσενάμουνης	3	23771
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n- İnpw	The son of the daughter of Anubis	Ψενσενάνουπις	1	17774
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n- İs.t	The son of the daughter of Isis	Ψενσέννησις	4	23775
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n- phṯ	The son of the daughter of the great of strength	Ψενσεναπαθῆς	1	39019
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n- Wn-nfr	The son of the daughter of Onnophris	Ψενσενόννωφρις	1	23779
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Bs	The son of the daughter of Bes	Ψενσένβησις	1	17871
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)- p3-İl	The son of the daughter of the shewmouse	Ψενσενπέλιλις	9	10325
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)- p3-ḥm	The son of the daughter of the eagle	Ψενσενπάχουμις	8	10326
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n- p3y-Šzy	The son of the daughter of this one of Shai	Ψενσενπίσαις	2	25763
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n- p3-wr	The son of the daughter of the great one	Ψενσενπόηρις	5	13043

*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-(p3)-ftw-Mnṭ	The son of the daughter of the four Montus	Ψενσενφομώνθης	12	13045
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-lyn	The son of the daughter of the smith	Ψενσένπληνις	6	13042
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)-p3-ḥtr	The son of the daughter of the twin	Ψενσενφατρῆς	2	32116
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-n-p3-sn-sn.w	The son of the daughter of the two sons	Ψενσενψάνσνως	4	10328
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-(p3)-k3-mw.t=f	The son of the daughter of the bull of his mother	Ψενσενκάμητις, Ψενσενπκάμητις	7	13041
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-gyl	The son of the daughter of the little one	Ψενσενπκοίλι	1	34112
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Īs.t	The son of the daughter of He who has been given by Isis	Ψενσενπέτησις	1	25929
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr(t)-(n)-p3-di-Mn	The son of the daughter of He who has been given by Min	Ψενσενπετέμινις	4	10329
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-iry	The son of the daughter of the one of the companion	Ψενσενπάηρις	1	25935
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa- Mnṭ	The son of the daughter of the one of Montu	Ψενσενπαμώνθης	2	13040
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-ḥ3.t	The son of the daughter of the one of the heart	Ψενσενπαῆς	1	26275
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Mw.t	The son of the daughter of Mut	Ψενσενμούθης	16	23778
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Mn	The son of the daughter of Min	Ψενσέμινις, Ψενσέμμινις, Ψενσένμινις	3	19474
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)-mnḥ	The son of the daughter of the excellent one	Ψενσενμενχῆς	3	10330
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)-Mnṭ	The son of the daughter of Montu	Ψενσενμώνθης	5	10331
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-nfr(t)	The son of the daughter of the good one	Ψενσένουφις	1	23780
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr	The son of the daughter of Horos	Ψενσένυρις	17	13044
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-wr	The son of the daughter of Horos the great	Ψενσεναργήριος, Ψενσενάργηρις	2	26769

P3-šr-n-t3-šr-n-Ḥr-wd3	The son of the daughter of the prosperous Horos	Ψενσenaρνώτης	11	10333
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-Pyt	The son of the daughter of Horos the Libyan	Ψενσenaρπαγάθης	1	23772
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-pa-Is(.t)	The son of the daughter of Horos, the one of Isis	Ψενσenaρπάησις	4	23773
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-rnp.t	The son of the daughter of Horos of the year	Ψενσenaρρεμφίς	1	17839
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-Š3y	The son of the daughter of Horos-Shai	Ψενσenaρρέσαις	1	25782
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥtp=w	The son of the daughter of They are satisfied	Ψενσenaρφθεύς	1	25837
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Qlnd	The son of the daughter of Kollanthas	Ψενσenaρκολανθάς	1	28286
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Kldw3	The son of the daughter of Kollouthos	Ψενσenaρκολλούθης	2	23777
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-gl3	The son of the daughter of the lame one	Ψενσenaρκαλῆς	1	25735
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-t3-msy-ʿ3.t	The son of the daughter of the Great of births	Ψενσenaρμεσίως	1	25690
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Twtw	The son of the daughter of Totoes	Ψενσenaρτιθοῆς	14	18412
*Pa-t3-šr.t-n-Is.t	The one of the daughter of Isis	Πασένασις	1	11261
*Pa-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥnm	The one of the daughter of Khnum	Πασένχνουβίς	1	24635
*T3-šr.t-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-wd3	The daughter of the daughter of the prosperous Horos	Ξενσenaρνώτης ¹⁰⁰⁰	1	26616
*Ta-t3-šr.t-n-Itm	The one of the daughter of Atum	Ταθενάτυμις	1	24300
*Ta-t3-šr.t-n-ta-Ḥr-wd3	The one of the daughter of the one of the prosperous Horos	Τασενταρούωθίς	1	39448

¹⁰⁰⁰ In *CRIPEL* III 570, 3-4: Ξενσenaρνώτης.

B. Hybrid anthroponyms

Egyptian *-t3-šr.t-n-* occurs in middle position of three hybrid anthroponyms: Ψενθινερμογένης (TM Nam 13006), Ψενσεναρῆς (TM Nam 25730) and Ψενσεναχιλλᾶς (TM Nam 19326), attested once each. They all have been discussed in the chapter of *P3-šr-n-* in initial position – Hybrid names.

C. Anthroponyms with a prototype unknown

The complete Egyptian prototype of the anthroponyms listed below is unknown. Since they all begin with Ψεν-, the most common rendering for Egyptian *P3-šr-n-*, they have already been discussed in the chapter of *P3-šr-n-* in initial position – Anthroponyms with a prototype unknown.

Most frequent rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Ψενσέναθις	1	30163
Ψενσενάμορις	1	27863
Ψενσενοβ()	1	35368
Ψενσενπεντενταία, Ψενσενπετένταις	2	30616
Ψενσενπετενομη()	1	33938
Ψενσένταυς	1	34152
Ψενσενψύνιος	1	23782

4.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

Egyptian *-t3-šr.t-n-* seems to have been transcribed into Greek in approximately 9 different variants, of which *-σεν-*, especially attested in Thebes and Panopolites, is the most frequent. The rest of the variants have less than 5 attestations each.

	00	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U09	U10	U15
-θεν-	1								
-θιν-		1							
-σε(μ)-				1					
-σεμ-					1				
-σε(ν)-					1				
-σεν-		1		3	91	3	57	2	3
-σενν-			1		2				
-σον- (?)							1		
Total attestations	1	2	1	4	95	3	58	2	3

4.3. Linguistic characteristics

Egyptian *tʒ* + *š* in middle position have been rendered as σ in all the attestations of the element *-tʒ-šr.t-n-* in middle position except in two names, in which this group has been represented as θ (*-θεν-* in one attestation from the Fayum¹⁰⁰¹ and *-θιν-* in a hybrid anthroponym from Elephantine¹⁰⁰²). In 98.81 % (167) of the attestations, the vocalisation of *-tʒ-šr.t-n-* appears as ε. In the only attestation from Elephantine, it has been noted as ι and in one anthroponym from the Panopolites it has been presumably written as ο¹⁰⁰³. The genitive preposition *n* has been represented as ν in all the attestations except in four; of these, in one appears as μ due to the assimilation with a following μ¹⁰⁰⁴, and in three transcriptions of *Pʒ-šr-n-tʒ-šr.t-n-šs.t* it has been rendered as geminated ν¹⁰⁰⁵. In two attestations, the *n* appears contracted with a following *n* or *m*¹⁰⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁰¹ In P. Strasb. Gr. VIII 724, Ro. col. 2, 3: Ταθενατ[ύ]μεως (127 AD) (**Ta-tʒ-šr.t-n-štm*).

¹⁰⁰² Cf. O. Eleph. DAIK 21, 3-4: Ψενθινερμογέν(ου) (after 118 AD).

¹⁰⁰³ In the name Ψονσονπάχουμις (< *Pʒ-šr-n-tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-šm*), in *CRIPEL* IV 935, 2-3. No image of this name is currently available.

¹⁰⁰⁴ In O. Wilcken II 490, 1: Ψενσέμμι(νις) (< **Pʒ-šr-n-tʒ-šr.t-n-Mn*).

¹⁰⁰⁵ In O. Camb. 62, 2: Ψενσεννή(σιος); and O. Strasb. I 381, 3: Ψενσεννή(σιος); PSI IX 1032, Ro. 3: Ψενσεννήσιος (< **Pʒ-šr-n-tʒ-šr.t-n-šs.t*).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Cf. O. Elkab 50, 3-4: Ψενσέμνις; O. Ont. Mus. II 280, 1: Ψενσεννούφις (< **Pʒ-šr-n-tʒ-šr.t-n-nfr(.t)*).



PSI IX 1032, Ro. 3: Πενσενήσιος

5. CONCLUSION






Whereas Egyptian Ψεν-/ψεν- is the best attested variant for *Pj-šr-n-* in all the areas and positions, some renderings of *Tj-šr.t-n-* show dialectal features. Thus, Θεν- seems to have been characteristic of Fayumic, and Θιν- of Elephantine. Even though Θιν- is a clear dialectal feature of Elephantine, it does not seem to be characteristic of Akhmimic, the dialect that has been supposed to be spoken there. In fact, Σεν- is the best attested variant in the rest of Upper Egypt including zones such as Thebes or Panopolis where Akhmimic was spoken, and it is also well attested in Elephantine. This leads to think that Θιν- was a local variant of the Akhmimic variety spoken in Elephantine.

CHAPTER 2

$$P_{3-di}/T_{3-di}$$

P₃-di-/T₃-di-

P₃-di- (masculine)/ *T₃-di-* (femenine) is the past relative of the verb *di*, “to give”, nominalised with the masculine or feminine definite article (*p₃/t₃*, respectively)¹⁰⁰⁷. What follows *p₃-di-/t₃-di-* is consequently the syntactic subject of the clause (cf. *P₃-di-Is.t*, “He whom Isis has given”). Anthroponyms composed of *p₃-di-/t₃-di-* plus other element are attested from the end of the New Kingdom onwards¹⁰⁰⁸. The proper names with this structure are mainly theophoric and indicated that, in ancient Egyptian mind-set, the bearer of the anthroponym had come to life thanks to the divinity mentioned (cf. the name *P₃-di-n=y-Is.t*¹⁰⁰⁹, “He who has been given to me by Isis”, with an indirect object). In this regard, the Greek theophoric names ending in -δοτος/-δότη and -δωρος/-δώρα can be considered as equivalent to *p₃-di-/t₃-di-* anthroponyms¹⁰¹⁰.

The names with *p₃-di-/t₃-di-* present some palaeographical particularities in Demotic¹⁰¹¹. In Late Egyptian, the prothetic *yod* characteristic of the relative forms was not noted in nominalised structures¹⁰¹² (cf. *p₃-di-*: , , ,  or , among other graphic variants; *t₃-*

¹⁰⁰⁷ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 118-120; NEVEU, F., *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, p. 264-265. On the relative forms in Egyptian anthroponyms, cf. RANKE, H., *PN II*, p. 25-29.



¹⁰⁰⁸ Cf. RANKE, H., “Les noms propres égyptiens”, p. 313: “Les noms religieux attributifs expriment les mêmes idées que ceux des époques antérieures mais assimilés à la langue du Nouvel Empire. Il y a bien encore *dd-w-ptḥ*, « celui que Ptah donne », mais les formations avec l’article comme *p₃-dj.w-r* ‘celui que Re donne’, etc., sont beaucoup plus fréquentes”. The Egyptian definite article, derived from the demonstrative article of Middle Egyptian, is indeed a characteristic of Late Egyptian. Cf. NEVEU, F., *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, p. 4-5. For the names constructed of *P₃-di-/T₃-di-* in Late Egyptian, cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 121-126 and 372-374, respectively.



¹⁰⁰⁹ TM Nam 877.








¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. JENNES, G., DEPAUW, M., “Hellenization and Onomastic Change. The Case of Egyptian *P₃-di*-Πετε- Names”, p. 128-130.

¹⁰¹¹ Cf. JENNES, G., DEPAUW, M., *ibidem*, p. 112-113.



¹⁰¹² Cf. NEVEU, F., *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, p. 145: “Les formes relatives sont invariables quel que soit le genre ou le nombre et ne présentent pas de terminaison particulière. Elles sont fréquemment précédées du

yod prothétique , qui peut être écrit avec le signe de la bouche  (ce yod prothétique disparaît, en principe, lorsque la forme relative est substantivée et définie par un article ou un démonstratif). Les formes relatives peuvent être périphrasées par le verbe *iri*. C’est, en principe, obligatoire pour les verbes dont le radical contient plus de trois consonnes, facultatif pour les autres”. Cf. also JUNGE, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, p. 66: “From Dyn. XIX on, the prefix *i-*

 or  marks the participles and relative forms (...). Where articles and demonstratives precede the prefix, it is assimilated and remains unwritten”.

dī·:  or  ¹⁰¹³). On the other hand, in Demotic relative forms, this prothetic *yod* – represented as an *r* derived from the hieroglyphic sign  – is usually written in combination with the precedent article forming a copula¹⁰¹⁴, which, in some cases, is identical with the copula form of the demonstrative *pzy*  ¹⁰¹⁵ when the article that nominalises the clause is masculine¹⁰¹⁶. However, in Demotic the anthroponyms with *p3-dī-/t3-dī-* do generally not follow this rule¹⁰¹⁷ and are written without copula (cf. *p3-dī-*  ¹⁰¹⁸ and *t3-dī-*  ¹⁰¹⁹) and with the verb *dī*  ¹⁰²⁰ abbreviated and reduced to a vertical stroke. The notation of *p3-dī-/t3-dī-* in Demotic anthroponyms seems consequently to derive from the Late Egyptian writing of this type of proper names.

1. *P3-DĪ/T3-DĪ* IN ABSOLUTE POSITION?



The anthroponym *Pa-tw*  ¹⁰²¹ / *P3-dī*  ¹⁰²² – and other variants –, “He who has been given”¹⁰²³, is attested 312 times in Demotic, 229 in Greek and 8 in Coptic. The Greek transcriptions Πατῆς (162 attestations) and Παῖτις (44 attestations) are the best attested. In addition, the feminine

¹⁰¹³ Cf. the names listed in RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 121-126 and 372-374.

¹⁰¹⁴ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 119: “When a past tense relative form was nominalized, by prefixing the definite article to the relative form, the article and the *r* of the relative form were combined in writing”.

¹⁰¹⁵ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 435: *Pzy-Īs.t*, n. 1.

¹⁰¹⁶ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *ibidem*, p. 119-120.

¹⁰¹⁷ Some exceptions are the names *Pzy-dī-B3st.t*, “He who has been given by Bastet” (TM Nam 20723: 2 attestations), *Pzy-dī=w*, “He who has been given by them” (TM Nam 897: 5 attestations), *Pzy-dī=f*, “He who has been given by him” (TM Nam 771: 1 attestation). Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 296: *Pzy-dī=w*, n. 1: , 2: ; and also 13 and 14.

¹⁰¹⁸ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 298: *P3-dī-Wsīr*, n. 19.

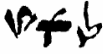






¹⁰¹⁹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1154: *P3-dī-Īy-m-htp*, n. 2.

¹⁰²⁰ Image from O. Hor 19, Vo. 8.

¹⁰²¹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 429: *Pa-tw*, n. 11.

¹⁰²² Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 429: *Pa-tw*, n. 27.

¹⁰²³ TM Nam 772 + 5103.

counterpart *Ta-di.t* ¹⁰²⁴ (> Τατῆς¹⁰²⁵/Τᾱτις¹⁰²⁶/Τετῆς¹⁰²⁷/Τιτῆς¹⁰²⁸) seems also to be attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription, although its attestations are far less numerous than those of the masculine counterpart¹⁰²⁹. Both the masculine and the feminine forms are attested in Late Egyptian with different graphic variants (cf. *P3-di*: , ; *T3-di*: , , , ¹⁰³⁰). At first sight, the elements *P3-di*/*T3-di*, “He/She who has been given”¹⁰³¹, seem to have been used as anthroponyms by themselves, but the lack of a subject of the clause (compare with the masculine name *P3-di=w*¹⁰³², with an impersonal subject: “He whom they (the gods?) have given”/“He who has been given”) leads to think that originally they may have been abbreviated names or hypocoristics.

The Greek renderings of the feminine anthroponym *T3-di*/*Ta-di.t* have some spelling variations in the part that represents Egyptian *T3-* (definite article)/*Ta-* (possessive pronoun) (one attestation starts by Θᾱ-¹⁰³³, 2 by Τᾱ-¹⁰³⁴, 6 by Τε-¹⁰³⁵, and one by Τι-¹⁰³⁶). Although it is not possible to certainly know the cause of these variations, they seem to represent the different Demotic variants, some of which start with the feminine pronoun *Ta-* and some others with the definite article *T3-*. Likewise, the

¹⁰²⁴ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1220, n. 6. Cf. TM Nam 1355, where the anthroponym *Ta-di.t*, attested in P. Hauswaldt Manning 13, 1 (in this document the reading is not completely sure; cf. P. Hauswaldt Manning, p. 119) and P. Count 2, 35, appears together with the attestations of incomplete names starting by *T3-di*...

¹⁰²⁵ TM Nam 18748: 1 attestation in O. Minor A 5, 2: Τατήους.

¹⁰²⁶ TM Nam 19454: 2 attestations in I. Louvre 70, 1: Τᾱτις and I. Louvre 81, 4-5: Θᾱτι.

¹⁰²⁷ TM Nam 6209: 6 attestations in SB XX 14480, 19: μη(τρός) Τετῆτος; UPZ II 180 a, col. 3, 6: Τετῆς; P. Gen. I (2) 31, 2: Τετῆτος; P. Ryl. Gr. II 157, 1: Τετῆς; 2: [Τετῆς (totally reconstructed); 11: Τετῆν; and 25: Τετῆς.

¹⁰²⁸ TM Nam 25962: in SB I 3884, 2: Τιτῆτος; and uncertain in O. Strasb. I 682, col. 2, 7: Τιτη (?) () (the name in O. Strasb. I 682 appears as παριτη in the edition, but has been corrected to παρ(ᾱ) Τιτη (?) at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.stras;1;682>). No image of the ostrakon is available to confirm this reading.

¹⁰²⁹ Cf. previous notes. TM Nam 18748, 19454, 6209 and 25962 should be unified in the Trismegistos database.

¹⁰³⁰ Cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 121.17 and 372.12, respectively.

¹⁰³¹ No translations are proposed in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 429 or 1220.

¹⁰³² TM Nam 897.

¹⁰³³ Cf. I. Louvre 81, 4-5: Θᾱτι, from Hakoris (U15).

¹⁰³⁴ Cf. O. Minor A 5, 2: Τατήους; I. Louvre 70, 1: Τᾱτις.

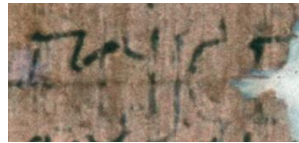
¹⁰³⁵ Cf. TM Nam 6209.

¹⁰³⁶ In SB I 3884, 2: Τιτῆτος.

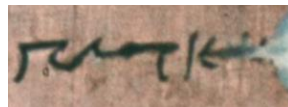
transcriptional variants of *Pa-tw/P3-di* start by Πα-/Πε- and might represent the Egyptian masculine possessive pronoun *pa-* and definite article *p3*, respectively¹⁰³⁷:

	00	L01	L16	U01	U02	U04	U09	U15	U19	U20
Παι(ι)- (?)	1									
Πατε-						1				
πατε						7				
Πατ(ει)-	2									1
Πατ(η)-	56		1	5	5	79	1	1	1	
Πατ(ι)-	36	2				3		2		
Πετ(η)-	8					1		2		
Total attestations	103	2	1	5	5	91	1	5	1	1

The Egyptian consonant *t/d* is represented as τ/τ in all the attestations except in one, the name Παῖν in P. Cairo Zen. III 59526, Ro. 2, probably due to a mistake of the scribe: as pointed out by the editor, in P. Cairo Zen. III 59526, Ro. 6, the name Παῖτις, which can refer to the same person, occurs.



P. Cairo Zen. III 59526, Ro 2: Παῖν



P. Cairo Zen. III 59526, Ro 2: Παῖτις

The name *Pa-tw/P3-di* appears in Coptic as πατε. Six of the seven attestations occur in P. KRU 119 (24, 25, 35, 43, 60, 76)¹⁰³⁸, where a small epsilon has been written in the upper part as if it was

¹⁰³⁷ It is not possible to know if the names Πίτετος, in P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 19, 14 (TM Nam 36039), and Πίτις (TM Nam 11648) – attested in P. Lond. II 402 Ro. 10: Πίτιτος; BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. A col. 7, 85: Πίτις; BGU XVI 2577 Ro., col. 19, 312: Πίτις; and SB XXII 15490, 9: Πίτι – derive from this prototype. On the other hand, the following names are totally or partially reconstructed and have not been included here: [Πάτειτι] (P. Cairo Zen. IV 59592, 3), [Πατ]ῆτο[ς] (SB XVIII 13176, col. 2, 57), [Πατῆς] (P. Hibeh I 86, fr. B 25), [Πετῆτος] (P. Amh. Gr. II 95, col. 1, 3).

¹⁰³⁸ The other Coptic attestation is in O. Vind. Copt. 125, 20-21: πατε ΝΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ.

indicating an abbreviation: $\pi\alpha\tau$ ⁶. The editor of P. KRU¹⁰³⁹ doubts indeed that these attestations may be abbreviated names for $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ (< *Pa-T3-rnn.t*, “The one of Thermouthis”).

Most Greek renderings of *P3-di/T3-di* have been hellenised by the Greek morphological endings - $\eta\varsigma$ and - $\iota\varsigma$. Three masculine anthroponyms end in - $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ¹⁰⁴⁰ – an itacistic variant – and in one attestation the nominative morphological ending is uncertain¹⁰⁴¹. If the Coptic attestations represent Egyptian *Pa-tw/P3-di*, they show the etymologically short vowel – ϵ of the ending of these names, which is hidden in Greek transcriptions due to the addition of a morphological ending. This Coptic ending and the Greek - $\eta\varsigma$, which appears in 74.41 % (160 attestations) of the transcriptions of *Pa-tw/P3-di*, could indicate that the last syllable of these names was accentuated in Egyptian¹⁰⁴².

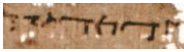
2. *P3-Di*- IN INITIAL POSITION

2.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

Egyptian *P3-di*- occurs at the beginning of more than 140 anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription. Names as *P3-di-Sbk*, *P3-di-Wsir* and *P3-di=w* occur more than 1000 times in transcription and consequently are the best attested. There seems to be in addition one mixed attestation in which the first part *P3-di*-, appears rendered into Greek as $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -, and the second part, presumably *p3-šr*, “the son”, has been written in Demotic¹⁰⁴³. If the interpretation of the inscription is correct, this seems to be the only case of an anthroponym partly written in Greek transcription and partly in Demotic.

¹⁰³⁹ Cf. the index of P. KRU, p. 448.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Cf. P. Cairo Zen. IV 59592, 11: $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\tau\iota$ ; P. Lond. VII 2045, 1: $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$; P. Wash. Univ. I 18, col. 1, 16: $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

¹⁰⁴¹ Cf. O. Bodl. II 1934, 11: $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, with a dot under the *epsilon*.

¹⁰⁴² Cf. also the Egyptian name *Twtw*, “Totoes” (TM Nam 1436), which appears in Greek mostly as $\text{Τιθο}\eta\varsigma/\text{Τοτο}\eta\varsigma$ and with an etymologically short vowel in Coptic (cf. ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲉ , ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲉ).

¹⁰⁴³ Cf. Graff. Dodec. Philae 321: $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}p3\text{-}\acute{s}r$ (?). No image of the graffito is currently available.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
P3-di-...	He who has been given by... (<i>incomplete and abbreviated names</i>)	Πατερ... ¹⁰⁴⁴	1	38299
		Πατερμ...	6	38300
		Πετε...	401	819
		Πετε[¹⁰⁴⁵	1	17472
		Πετεα... ¹⁰⁴⁶	1	11513
		Πετεκ() ¹⁰⁴⁷	1	35395
		Πετεμν() ¹⁰⁴⁸	1	30373
		Πετεμον... ¹⁰⁴⁹	1	30373
		Πετην()	3	36229
		Πετηνοβ() ¹⁰⁵⁰	3	25973
		Πετες() ¹⁰⁵¹	8	17476
		Πετεχα() ¹⁰⁵²	1	26486
		Πετεχεσ() ¹⁰⁵³	1	38398
		Πετεψ...	3	38401
		Πετοβης ¹⁰⁵⁴	1	33541

¹⁰⁴⁴ In O. Kellis 177, 3: Πατερ().

¹⁰⁴⁵ In O. Wilcken III 362, 1-2: Πετε[. . .].ιος.

¹⁰⁴⁶ In P. Frankf. 3, 33: Πετεα[.

¹⁰⁴⁷ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr.: Πετεκ().

¹⁰⁴⁸ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 72, col. 1, 16: Πετεμν().

¹⁰⁴⁹ In *CRIPEL* III 422, A 1: Πετεμον...

¹⁰⁵⁰ This name seems to be abbreviated in O. Bodl. II 1354, 4: Πετενοβ(); O. Bodl. II 1916, 5: Πετενοβ(); and O. Wilcken

II 587, 11: Πετενοβ(), for which an image – badly visible – is available:



¹⁰⁵¹ In TM Nam 17476 the name Πετεσσον(χος), in P. Count. 49 Ro., 180, has also been included. Cf. *infra* in the list, *P3-di-Sbk*.

¹⁰⁵² In O. Wilcken II 1041, 2: Πετεχα().


¹⁰⁵³ In O. Ont. Mus. I 68, 6: Πετεχεσ()



¹⁰⁵⁴ In O. Wilcken II 897, 3: Πετοβη()



		Πετορσ() ¹⁰⁵⁵	1	23121
P3-di-Īy-m-ḥtp	He who has been given by Imhotep	Πετειμούθης	143	862
*P3-di-īmy	He who has been given by the cat	Πτεέμανς ¹⁰⁵⁶ , Πτέμανς ¹⁰⁵⁷	2	14831
*P3-di-Īmn-...	He who has been given by Amun... (abbreviated name)	Πετεμενω(...) ¹⁰⁵⁸	1	38381
P3-di-Īmn	He who has been given by Amun	Πετέμουνις, Πετά[μο]νις ¹⁰⁵⁹	113 2	834 + 17418
		Πεταμμενοῦς ¹⁰⁶⁰	1	834
P3-di-Īmn-Īkš	He who has been given by Amun the Kushite	Πετεμενέκυσις	17	11530
*P3-di-Īmn-p3-šr-n- Īs.t	He who has been given by Amun, the son of Isis	Πετεμψένησις ¹⁰⁶¹	2	23099
P3-di-Īmn-m-Īp.t	He who has been given by Amun in Apis	Πετεμένω(φίς) ¹⁰⁶² (abbreviated name)	1	38381
		Πετεμένωφίς, Πετεμένωφίς ¹⁰⁶³	508 1	831 + 24698
*P3-di-Īmn-nfr	He who has been given by the good Amun	Πετεμένωφρις, Πετεμένωφρις	7	5080
P3-di-Īmn-nsw- t3.wy	He who has been given by Amun, king of both lands	Πατεμοστοῦς, Πετεμοστοῦς,	10 2 2	864 24197 + 30829

¹⁰⁵⁵ In O. Wilcken II 575, 3: Πετορσ(ίριος) .

¹⁰⁵⁶ In Stud. Pal. X 210, 3: Πτεεμαν.

¹⁰⁵⁷ In CPR X 65, 63: Πτεμαν.

¹⁰⁵⁸ In O. Wilcken II 1033, 2: Πετεμενω(), a document from Thebes.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The name Πέγκμουγις, in P. Corn. 22, col. 1, 23 – and also Πέγκμουνος, in P. Cornell 21, col. 9, 176, for which no image is available – has been identified as a ghostname for Πετά[μο]νις. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

¹⁰⁶⁰ In SB XVI 12497, col. 3, 35: Πεταμμενοῦς.

¹⁰⁶¹ In P. Lond. II Ro., col. 1, 13: Πετεμψενήσιος.

¹⁰⁶² Abbreviated name in O. Wilcken II 1033, 2, from Thebes: Πετεμενω(). The anthroponym is illegible in the image currently available because of the faded ink.

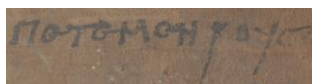
¹⁰⁶³ In VAN LANDUYT, K., “The Soter Family: Genealogy and Onomastics”, p. 76: Πετεμενώφρις. The name Πενεμενώφριος that appears in SB XX 14374, 1 and the Trismegistos database should therefore be corrected.

		Πετεμέσθης ¹⁰⁶⁴ , Πετεμονστωοῦς ¹⁰⁶⁵		
*P3-di-Īmn-rwš	He who has been given by Amun takes care	Πετεμενροῦς ¹⁰⁶⁶	1	18542
P3-di-Īnpw	He who has been given by Anubis	Πετένουπις	83	835
P3-di-Īn-ḥr.t	He who has been given by Onuris	Πετένουρις	57	823
P3-di-iry	He who has been given by the companion	Πέτειρις, Πέτηρις, Πέτιρις ¹⁰⁶⁷	7 6 10	7910 + 11550 + 11552
P3-di-Īry-ḥms-nfr	He who has been given by Arsenuphis	Πετεμάρσνουφίς	56	836
P3-di-Īs.t	He who has been given by Isis	Πετέησις, Πετεῖς (?), Πετεήσης ¹⁰⁶⁸	512 11 2	846 + 5074 + 33419
*P3-di-Īs.t-wr.t	He who has been given by the great Isis	Πετεσύηρις ¹⁰⁶⁹	1	30607
P3-di-Ītm	He who has been given by Atum	Πετέθυμις	19	838
P3-di-Ītm-(p3)-‘3	He who has been given by Atum the great	Πετέμπως ¹⁰⁷⁰	2	24191
P3-di-‘nq.t	He who has been given by Anukis	Πατάνουκις ¹⁰⁷¹	1	7915

¹⁰⁶⁴ Presumably in BGU X 1925, col. 1, 4: Πετ]εμεσθέους, from Thebes. Cf. also the variant in O. Bodl. I 88, 4-5: Πετεμεσθέως.

¹⁰⁶⁵ In *CRIPEL* IV 788, 3-4 and 6-7: Πετεμονστωοῦτος.

¹⁰⁶⁶ In O. Wilcken II 402, 5: Πετεμενροῦς



¹⁰⁶⁷ Egyptian *iry*, “companion”, appears ḥr as in Coptic. Πέτειρις and Πέτηρις seem to be itacistic variants. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 53-54.

¹⁰⁶⁸ In I. Thèbes à Syène 109, 2: Πετεήσης; P. Hibeh I 121, 15: Πετειση().



¹⁰⁶⁹ Presumably in O. Cairo 79, 2: Πε]τεσύηρις

¹⁰⁷⁰ In P. Panop. Beatty 1, col. 12, 311: Πετέμπωτος; and in the bilingual mummy label edited in *Short Texts* II 527 A 3: P3-di-Ītm-(p3)-‘3; B 2: Πετέμπωτος.



¹⁰⁷¹ In SB VI 9545 (3), 2: Πατάγουκις

*P3-di-‘h’=f-dy	He who has been given by Aphtheis	Πετέαφθεις ¹⁰⁷²	1	38374
P3-di-‘š-sdm=f/s	He who has been given by Ashmephis	Πετέασηφίς ¹⁰⁷³	14	10999
P3-di=w	He who has been given by them	Πεθεύς, Πέτιος	4029 3	897 + 38402
P3-di-Wp-w3.wt	He who has been given by Wepwawet	Πέτουφίς	19	878
P3-di-wp(.t)	He who has been given by the messenger	Πατίαπις ¹⁰⁷⁴	1	7917
P3-di-Wn-nfr	He who has been given by Onnophris	Πετόννοφίς ¹⁰⁷⁵	1	17965
*P3-di-wr(.t)	He who has been given by the great one	Πετόηρις, Πέτουρις, Πετουρίων ¹⁰⁷⁶ , Πετεύηρις ¹⁰⁷⁷	6 6 1 1	17779 + 18068 + 19018 + 26617
*P3-di-wrš	He who has been given by the guardian	Πατορσής	3	19361
		Πετεύρσος ¹⁰⁷⁸	1	30652
P3-di-Wsir	He who has been given by Osiris	Πετόσιρις, Πε[το]σίριος ¹⁰⁷⁹ , Πάτσιρις, Πητόσουρις ¹⁰⁸⁰	1706 1 7 1	893 + 23120 + 17374 + 33424



¹⁰⁷² In Stud. Pal. 5 34, 1: [Π]ετέαφ[θ]ει

¹⁰⁷³ On the equivalence of this Egyptian prototype and the attestations in Greek, cf. DE MEULENAERE, H., “Considérations sur un anthroponyme gréco-égyptien”, p. 14-17. On the meaning of this name, cf. *ibidem*, p. 17 : “L’emploi, à première vue surprenant, d’un complément féminin joint à ‘š-sdm dans les deux exemples hiéroglyphiques (...) es symptomatique. Il signifie que l’épithète pouvait indifféremment s’appliquer à un dieu ou à une déesse : « celui/celle qui appelle celui/celle qu’il/elle a entendu(e) » (...). Il s’agit bien davantage d’une désignation attribuable à n’importe quel dieu ou déesse qui se dispose à exaucer les prières de celui ou celle qui l’implore”.

¹⁰⁷⁴ In the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 598, A 1: P3-di-wp(.t); and B 1: Πατίαπις.

¹⁰⁷⁵ In O. Wilcken II 192, 4: Πετόννοφίς.

¹⁰⁷⁶ In P. Princ. I 2, col. 4, 13: Πετουρίων.

¹⁰⁷⁷ In O. Bodl. II 1779, 3: Πετεύηρις.

¹⁰⁷⁸ In CPR XVII.2 8, 4: Πετεύρσου.

¹⁰⁷⁹ In P. Cair. Zen. IV 59294 (p. 287-288), a new edition of P. Cair. Zen. II 59294, in Vo. 36: Πε[το]σίριος



The name Πε[το]σίριος that is found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.cair.zen;2;59294> is erroneous and should be corrected.

¹⁰⁸⁰ In I. Syr. 626, 1-2: Πητόσουρις.

		Πετσειρᾶς	3	30287
P3-di-Wsir-...	He who has been given by Osiris... (incomplete and abbreviated names)	Πετοσορ...	4	5108
P3-di-Wsir-Wn-nfr	He who has been given by Osiris-Onnophris	Πετοσορόννωφρις, Πετοσορόννωφρις, Πετοσορόννωφρις	7	896
P3-di-Wsir-wr	He who has been given by the great Osiris	Πετοσοροῦηρις ¹⁰⁸¹	1	11537
*P3-di-Wsir-wd3	He who has been given by Osiris is prosperous	Πατσορούατις ¹⁰⁸²	1	17375
P3-di-Wsir-Bh	He who has been given by Osiris-Bouchis	Πετοσόρβουχις, Πετοσόρβο(υ)χις ¹⁰⁸³	18 1	895 + 26693
*P3-di-Wsir-p3-ym	He who has been given by Osiris of the lake	Πετεσορφίωμις ¹⁰⁸⁴ , Πετευσόρφιμις ¹⁰⁸⁵	2	19422
*P3-di-Wsir-p3-m3y	He who has been given by Osiris the lion	Πετοσορφμοῦς ¹⁰⁸⁶	1	26700
*P3-di-Wsir-p3-hb	He who has been given by Osiris the ibis	Πετοσόρφιβις	6	7918

¹⁰⁸¹ In O. Heid. 184, 1: Πετοσοροῦ[ηρις].

¹⁰⁸² In SB III 7087, 2: Πατσορούατις. The similar variant -οῦαθις as rendering of *wd3* is attested in the bilingual text in *Short Texts* II 745 A 3-4: *P3-l'-wd3*; and B 1-2: Παλαουάθιος. The meaning of the term *l'* in this anthroponym is unknown, since it does not seem to mean “punishment” in this context. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter L, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸³ In O. Theb. Gr. 88, 1. The name Πετοσόρκος has been identified as a ghostname for Πετοσόρβο(υ)χις). Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Theban Personal Names and the Cult of Bouchis”, p. 31, n. 38; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=320>. Cf. also HEILPORN, P., “Les ostraca grecs de la bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg”, p. 239-240. On the other hand, in TM Nam 26693, the name Πετοσορχω..., in O. Wilcken II 302, 3, from Syene, which is probably a different anthroponym, has been included.

¹⁰⁸⁴ In P. Oxy. VI 986, col. 4 descr.: Πετεσορφιώμεως.



¹⁰⁸⁵ In P. Tebt. III 1076 descr., col. 2, 16: Πετευσόρφιμις

¹⁰⁸⁶ Cf. UPZ II 177, 17: Πετοσ[όρ]φομουτος, which is the Greek part of a bilingual document; the Demotic part reveals that



the prototype of this name is *P3-di-Wsir [sz] P3-hm3*. Cf. MAIRS, R., MARTIN, C. J., “A Bilingual ‘Sale’ of Liturgies from the Archive of the Theban Choachytes: P. Berlin 5507, P. Berlin 3098 and P. Leiden 413”, p. 27, Text A (P. Berlin 5507, 6) and p. 39, Text B (P. Berlin 3098), 5.

P3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr	He who has been given by Osiris, who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Πετόρζμηθις	292	7919
*P3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr- ⲓ	He who has been given by Osiris, he who belongs to the great sacred emblem of Khum	Πετορζμήτως	4	23998
P3-di-Wsir-Ḥp	He who has been given by Osiris-Apis	Πετόραιπις, Πετσόραιπις ¹⁰⁸⁷ , Πετσόραιπις ¹⁰⁸⁸	67 136 1	17882 + 892 7796
*P3-di-wḏ3	He who has been given by the eye	Πεταύαθις ¹⁰⁸⁹	1	28281
P3-di-B3-nb-Dd.t ¹⁰⁹⁰	He who has been given by the ram lord of Mendes	Πετεβεν() ¹⁰⁹¹ (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	1	33418
		Πετεβέντητις	15	839
P3-di-B3st.t	He who has been given by Bastet	Πετόβαστις	138	891
P3-di-byk	He who has been given by the falcon	Πετέβηκις, Πετέβηχις	4	7920
*P3-di-bnw ¹⁰⁹²	He who has been given by the <i>benu</i> bird	Πετέβηνις ¹⁰⁹³	1	33418
*P3-di-Bḥ	He who has been given by Bouchis	Πετέβουχις ¹⁰⁹⁴	1	23091

¹⁰⁸⁷ The name Πειτεσώραπις, in P. Corn. 22, col. 1, 22 and 26, has been identified as a ghostname for Πετε[σορ]απις (col. 1, 22) and Πατε[σορ]απις (col. 1, 26). Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming. On the other hand, Πετεώραπις has also been identified as a ghostname for Π[ε]τσοραίπι(ος). Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., *ibidem*.

¹⁰⁸⁸ The attestation in DERDA, T., NOWAK, M., “Two Wills from Oxyrhynchus”, p. 110, n. 2, 28, is Πετσοραίπι(ος)



, and not Τετσοραίπι(ος) as it has been considered in TM Nam 7796.

¹⁰⁸⁹ In *CRIPEL* III 350, 1-2: Πετανάθιος.

¹⁰⁹⁰ On the meaning of *B3-nb-Dd.t*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter B, p. 5-7.


¹⁰⁹¹ Presumably in BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. A col. 5, 55: Πετεβεν(δήτιος). This name has been included in TM Nam 33418 together with Πετέβηνις (I. Syr. 115, 1-4), a rendering of *P3-di-bnw (cf. this name *infra*).

¹⁰⁹² On the term *bnw*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter B, p. 51-52: “Phoenix, heron”. This word appears in Coptic as ⲃⲏⲛⲉ (Sahidic), ⲃⲏⲛⲓ (Bohairic). Cf. VYCHICH, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 28; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁹³ In I. Syr. 115, 1-4: Πετέβηνις.

¹⁰⁹⁴ In O. Wilcken II 1172, 1: Πετεβούχι(ος).

*P3-di-Bs	He who has been given by Bes	Παταβῆς (?) ¹⁰⁹⁵ , Πατεβῆς	1 4	24785 + 22973
*P3-di-p3y-Is.t	He who has been given by this one of Isis	Πετεπίησις ¹⁰⁹⁶ ,	2	38390
P3-di-p3-ḥm	He who has been given by the eagle	Πετεπάχουμις ¹⁰⁹⁷	1	7922
P3-di-p3-wr	He who has been given by the great one	Πετεπούηρις, Πετεπούηρις ¹⁰⁹⁸	10 1	7923 + 17856
*P3-di-p3-byk	He who has been given by the falcon	Πετούβηκις ¹⁰⁹⁹	4	23122
*P3-di-p3-m3y	He who has been given by the lion	Πατέφοις ¹¹⁰⁰ , Πετεπμούεις ¹¹⁰¹ , Πετέφοις ¹¹⁰²	3	867 ¹¹⁰³
*P3-di-p3-msh	He who has been given by the crocodile	Πετεπέμσαις ¹¹⁰⁴	1	24355
P3-di-p3-nb-t3.wy	He who has been given by the lord of both lands	Πατεπνεβετύς ¹¹⁰⁵	1	24111

¹⁰⁹⁵ In P. Oxy. VI 895 Ro. 5: Παταβῆτος . This name could also be considered as a transcription of *Pa-ta-Bs, “The one of the one of Bes”.

¹⁰⁹⁶ The anthroponyms Παπεπιήσιος and Παπ[επιήσιος], in In P. Vars. 12, 6 and 11, are ghostnames for Πετεπιήσιος (cf. <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.vars.;12>) and Παπ[επιήσιος]. This latter name should also be corrected to Πετ[επιήσιος] at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.vars.;12>. Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=715>.

¹⁰⁹⁷ In I. Portes du désert 118, 2: Πετε[πα]χούμιος.

¹⁰⁹⁸ In O. Eleph. DAIK 31, 4: Πετεπούηρις . The name **Πετεμούηρις that is found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.eleph.wagner;1;31> is incorrect and should be corrected.

¹⁰⁹⁹ In P. Grenf. I 33, Vo. 38, 41, 43, 46: Πετουβήκιος.

¹¹⁰⁰ In O. Theb. Gr. 32, 1: Πατέφοι(τος). The name Πετεπμαίου, included in TM Nam 867, does not probably belong to this prototype.

¹¹⁰¹ In P. Mich. II 121 Ro., 2, ii 4: Πετεπμούειτος.

¹¹⁰² In SB XXIV 16081, 5-6: Πετέφοις.

¹¹⁰³ In TM Nam 867, both the Greek transcriptions of *P3-di-p3-m3y and P3-di-m3y, with and without article, have been included. Cf. *infra*, the name P3-di-m3y.

¹¹⁰⁴ In O. Wilcken II 1459, 4: Πετεπέμσαι(ος). Cf. the name Msh and its Greek renderings (TM Nam 35765). In Coptic this name appears as ⲙⲥⲁⲗ (Sahidic, Bohairic). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 123; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 187.

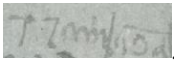
¹¹⁰⁵ In BGU VI 1249, 2: Πατεπνέβτεντος .

*P3-di-p3-nfr-hr	He who has been given by the one with beautiful face	Πετεφνεφορω ¹¹⁰⁶	1	30096
P3-di-p3-ntr	He who has been given by the god	Πετεφνουθις	20	5090
P3-di-p3-R ^c	He who has been given by Ra	Πετεπρῆς ¹¹⁰⁷	1	881
P3-di-p3-hb	He who has been given by the ibis	Πατεφιβ ¹¹⁰⁸ , Πετεφει ¹¹⁰⁹ , Πετεφι() ¹¹¹⁰	3	7927
P3-di-p3-hwt	He who has been given by the male	Πετεφανς ¹¹¹¹	16	7928
P3-di-p3-Šzy ¹¹¹²	He who has been given by Shai	Πετέψαις, Πετέψαις ¹¹¹³	63 1	882 + 11539
P3-di-Pp	He who has been given by Pepi	Πετέπιφίς ¹¹¹⁴	5	7929
*P3-di-Pr-B3-nb-Dd.t ¹¹¹⁵	He who has been given by the house of the ram lord of Mendes	Πετεμενδῆς ¹¹¹⁶	4	23095

¹¹⁰⁶ Presumably in I. Creticae IV Gortyn 195, c 12: Πετε]φνεφορω.

¹¹⁰⁷ In O. Bodl. II 1518, 4: Πετεπρήο(υς).

¹¹⁰⁸ In *CRIPEL* III 655, 1: Πατεφιβ.

¹¹⁰⁹ In O. Ashm. Shelton 14, 1: Πετεφει .

¹¹¹⁰ Presumably in O. Wilcken II 814, 3: ...φι in the edition, corrected into Πετεφι() at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;;814>.



¹¹¹¹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 307. On the meaning of *hwt*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p. 75-79. Cf. also VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 319; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 738-739.

¹¹¹² Cf. also the name *P3-di-Šzy*, *infra*.

¹¹¹³ In I. Deir el-Bahari Łajtar 40, 1 (= BATAILLE, A., *Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir El-Bahari*, p. 17-18, n. 28). The name Πετέραιος proposed by the editor is a ghostname for Πετέψαιος. Although no picture of the name is available, his proposition fits well with the facsimiles included in both editions, and also with the vocalisation of Šzy in Achmimic, the dialect of Thebes. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

¹¹¹⁴ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 309; DE MEULENAERE, H., “La Statue d’un Chef de Chanteurs d’Époque Saïte”, p. 29: “Sans entrer dans la discussion de cette appellation énigmatique qui a servi, à la Basse Époque, à former des noms théophores de divers types, nous ferons seulement remarquer qu’il est caractéristique de la Basse Égypte et qu’il fut particulièrement à la mode dans l’anthroponymie de la région d’Héliopolis”.

¹¹¹⁵ Cf. VANDORPE, K., *Egyptische geografische elementen in Griekse transcriptie*, p. 69-70; <http://www.trismegistos.org/place/1351>.

¹¹¹⁶ In SB XIV 16085, col. 2, 27: Πετε[μ]ένδ(ης) ; and 34: Πετεμένδ(ητος) ; P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, fr. D 46: Πετεμένδ(ητος) and P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr.: Πετεμένδ(ης).

P3-di=f	He who has been given by him	Πάτηφιν	6	771
*P3-di-ftw	He who has been given by the four	Πετεφθοῦς ¹¹¹⁷	1	18558
P3-di-ftw-Mnt	He who has been given by the four Montus	Πετεφθουμώνθης	2	23113
P3-di-mzy	He who has been given by the lion	Πετέμοις, Πετμούεις	2	867
P3-di-mzy-ḥs	He who has been given by the fierce looking lion	Πετέμως	5	866
*P3-di-mzy-ḥnt	He who has been given by the lion that is in the front	Πετεμυχώντης ¹¹¹⁸	1	30095
P3-di-Mw.t	He who has been given by Mut	Πετάμουτις ¹¹¹⁹	1	24771 +
		Πετέμουθις	4	869
		Πτεμούτιος ¹¹²⁰	1	28715
P3-di-Mn	He who has been given by Min	Πετέμινις	261	865
P3-di-Mn-(p)3-t3 ¹¹²¹	He who has been given by Min of the land	Πετεμπέτως	15	7932
*P3-di-mnh	He who has been given by the excellent one	Πετεμενχ() ¹¹²²	1	10367

¹¹¹⁷ In P. Tebt. III 1051 descr., col. 1, 32: Πετεφθοῦς

¹¹¹⁸ Cf. I. Akôris 88, 2-4: Πετεμυχώντ{τ}ης. On the etymology of this name typical of Akoris, cf. BINGEN, J., *Pages d'épigraphie grecque* II, p. 104: "J'y retrouve une formation d'un type bien attesté le préfixe Πετε-, «don de» accolé au nom ou à une épiclèse locale d'une divinité. Dans ce cas-ci, il s'agit du dieu Amon, l'un des grands cultes d'Akôris. L'épiclèse qui doit retenir notre attention apparaît dans l'ancien nom égyptien du temple d'Amon de Tênis, *Pr-îmn-mẖw-ḥnt*, «la maison d'Amon, lion qui est devant», probablement «le lion qui est en front de falaise» ou peut-être «le lion du promontoire rocheux» avec *ḥnt* qui es la composante majeure du nom de la bourgade, en copte τἑνε. L'épiclèse divine *mẖw-ḥnt* nous fournit exactement la base consonantique de -μχωντ dans les trois anthroponymes de nos documents, et la



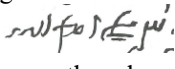
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ΙΕΣ

forme classique *mẖi* explique la vocalisation en -i- du premier élément".

¹¹¹⁹ Presumably in P. Princ. I 9, col. 4, 11: Πετ[αμού]τιος. This reconstruction is doubtful.

¹¹²⁰ In Stud. Pal. X 297, Ro. 2, 17: Πτεμουτί(ου).

¹¹²¹ On the equivalence of the Egyptian prototype and the Greek renderings, cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 312, who translates the name as "Der, den der Min des Landes gegeben hat". VLEEMING, S. P. transliterates the Demotic name as

P3-di-Mn-3-t3. Cf. for example *Short Texts* II 622, A 2:  and B 1; or *Short Texts* II 875, A 2 and B 1; *Short Texts* II, p. 269: "this name never contains a clear *p3* sign even though one expects to find a rendition of the -π- of the Greek equivalent"; VLEEMING, S. P., "Some Mummy Labels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York", p. 481-482, l. 2:



cf. p. 482, note 1: "Between *Min* and *t3*, there is a sign for which I hesitatingly suggest the reading *3* (...). This occurs where one expects the article *p3*". Cf. also *infra*, the name *P3-di-Mn-t3*.

¹¹²² In P. Lond. III 604 b, col. 3, 52: Πετεμενχ().

P3-di-Mn-t3	He who has been given by Min of the land	Πετβέτω ¹¹²³	2	26642
P3-di-Mnt	He who has been given by Montu	Πετεμων ¹¹²⁴ (<i>incomplete name</i>)	1	7369
		Πετεμώνθης ¹¹²⁵	12	868
*P3-di-mry-Īn-ḥr.t/ *P3-di-m3'-Īn-ḥr.t ¹¹²⁶	He who has been given by the beloved of Onuris/He who has been given by Onuris is true	Πετεμαιένουρις ¹¹²⁷	1	18229
P3-di-Mḥy.t (?)	He who has been given by Mehit (?)	Πετεμοῦς ¹¹²⁸	3	825
*P3-di-Mḥn (?)	He who has been given by Hieracopolis (?)	Πετέμηχις ¹¹²⁹	1	23097
*P3-di-msh	He who has been given by the crocodile	Πετέμψαις ¹¹³⁰	2	24343
P3-di-n3-nṯr.w	He who has been given by the gods	Πετενέντηρις, Πετενόντηρις ¹¹³¹ ,	26 1 1	873 + 17454 + 28264

¹¹²³ In *CRIPPEL* III 571, A 2: Πετβέτω<το>ς; *CRIPPEL* III 680, A 2: Πετβέτω<το>ς. Cf. also T. BM Arlt 114 a 3: *P3-di-Mn-t3*; and b 2: Πετβέτωτος, where both the Greek and the Demotic parts are edited; and the name Σενπετβέτωτος in the same text (b 3-4), that appears as *T3-šr.t-n3-pa-Mn-t3* (a 4) in Demotic. Cf. PEZIN, M., “Les Étiquettes de Momies du Musée de picardie à Amiens”, p. 11-12.


¹¹²⁴ In P. Berl. Leihg. I 14, col. 2, 43: Πετέμων[τος].

¹¹²⁵ The name in O. Cairo 56, 3 is Πετεμόνθ(ου) and not **Πετεμόν(ου) as it appears in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.cair.;56>. This erroneous spelling should consequently be corrected.

¹¹²⁶ Cf. *Mry-inḥr.t* in PN II 291.10. The Greek -μαι- could render the participle of *mry*, “to love” (cf. Coptic ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ). Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 106-107; but it could also transcribe *m3'*, “true, righteous” (cf. *ibidem*, p. 105). Cf., for example, the name Μαίθωτις < *M3'-Dḥwtj* (TM Nam 435). Cf. also CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 156-157.

¹¹²⁷ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 34, 6: Πετεμαιένου(ρις).

¹¹²⁸ The equivalence between *Mḥy.t* and -μοῦς is not completely sure. The attestations of Πετεμοῦς are not in bilingual documents, and neither are those of Ψενεμούς and other variants, presumably from *P3-šr-n-Mḥy.t* (TM Nam 956).

¹¹²⁹ In O. Wilcken II 984, 7: Πετέμηχιος , from the area of Thebes. The transcription -μηχ- for *Mḥn*, “Hieracopolis”, appears for example in the anthroponym Πρέμμηχις and other variants (> *P3-rmṯ-n-Mḥn*, “The man of Hieracopolis”) (TM Nam 17992) Cf. O. Elkab, p. 40.

¹¹³⁰ Cf. *supra*, the name **P3-di-p3-msh* with article.

¹¹³¹ Πεπνόντηρις, in P. Got. 6, Ro. 22, has been identified as a ghostname for Πετεγόντηρις. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

		Πετενόνηρις ¹¹³²		
*P ₃ -di-n ₃ -Hp (?)	He who has been given by the Apises (?)	Πετενέαπις ¹¹³³ Πατέναπις ¹¹³⁴	1 1	11533 + 26600
P ₃ -di-Ni.t	He who has been given by Neith	Πετεπειθης ¹¹³⁵ , Πετέναιθης, Πετένηις, Πετένης ¹¹³⁶	8 6	872 + 24314
P ₃ -di-n=y-Is.t	He who has been given to me by Isis	Πετενήσις	3	877
*P ₃ -di-nb-t ₃ .wy	He who has been given by the lord of both lands	Πετενοβοτούς	9	7924
*P ₃ -di-Nb.t-ḥw.t	He who has been given by Nephthys	Πετενέβθως	12	871
*P ₃ -di-nfr	He who has been given by the good one	Παθένουφις ¹¹³⁷ , Πατενούφις ¹¹³⁸ , Πάτνουφις ¹¹³⁹	2 1	11313 + 36734
*P ₃ -di-nfr-imy	The one who has been given by the one with good character	Πετενέφρεμμυς ¹¹⁴⁰	1	875
P ₃ -di-nfr-ḥtp	He who has been given by The good one is satisfied	Πετενεφώτης, Πετεφώτης ¹¹⁴¹	101 1	874 + 11545

¹¹³² The anthroponym Πνεπόντηριος, in P. Got. 6, Ro. 3-4, has been identified as a ghostname for Πε[τ]ενοντήριος. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.



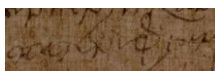
¹¹³³ In BGU XVI 2674, fr. B 2, 96: Πετενέαπις

¹¹³⁴ In O. Bodl. II 1096, 2: Πατέναπις. The element **n₃-Hp, “the Apises”, in plural, is not attested in Demotic proper names.

¹¹³⁵ The attestations in SB XIV 12087, fr. A 19 and SB XIV 12087, fr. B 2 are NOT SURE.

¹¹³⁶ In UPZ I 85, col. 3, 28: Πετενήιτι; UPZ I 85, col. 3, 33: Πετενήιτι; UPZ I 87, Vo. 5-6: Πετενήιτι; UPZ I 88, Ro. 5: Πετενήιτι; P. Cornell 21 col. 14, 406: Πετενή(ιτος); SB XVI 12632, col. 5, 37: Πετενήιτος. Cf. HANSON, A. E., “P. Princeton I 11 and P. Cornell 21v”, p. 247: “a genitive Πετενήίτιος, which seems to conflate the two names Πετενήις and Πετενήιτις”. Cf. also QUAEGEBEUR, J., CLARYSSE, W., VAN MAELE, B., “Athena, Neith and Thooris in Greek Documents”, p. 224; VYCICHL, W., *Dictinnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 17: ΔCENNEΘ, ΔCENNEΘ.

¹¹³⁷ In P. Hamb. I 7, 25: Παθενούφεως.



¹¹³⁸ In P. Oxy. LXVII 4615, 6: Πατενουφίου

¹¹³⁹ In SB V 7915 b, 1: Πάτνουφις.

¹¹⁴⁰ In P. Count. 52 Ro., 9: Πετενεφρέ(μμιος).

¹¹⁴¹ In P. Kellis IV 96, 904: Πετεφώτ(ου).

P3-di-Nfr-tm	He who has been given by Nefertem	Πετενέφθειμις, Πετενεφθιμ..., Πετενόβθιμις, Πετενόφθιμις, Πετενέφθειμος, Πετενέφθιμις, Πατεύτημις ¹¹⁴² , Πατεύτημις ¹¹⁴³	8	876
*P3-di-Nhs	He who has been given by the Ethiopian	Πετενᾶς	3	26487
*P3-di-nht	He who has been given by the strong one	Πατνάχθης	4	22980
*P3-di-nht-nb=f	He who has been given by His master is strong	Πετενέχθινιδις ¹¹⁴⁴	1	23102
*P3-di-nty-m-Stt	He who has been given by the one who is in Setis	Πετετένσητις ¹¹⁴⁵	1	17932
*P3-di-ntr.w	He who has been given by the gods	Πατοντηρ ¹¹⁴⁶	1	27982
*P3-di-rn=f	He who has been given by his name	Πτόριμφις ¹¹⁴⁷	1	18816
P3-di-Rnn.t	He who has been given by Thermuthis	Πατέρμουθις, Πατερμουθίων, Πατερμουθίων, Πατόρμουθις, Πατερμοῦς ¹¹⁴⁸ , Πατερμούθης ¹¹⁴⁹ , Πατερμοῦς ¹¹⁵⁰	490 1 8 12 1 1	884 + 4944 + 7379 + 17368 + 18483 + 24211

¹¹⁴² In UPZ II 175 a, col. 1, 30: Πατευτήμιος.

¹¹⁴³ In UPZ II 175 a, col. 2, 33: Πατεύτημις.

¹¹⁴⁴ In PSI VII 815, 5: Πετενεχθινίδιος



¹¹⁴⁵ In SB V 7592, 3: Πετετένσητις. On equivalence of the Greek transcription and the Egyptian prototype, cf. LOCHER, J., *Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit*, p. 94-95. The provenance of the ostrakon, Elephantine, is in accordance with the geographical situation of Setis (U01).

¹¹⁴⁶ In CRIPEL III 294, 2: Πατοντηρ<ος>.

¹¹⁴⁷ In P. Princ. I 8, col. 4, 17: Πτορίμφιο(ς). The reading is not completely sure.



¹¹⁴⁸ In O. Mich. I 59, 8: Πατερμοῦς

¹¹⁴⁹ The anthroponym Παπερμούθης has been identified as a ghostname for Πατερμούθης. Cf. BOYAVAL, B., OMAR, S., "Remarques sur quelques étiquettes de momies du Musée du Caire", p. 248; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=721>.

¹¹⁵⁰ In SB XIV 11540, 2: Πατέρμουτος.

*P3-di-hb	He who has been given by the ibis	Πετέηβις ¹¹⁵¹	4	11522
*P3-di-Hry=w	He who has been given by They are happy	Πετεριεύς ¹¹⁵²	1	26518
P3-di-H'py	He who has been given by Hapy	Πέτοφις ¹¹⁵³ , Πέτωφις ¹¹⁵⁴	2	24293
*P3-di-Hw.t-Hr	He who has been given by Hathor	Πετέαθυρις	3	23084
P3-di-Hp ¹¹⁵⁵	He who has been given by Apis	Πατάπις ¹¹⁵⁶	9	7937
*P3-di-Hnb	He who has been given by Heneb	Πετεεμβής	6	18701
*P3-di-hr	He who has been given by the face	Πετέως	4	11548
P3-di-Hr-... (incomplete and abbreviated names)		Πετεαρ...	21	847
		Πετεαρβ() ¹¹⁵⁷	1	35404
		Πετεαρπ...	7	38373
		Πετεαρχ() ¹¹⁵⁸ Πετεαρχ() ¹¹⁵⁹	1 1	29987 + 35386
P3-di-Hr	He who has been given by Horos	Πέτευρις, Πάταυρις, Πέταυρις, Πετώριος, Πέτωρις, Πέτευρις ¹¹⁶⁰ , Πετόριρις,	357 8 14 2 1 1	861 + 11300 + 17466 + 17964 + 23120 +

¹¹⁵¹ On the equivalence of the Greek forms and the Demotic prototype of this name, cf. O. Douch IV, p. 7: “il entre dans la série oasisite des noms dont le 2^e élément est l’ibis sacré et doit signifier ‘donné par Thot-ibis’”. Cf. also WAGNER, G., *Les oasis d’Égypte à l’époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d’après les documents grecs*, p. 242-243.

¹¹⁵² In P. Lille Gr. I 5, Ro. 4: Πετεριεύς.

¹¹⁵³ In P. Hamb. I 98, 11: Πέτοφ(ι).

¹¹⁵⁴ In P. Hamb. I 98, 12: [Π]ετώφεως.

¹¹⁵⁵ In TM Nam 34892.

¹¹⁵⁶ All these attestations are in P. Harris I 93, Ro. col. 1. In the Trismegistos database this name is considered a rendering of *P3-di-H'py*. Cf. also the name Πατάπιος in P. Oxy. VI 897, 4 (TM Nam 11297)

¹¹⁵⁷ In O. Amst. 74, 4: Πετεαρβ().

¹¹⁵⁸ In P. Harris I 165 descr., 4: Πετεαρχ(ᾱ).


¹¹⁵⁹ In O. Berenike I 72, 1: Πετεαρχ()



¹¹⁶⁰ The anthroponym Πεταίριος has been identified as a ghostname for Πετεύριος. Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., WÖRPER, K. A., “Remarks on Some Papyri”, p. 270, note 1; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=714>.

		Πέτετρις ¹¹⁶¹ , Πετεάριος, Πεταυρο, Πέτορις	1 1 1	26398 + 33273 + 33620
P3-di-Hr-iwn-mw.t=f	He who has been given by Horos, the pillar of his mother	Πεταρμούθης Πεταρμούθης, Πετεάρμουθις	1 18	26512 + 7939
*P3-di-Hr-İmn	He who has been given by Horos-Amun	Πετεάρμουνις	1	5069
*P3-di-Hry-š=f	He who has been given by Herishef	Πετέσηφις ¹¹⁶²	1	38394
P3-di-Hr-wr	He who has been given by Horos the great	Π[ετ]εα[ρ]όηρις ¹¹⁶³ Πεταρούηρις, Πεταρήρης, Πεταργήρις ¹¹⁶⁴	1 106 1 1	17469 + 854 + 33417 + 27068
*P3-di-Hr-p3-ʿ3	He who has been given by Horos the great	Πέταρπος ¹¹⁶⁵	1	29078
P3-di-Hr-(p3)-byk	He who has been given by Horos the falcon	Πετεάρπηκις	21	848
P3-di-Hr-p3-Rʿ	He who has been given by Horos-Ra	Πεταρπηής	52	858
P3-di-Hr-p3-ḥrd	He who has been done by Horos the child	Πεταρποχρᾶς (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	3	17468
		Πεταρποκρατ() Πεταρπ(οκρατ) (<i>abbreviated names</i>)	2 10	19159 + 35808
		Πεταρποχράτης	74	857
		Πεταρποκρατίων	2	19159
P3-di-Hr-p3-šr-n-İs.t	He who has been given by Horos, son of Isis	Πεταρψένησις	83	859

¹¹⁶¹ This anthroponym has been identified as a ghostname. Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=718>.

¹¹⁶² In BGU I 258, 2: N[...]ήφεως , corrected into Π[ε]τ[ε]σήφεως at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/bgu;1;258>. The reading of this name is uncertain.

¹¹⁶³ In P. Grenf. II 35, 5: Π[ετ]εα[ρ]όηρις. As we can see in the edition, the name **Π[ετ]εα[ρ]όηρις that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.grenf;2;35> is erroneous and should be corrected.

¹¹⁶⁴ In O. Wilcken II 1082, 4: Πεταργήρει in the edition. The name **Πεταργήσει that appears in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;1082> is erroneous.

¹¹⁶⁵ In P. Col. VIII 233, 4: Πετάρπον . Cf. the name Ἄρπος/Ἄρπος (< Hr-p3-ʿ3, “Horos the great”).

*P3-di-Hr-p3-šr-n-Ni.t	He who has been given by Horos, son of Neith	Πετεαρφενείθης	1	11519
*P3-di-Hr-m3y-ḥs	He who has been given by Horos, the fierce looking lion	Πετεαρμιεύς	1	18690
P3-di-Hr-mn	He who has been given by Horos is enduring	Πετέρμηνις	2	11514
*P3-di-Hr-Mnṭ	He who has been given by Horos-Montu	Πεταρμώνθης, Πετεαρμέντης, Πετέρμωθις, Πεταρμώνθης, Πετέρμωνθις	5	852
P3-di-Hr-m-ḥb	He who has been given by Horos is in feast	Πετεαρμαῖος	6	851
P3-di-Hr-m-Ḥb	He who has been given by Horos in Chemmis	Πετεάρχηβις	2	849
P3-di-Hr-Mtn	He who has been given by Horos of Medenit	Πετεάρμωτις	66	853
P3-di-Hr-nb-Šḥm	He who has been given by Horos, lord of Letopolis	Πετεαρβέσχινις	15	7943
P3-di-Hr-n-P	He who has been given by Horos of Pe	Πετεαρένφοις	2	7942
*P3-di-Hr-nfr	He who has been given by Horos the good	Πετεάρνουφις	1	33658
P3-di-Hr-nd-it=f	He who has been given by Horos, who protects his father	Πετεαρενδώτης, Πετεαρένδωτις	9 2	850 + 26716
P3-di-Hr-s3-Is.t ¹¹⁶⁶	He who has been given by Horos son of Isis	Πετέαρσ() ¹¹⁶⁷ (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	1	23088
		Πετεαρσᾶς ¹¹⁶⁸ (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	1	23087
P3-di-Hr-sm3-t3.wy	He who has been given by Horos, who unites both lands	Πετεαρσεμθεύς	156	860

¹¹⁶⁶ This name is attested in Demotic. Cf. TM Nam 16445.

¹¹⁶⁷ In P. Lips. I 101, col. 2, 14: Πετ[ε]άρσ(ιος).

¹¹⁶⁸ In O. Edfou III 334, 10: Πετεαρσᾶς.

*P3-di-Hr-hrd	He who has been given by Horos the child	Πετεαρχρῶς ¹¹⁶⁹ (hypocoristic)	1	23089
P3-di-Hk3	He who has been given by Heka	Πετεακῆς, Πετεακοῆς ¹¹⁷⁰ , Πετέακις ¹¹⁷¹	9 3 1	7946 + 23085 + 38372
*P3-di-ḥy	He who has been given by Khonsu (hypocoristic)	Πετέχοις ¹¹⁷²	3	18187
*P3-di-ḥm	He who has been given by the younger	Πατέχημις ¹¹⁷³	1	17355
P3-di-Hnsw	He who has been given by Khonsu	Πετεχῶν, Πετέσονσις ¹¹⁷⁴ , Πέτεχος ¹¹⁷⁵ , Πετεκῶν ¹¹⁷⁶ , Πατέχωντις ¹¹⁷⁷ , Πετεχωντ, Πετέχωντις Πετευχῶν ¹¹⁷⁸ , Πετένχωνσις	809 2 3 4 3 2	844 + 5095 + 7365 + 19058 + 23115 + 11535
P3-di-Hnsw-p3-i.ir-shy	He who has been given by Khonsu, the powerful one	Πετεχεσπισείχιος, Πετεχεσπίσχιος ¹¹⁷⁹	5	7947
P3-di-Hnsw-p3-hrd	He who has been given by Khonsu the child	Πετεχεσποχράτης	166	7948

¹¹⁶⁹ In P. Lond. II 257 Ro., col. 8, 270: Πετεαρχρῶς.

¹¹⁷⁰ Cf. I. Thèbes à Syène 99, 2 and 109, 1: Πετεακοῆς.

¹¹⁷¹ In P. Mich. XVIII 786, col. 1, 26: Πετακέως.



¹¹⁷² Cf. also the name Χόις (TM Nam 6734).

¹¹⁷³ Presumably in P. Coll. Youtie I 55, col. 3, 15: Πατεχή(μιος).

¹¹⁷⁴ In VALBELLE, D., CARREZ-MARATRAY, J. Y. (eds.), *Le camp romain du Bas-Empire à Tell el-Herr*, p. 146 no.

1, 6 : Πετέσονσις; and SB X 10499, 1-2: Πετέσονσις

¹¹⁷⁵ In SB XVI 12738, Vo. col. 3, 25: Πέτεχο(ς) : Πετε<σου>χο(ς) (checked); P. Customs 691-732, col. 2, 34: Πετεχον

; and presumably in P. Oxy. 62 4336, col. 1, 2: Πετε]χον Ἀρπάησις μητρός .

¹¹⁷⁶ In O. Douch II 64, 3: Πετεκ[ῶν]; 126, 3: [Π]ετεκῶν; III 232, 1: Πετεκῶν; and 352, Vo. 14: Πετεκῶν.

¹¹⁷⁷ In O. Douch IV 485, 1-2: Πα{τ}τεχῶντι{ς}; O. Strasb. I 534, 4: Πετεχώντιο(ς) and reconstructed in P. Grenf. II 71, col. 1, 23-24: Πετε[χωντ (checked).

¹¹⁷⁸ In BGU XVI 2577 Ro., col. 2, 13: Πετευχῶν/; O. Theb. Gr. 91, 2: Πετευχ(ώνσει).

¹¹⁷⁹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 338.

P3-di-Hnsw-nb-ḥ	He who has been given by Khonsu, lord of lifespan	Πετεχενσέβαις ¹¹⁸⁰	6	7949
P3-di-Hnm	He who has been given by Khnum	Πετέχνουμις, Πατεχουμ (?) ¹¹⁸¹	49 1	841 + 33671
*P3-di-swn.t	He who has been given by the feast	Πατάσηνις ¹¹⁸²	1	33633
*P3-di-Sbk-...	He who has been given by Sobek... (<i>incomplete names</i>)	Πετεσουχ...,	2	887
P3-di-Sbk	He who has been given by Sobek	Πετεσούχιος ¹¹⁸³	1	34820
		Πετεσουχίων	7	5096
		Πετέσσ(χος) ¹¹⁸⁴ (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	1	17476
		Πετέσουχος Πετέσουχος, Πετέσουχος ¹¹⁸⁵	2373 76 2	889 + 5101 + 26962
*P3-di-Sbk-In-ḥr.t	He who has been given by Sobek-Onuris	Πετεσοκόνουρις	11	888
P3-di-Sm3-t3.wy	He who has been given by the union of both lands	Πετεσεμθεύς ¹¹⁸⁶ , Πετεςθεύς ¹¹⁸⁷ ,	1 49	886 + 19577
*P3-di-sn.w	He who has been given by the brothers	Πετεςενεύς ¹¹⁸⁸	1	18625

¹¹⁸⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 339: “Der, den Chons, der Herr der (Lebens)zeit, gegeben hat”. Cf. also SPIEGELBERG, W., “Χεσεναιῖον”, p. 47-48.

¹¹⁸¹ In O. Douch II 155, Vo. 8: Πατεχουμ.

¹¹⁸² In O. Wilcken II 1223, 3: Πατάσηνι.

¹¹⁸³ In P. Flor. I 10, 6: Πετεσουχίω.

¹¹⁸⁴ In P. Count. 49 Ro., 180: Πετέσσ(χος). In TM Nam 17476 two different types of names appear together: Πετέσσ(χος) and eight attestations of the abbreviated and incomplete name Πετες(). Cf. *supra* in the list, P3-di-... (*incomplete and abbreviated names*).

¹¹⁸⁵ The anthroponyms Πέτευχος, Πέτουχος and Πτεῦχος have been identified as ghostnames for Πετέσουχος – written in *Verschleifung* –. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming. On Πτεῦχος, cf. HANSON, A. E., “Lists of Taxpayers from Philadelphia”, p. 230; P. Mich. X, p. 18; and especially SB XX 14576 = HANSON, A. E., “P. Princeton I 13: Text and Context Revised”, p. 259-283. Cf. also <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=351>; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1222>.

¹¹⁸⁶ In P. Count. 49 Ro., 22: Πετεσεμθεύς(ς).

¹¹⁸⁷ Cf. I. Thèbes à Syène 184, 1: Πετέσθεις.

¹¹⁸⁸ In P. Flor. III 327, col. 3, 28: Πετεςγεύς.

P3-di-Šhm.t	He who has been given by Sekhmet	Πετέσα[χμης] ¹¹⁸⁹	1	885
*P3-di-sdm	He who has been given by the one who listens	Πάτσυτμης ¹¹⁹⁰	1	4955
P3-di-Šzy ¹¹⁹¹	He who has been given by Shai	Πετέσαις ¹¹⁹² , Πετσαῖος ¹¹⁹³ , Πατάσαις ¹¹⁹⁴	2 1	17885 + 26717
*P3-di-gwy	He who has been given by the little one	Πετακούεις ¹¹⁹⁵ , Πετεκουει ¹¹⁹⁶	1 1	24754 + 38378
*P3-di-gm	He who has been given by the <i>gem</i> bull	Πετεκαμ ¹¹⁹⁷ , Πεττύκαμης ¹¹⁹⁸	2	5112
*P3-di-t3	He who has been given by the land	Πετάτως ¹¹⁹⁹	1	24486
P3-di-t3-Rpy.t	He who has been given by Tryphis	Πετερριφ() ¹²⁰⁰ (<i>abbreviated name</i>) Πετερριφει ¹²⁰¹	1 1	23112 26564

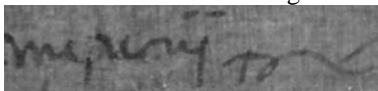
¹¹⁸⁹ Presumably in P. Cairo Zen. II 59292, Ro. fr. 1, col. 1, 241-242: Πετέσα[χμης]. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 342: “Der, den Sachmet gegeben hat”, who considers the name Πετέσαχμης as rendering of Demotic *P3-di-Šhm.t, although it is not really attested in Greek transcription. In Old Coptic *Šhm.t* appears as ϣαχμϣ. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 203.

¹¹⁹⁰ In P. Count. 27, 25: Πάτσυτμης. In TM Nam 4955 there are two different names mixed: Πατσυτμης (presumably rendering of *P3-di-sdm), and P3-sdm, “The one who listens”, and its transcriptions (cf. Πεσύθης, Πέσυτμης).

¹¹⁹¹ Cf. also the name P3-di-p3-Šzy, with determinate article before Šzy.

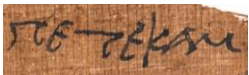
¹¹⁹² In O. Edfou III 463, 2: Πετέσαις.


¹¹⁹³ In P. Tebt. I 96, Ro. 23: Πετσαῖου . The reading is not completely clear.


¹¹⁹⁴ In P. Cairo Masp. II 67146, 7: Πατάσαῖτος .

¹¹⁹⁵ In P. Lond. II 188, 144: Πακούεις Πετακούει[].

¹¹⁹⁶ In P. Mich. IV 224, col. 65, 2616: Πετεκούει.

¹¹⁹⁷ In PSI IV 420, Vo. 21: Πετεκαμ .

¹¹⁹⁸ In P. Cairo Zen. III 59500, 1: Πεττύκαμης .

¹¹⁹⁹ In P. Tebt. III 833, col. 2, 37: Πετάτωτος .

¹²⁰⁰ In SB XXIV 16000, col. 9, 321: Πετερρίφ(ως).

¹²⁰¹ In *CRIPEL* III 652, 1: Πετερριφει in the edition. The name **Πετερριφει that appears in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/t.mom.louvre;:652> is erroneous.

		Πετέτριφις	53	10375
*P3-di-t3y-dy	He who has been given by the bearer of the hairlock	Πατσίσοις ¹²⁰²	1	22983
*P3-di-Dm3	He who has been given by Djeme	Πετέσημις ¹²⁰³	1	24766
P3-di-Dḥwty	He who has been given by Thoth	Πεθεώτης	13	890

B. Hybrid anthroponyms in Greek transcription

Approximately 7 anthroponyms are composed of Egyptian *P3-di-* and a name in other language. They can be seen in the table below:

Base name	LGPN (volume: page)	Hybrid name	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἄρης	I: 58; II: 50; III.A: 54; V.A: 59; V.B: 50	Πετέαρις ¹²⁰⁴	1	33565
Ἄριος	V.A: 60; V.B: 50	Πετέαριος ¹²⁰⁵	1	26398
*Ἀστάρτη ¹²⁰⁶	---	Πετσαστάρτη ¹²⁰⁷	2	16024
Βίος	II: 88; III.A: 91; IV: 71; V.B: 84	Παταβίος ¹²⁰⁸ , Πατεβίος ¹²⁰⁹	2	38291
Εἰρήνη	I: 147; II: 139; III.A: 138; III.B: 130; IV: 115; V.A: 151; V.B: 129	Πατειρήνη ¹²¹⁰	1	33407

¹²⁰² In SB VI 9022 (7), 1: Πατσίσοιος.

¹²⁰³ In SB I 4334, 2: Πετσήμιος(ς), from Hermonthis (U04).

¹²⁰⁴ In SB X 10227, 2: Πετέαρι. Cf. DARIS, S., “Miscellanea Licopolitana II”, p.176: “Nome nuovo che rappresenta la singolarità di ricordare una divinità greca in una schietta formazione egizia”.

¹²⁰⁵ In P. Meyer 5, Ro. 7: Δίος Πετσαρίου.

¹²⁰⁶ The simple name *Ἀστάρτη is not attested in Greek. *P3-di-* *str(t)* is, on the other hand, attested in hieroglyph. Cf. RANKE, H., *PN* II 284.16.

¹²⁰⁷ In UPZ I 98, Ro col. 3, 33: Πετσαστάρτη; and col. 6, 112: Πετσαστάρτη.

¹²⁰⁸ In P. Mich. IV 224, col. 114, 4432: Παταβίου.

¹²⁰⁹ In P. Mich. IV Ro. col. 82, 2502: Πατεβί[ου].

¹²¹⁰ In I. Thèbes à Syène 236, 6: Πατειρήνης.

Ἑκατῆς ¹²¹¹	I: 148; V.A: 152	Πετεήκατε (?) ¹²¹²	1	26009
Φίλος	I: 469; II: 458; III.B: 431; IV: 348	Πετεφίλος ¹²¹³	1	30646

C. Anthroponyms with a prototype unknown

a) Anthroponyms for which no image is available

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Πατενειτοῦς ¹²¹⁴	1	18503
Πατέρθως ¹²¹⁵	1	33535
Πεταμένωρ ¹²¹⁶	1	30514
Πέταρις ¹²¹⁷	3	17465
Πετεαμγύς, Πετέεμγίς, Πετεμγύς ¹²¹⁸	3	18655



¹²¹¹ Cf. other Greek names with the same root: Ἑκαταία (LGPN I, p. 147; IV, p. 115; V.A, p. 151; V.B, p. 130); Ἑκαταίη; (LGPN I, p. 147-148; IV, p. 115; V.A, p. 151; V.B, p. 130); Ἑκαταῖς (LGPN V.B, p. 131); Ἑκατᾶς (LGPN V.A, p. 151-152; V.B, p. 131); Ἑκατέα (LGPN I, p. 148).

¹²¹² SB XVI 12462, 1: Πετεηκατε.

¹²¹³ In SB III 6953, 3: Πετεφίλου



¹²¹⁴ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 25, 6: Πατενειτοῦς. This name could render Egyptian *P3-di-Ni.t*, “He who has been given by Neith”, attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription. Cf. TM Nam 872; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 316. Since

the names Πετεπειθής  and [Πετε]πειθῆ  (SB XIV 12087, fr. A 19 and B 2) do probably not represent *P3-di-Ni.t*, in no attestation of this name the vocalisation ει is found; only αι and η are attested as vocalisations, although ει might be an itacistic variant.

¹²¹⁵ In SB V 7588, 1-2: Πατερθωοῦς. This name could represent **P3-di-Hr-t3.wy*, “He who has been given by Horos of both lands” (cf. TM Nam 31406). The name *Hr-(p3)-t3*, “Horos of the land”, is also attested (cf. TM Nam 244) (cf. also Ἀρπτος in Greek transcription in TM Nam 35216).

¹²¹⁶ In O. Wilcken II 230, 3: Πεταμένωρ. If it is entirely Egyptian, this name could transcribe **P3-di-Īmn-Hr*, “He who has been given by Amun-Horos”.

¹²¹⁷ In P. Tor. 10, 16: Πετάριος; P. Lond. III 1170 Ro., col. 18, 734: Πετάρεως; and P. Mil. Vogl. IV 213, Ro. col. 7, 1: [Π]έταρις. It is uncertain if this name represents **P3-di-Hr*, since *Hr* generally appears as -υρ- in final position. Egyptian *P3-di-īry*, “He who has been given by the companion”, does not seem to be represented here, since *īry* appears as ηρ as in Coptic. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 53-54.

¹²¹⁸ In SB XVIII 13185, 1: Πετεεμγ(έως); SB XVIII 13201, 1-2: Πετεαμγ(εύς) – with a dot under the *alpha* –; P. Ross. Georg. II 34, col. 4, 1: Πετεμ(γεύς). The reconstruction of the ending of these names is uncertain. If it is right, they could represent **P3-di-m3y.w*, “He who has been given by the lions”. Cf. for instance *Pa-n3-m3y.w*, “The one of the lions” >

Πετεαμήντης ¹²¹⁹	1	33416
Πετεαμούσακίς ¹²²⁰	1	11507
Πετέανος ¹²²¹	3	24431
Πετεαπρής ¹²²²	1	23086
Πετεαρενπχ() ¹²²³	1	33231
Πετεαρόμενος ¹²²⁴	1	30675
Πετεαύτως ¹²²⁵	1	36747
Πετέαχθης ¹²²⁶	1	23090
Πετέβασμις ¹²²⁷	1	24350
Πετέγνηις ¹²²⁸	1	24333
Πετεθαῖς ¹²²⁹	1	19220
Πετεήεις ¹²³⁰	1	17470
Πετειοῦς ¹²³¹	1	18548
Πετελᾶς ¹²³²	1	23094

Φανομγεύς, Πανεμγεύς (TM Nam 735). The name *P3-di-mzy*, with *mzy* in singular, is attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription. Cf. TM Nam 867. On the different forms of *mzy* in Coptic, cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 109.

¹²¹⁹ In I. Philae II 138, 1: Πετεαμήντο<υ>. It is not possible to know if this name represents *P3-di-Īmn.t*, “He who has been given by Amaunet” (TM Nam 14822) (cf. RANKE, H., *PN*, p. 122.9), because the female *Īmn.t* does not seem to be attested in Coptic or Greek transcription. The word *īm̄n.t*, “the Occident”, is similar in Coptic (cf. Sahidic, Achmimic: ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲉ; Bohairic: ⲁⲙⲛⲧⲓ), but it does not appear to have η as vocalisation. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 11; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 8.

¹²²⁰ BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. A col. 7, 86: Πετεαμούσακίς.

¹²²¹ In P. Princ. I 10, col. 8, 18: Πετέανου; P. Princ. I 14, col. 4, 15: Πετέανο(ς); SB XIV 11481, col. 5, 82: [Π]ετέαν[ος].

¹²²² In P. Aberdeen 88, 9: Πετεαπρής. This name is probably a mistake for Πετεαπρής < *P3-di-Hr-p3-R*’, “He who has been given by Horos-Ra” (TM Nam 858). Cf. P. Aberdeen, p. 76: “probably miswritten for Πετεαπρής”.

¹²²³ In P. Lond. III 604 b, col. 2, 1: Πετεαρενπχ(). The first part of the name could render **P3-di-Hr*..., “He who has been given by Horos...”.

¹²²⁴ In P. Lond. III 676, 6: Πετ[ε]αρομένου.

¹²²⁵ In SB V 7958, 2-3: Πετεαύτως. The reading is uncertain, since this name has been edited with dots under the sequence -εαυτ-.

¹²²⁶ In P. Petrie III 101, col. 2, 9: Πετέαχθης. Could this name represent **P3-di-3h.ty*, “He who has been given by both horizons”?

¹²²⁷ In O. Wilb. 13, 3: Πετεβάσμιτ(ος).

¹²²⁸ In P. Paris 9, 24: Πετεγνήτης. The reading is uncertain, since all the letters of the name have been edited with dots and the editor also considers other possibilities. Cf. P. Paris, p. 177: “ου Πετεγνήτης”.

¹²²⁹ In P. Cornell 21, col. 10, 229: Πετεθαῖτο(ς).

¹²³⁰ In O. Strasb. I 655, 3: Πετεήεις. The lack of a picture available does not allow to confirm if this anthroponym could be a ghostname for Πετέσις (< *P3-di-Is.t*, “He who has been given by Isis”).

¹²³¹ In O. Strasb. I 514, 10: Πετειοῦς.

¹²³² In O. Edfou III 369, 3: Πετελᾶς.

Πετέμητις ¹²³³	1	17825
Πετεμούως ¹²³⁴	1	24482
Πετεμρώθης ¹²³⁵	1	11532
Πετέμφθως ¹²³⁶	1	24476
Πετενγώφτης ¹²³⁷	1	23101
Πετένιφις ¹²³⁸	2	33520
Πετένοβσις ¹²³⁹	3	18115
Πετενοῦς ¹²⁴⁰	1	18423
Πετενόψαστις ¹²⁴¹	1	26568
Πετέοβτος ¹²⁴²	1	30673
Πετέομθης ¹²⁴³	1	23104
Πετεούης ¹²⁴⁴	1	18722
Πετεπουίνης ¹²⁴⁵	1	33420
Πετεπταυητ ¹²⁴⁶	1	33245
Πετεπτέσητις ¹²⁴⁷	1	19453

¹²³³ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 22, 4: Πετέμητις. Πετέμητις seems to have been identified as a ghostname for Πετέμητις. Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=310>; UPZ II, p. 157.

¹²³⁴ In P. Lond. V 1653, col. 2, 43: Πετεμούωτος.

¹²³⁵ In SB XX 14349, 3: Πετεμρώθ[υ]. As pointed out by the editors, this name probably contain a metathesis of μ and ρ. Cf. WAGNER, G., LEBLANC, C., LECUYOT, G., LOYRETTE, A. M., “Documents grecs découverts dans la Vallée des Reines, I”, p. 375: “Πετεμρώθ[υ] est probablement une métathèse pour Πετερμώθης, var. de Πετερμοῦθης”. This antroponym would consequently be a rendering of *P3-di-Hr-iwn-mw.t=f*, “He who has been given by Horos, the pillar or his mother” (cf. TM Nam 7939).

¹²³⁶ In O. Theb. Gr. 98, 2: Πετέμφθω(τος).

¹²³⁷ In O. Amst. 79, 2: Πετενγώφτης The reading seems uncertain, since the sequence -τενγ- has been edited with dots. Cf. O. Amst., p. 73: “Πετενγώφτης is not attested, but it is probably related to Πετενεφώτης (which we do not think readable here)”.

¹²³⁸ In O. Claud. 1 162, 1: Πετένιφι; P. Achmim 8, fr. 2 37: Πετένιφι.

¹²³⁹ In P. Lond. III 1159, col. 1, 11: Πετενόβ(σις) and Πετενόβσιος; and P. Lond. III 1227, 2: Π]ετ[εν]όβσιος. It is not possible to know if the beginning of the name represents **P3-di-nb-...*, “He who has been given by the lord...”.

¹²⁴⁰ In SB XVI 12376, col. 2, 18: Πετένους.

¹²⁴¹ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 72, descr.: Πετενόψαστις.

¹²⁴² In O. Wilcken II 826, 4: Πετέοβτο(υ).

¹²⁴³ In O. Leiden Gr. 304, 7: Πετέομθης.

¹²⁴⁴ In O. Camb. 105, 3: Πετεουήους.

¹²⁴⁵ In I. Thèbes à Syène 169, 1: Πετεπουίνης.

¹²⁴⁶ In O. Wilcken II 1460, 5: Πετεπταυητ.

¹²⁴⁷ In O. Wilcken II 298, 7: Πετεπτέσητις. The last part of the name, -σητις, may render *Sṯt*, “Setis, the Sehel island” (cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/place/2105>). This seems to be in agreement with the provenance of the ostrakon: Syene. Cf. for example the name **Pa-Sṯt*, “The one of Setis” > Πάσητις (TM Nam 11263). Could the first part Πετεπτε- be due to a dittography of the rendering of *p3-di*?

Πετροτούθης ¹²⁴⁸	2	11541
Πετέρουθης ¹²⁴⁹	1	23106
Πετέσαμβις ¹²⁵⁰	1	5092
Πετεςότουπις, Πετέστουπις ¹²⁵¹	2 3	17884 + 5097
Πετεςτουπαχύτης, Πετετουπαχύτης ¹²⁵²	2	23108
Πετεςτούπχημις, Πετεςτόχημις ¹²⁵³	3	19487
Πετέστω ¹²⁵⁴	2	23109
Πετωουκ ¹²⁵⁵	2	30643
Πετέωτις ¹²⁵⁶	1	24685
Πετήζη ¹²⁵⁷	1	30097
Πέτητις ¹²⁵⁸	1	38403
Πετορζμπτωτες ¹²⁵⁹	1	33332
Πετσερωθωνις ¹²⁶⁰	1	23125

¹²⁴⁸ In P. Col. VII 188, 12: Πετροτμ[ο]ύθη; and 13: Π[ετ]ε[ρ]οτμ[ο]ύθη. In SB XX 14379, 14, the name Πετροτούθης is completely reconstructed twice. Cf. also BAGNALL, R. S., WORP, K. A., “Three Papyri from fourth-century Karanis”, p. 308.

¹²⁴⁹ In O. Oslo 28, 5: Πετρούθιος (?).

¹²⁵⁰ In UPZ I 55, Ro. 5: Πετέσαμβις.

¹²⁵¹ In O. Edfou I 133, 1: Πετεςό(του)πις; O. Edfou I 134, 1: Πετεςοτούπ(ε)ως; O. Edfou III 359, 3: [Πετέ]στουπις; O. Edfou III 471, 5: Πετέστουπις; O. Edfou III 444, 1: Πετέστου(πις).

¹²⁵² In O. Edfou III 449, 1: Πετεςτουπαχύτης; O. Edfou III 455, 2: Πετετουπαχύτης. The final part -παχύτης seems to render Egyptian *Pa-hj*, “The one of the *chet* demon” (cf. TM Nam 10431), but the etymology of the middle part is unknown.

¹²⁵³ In O. Edfou III 431, 1: Πετεςτούπχη(μις); O. Edfou III 435, 1: Πετεςτούπχη(μις); O. Edfou III 389, 2: Πετεςτόχημις. The end -(π)χημις might transcribe (*p3*)-*hm*, “the little”, but the etymology of the previous part is unknown.

¹²⁵⁴ In SB XVI 12338, 2: Πετέστω[τος]; O. Deiss. 63, 12: Πετέστω.

¹²⁵⁵ In P. Cairo Goodspeed 30, col. 28, 12: Π[ε]τ[ε]ωου[κ]; col. 40, 6: Πετωουκ. The impression is that this anthroponym could be a ghostname for Πετωουκ or Πετεςωουκ, from *P3-di-Sbk*, “He who has been given by Sobek” (cf. TM Nam 889). The lack of an image available does not allow to confirm this reading.

¹²⁵⁶ In P. Tebt. III 890, col. 6, 139: Πετέωτις.

¹²⁵⁷ In I. Akôris 129, 1-2: Πετήζη. This name might be a transcription of *P3-di-Is.t*, “He who has been given by Isis” (cf. 846), but Egyptian *s* is generally not rendered by ζ and the ending η is uncommon. On the interchange of sibilants in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 120-124.

¹²⁵⁸ In SB III 6924, 9: Πετήτις. Could this name render *P3-di-Is.t*, “He who has been given by Isis”? Cf. also the names Πατήτις (TM Nam 27908) and Πετέτις (TM Nam 11525).

¹²⁵⁹ In O. Wilcken II 198, 3: Πετορζμπτωτες. This anthroponym seems to be a ghostname for Πετορζμητωτες – with *eta* instead of *pi* –, a rendering of **P3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr*-ζ, “He who has been given by Osiris, who belongs to the great sacred emblem” (cf. TM Nam 23998). On the name *ns-mtr*-(*p3*)-ζ, DE MEULENAERE, H., “L’enseigne sacrée du dieu Khnoum dans l’onomastique gréco-égyptienne”, p. 237-238; on *P3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr*, cf. *ibidem*, p. 239-240. This ostrakon, like those in which this name is attested in Greek transcription, comes from Elephantine. The lack of an image available of the ostrakon does not allow to confirm – and publish – this ghostname.

¹²⁶⁰ In P. Oxy. II 241, 6: Πετσερωθώνιος. The last part of the name, -θώνιος, seems to transcribe Egyptian *Dwn*, “Thonis”, an epithet of Horos.

b) Anthroponyms with an uncertain reading

- **Πατεσειρη** (TM Nam 18252: 1 attestation in P. Erl. 136 descr.): what the editor reads as -σειρη – with a dot under the *eta* – is not visible.



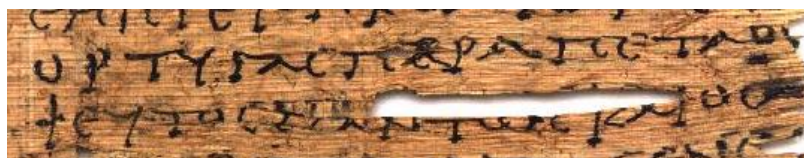
P. Erl. 136 descr.: Πατεσειρη (?)

- **Πεταβθις** (TM Nam 5051: 1 attestation in P. Count. 52 Ro., 37): the name cannot be read due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus.



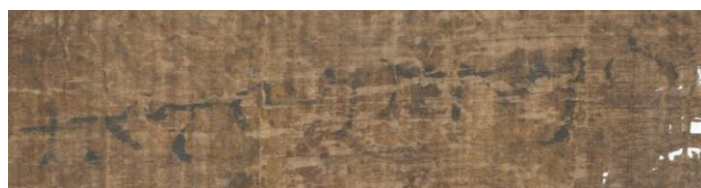
P. Count. 52 Ro., 37: Πεταβθις (?)

- **Πεταρυφεύς** (TM Nam 5056: 1 attestation in P. Baden IV 49, 9-10: Πεταρυφεῦτος): the letters *rho* and *upsilon* read by the editor are not visible and a *psi* seems to have been written instead of a *phi*.



P. Baden IV 49, 9-10: Πεταρυφεῦτος (?)

- **Πετεύρηγ/Πετέαρνις** (TM Nam 11516: 2 attestations: in SB XVIII 13206, 3: Πετεύρηο(υς) – for which no image is available – and BGU XVI 2673, Ro. col. 2, 32: Πετέαρνις, with dots under *nu* and *sigma*): in BGU XVI 2673, Ro. col. 2, 32, the beginning of the name Πετεύρ-, a possible rendering of *P3-di-Hr-*, “He who has been given by Horos...” is visible, but the last part of the name is uncertain. This name and the anthroponym Πετεύρηο(υς) read in SB XVIII 13206, 3 could indeed be different names.



BGU XVI 2673, Ro. col. 2, 32: Πετέαρνις (?)

- **Πεταρσήτιος** (TM Nam 7363: 1 attestation in SB XX 14716 Ro., 6: Πεταρσητίου): only the last two letters of the name -ου are visible in the picture. If the reading of the beginning of the name (Πετεύρ-) is correct, it may render *P3-di-Hr-*, “He who has been given by Horos...”.



SB XX 14716 Ro, 6: Πεταρσητίου¹²⁶¹ (?)

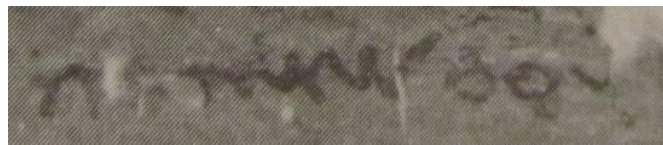
- **Πετθε()** (TM Nam 26066: 1 attestation in O. Wilcken II 762, 1: Πετθε^ε): the reading of the first four letters (Πετθε-) and the *theta* seems clear. However, between the *tau* and the *theta*, only one *epsilon* appears to have been written. The letter written over the *theta* indicating an abbreviation is uncertain.

¹²⁶¹ Image from KOSKENNIEMI, H., “Einige Papyri wirtschaftlichen Inhalts aus Turku”, p. 146, plate XV.



O. Wilcken II 762, 1: Πετεεθ^ε (?)

- **Πετέευσος** (TM Nam 29217: 1 attestation in P. Lond. II 173, 9: Π[ε]τεεύσου): the reading of the letters between Π[ε]τε- and the *omicron* is uncertain. The letter before the *omicron* seems a theta rather than a *sigma*.



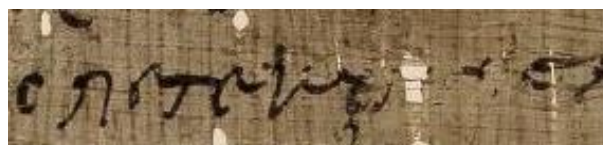
P. Lond. II 173, 9: Π[ε]τεεύσου (?)

- **Πετειγι** (TM Nam 33628: 1 attestation in P. Sarap. 74, col. 1, 13: Πετειγι): the letters between Πεε- and -γι cannot be clearly seen.



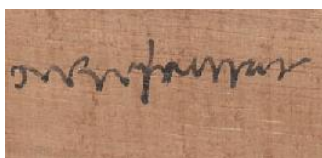
P. Sarap. 74, col. 1, 13: Πετειγι (?)

- **Πετειμεννις** (TM Nam 30157: 1 attestation in P. Petaus 100, Ro. 15): the letters after Πετει- are uncertain.



P. Petaus 100, Ro. 15: Πετειμεννις (?)

- **Πετείμιτος** (TM Nam 5076: 1 attestation in P. Tebt. I 85, col. 6, 111: Πετειμίτου): the reading after Πετε- is uncertain.



P. Tebt. I 85, col. 6, 111: Πετειμίτου (?)

- **Πέτειμος** (TM Nam 30515: 1 attestation in P. Berl. Salmenkivi 3, Ro col. 1, 10: Π[ετει]μου): some letters after have not been preserved due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus. The editor (p. 85) considers that this reconstructed name is “possibly a haplography, Πετειμου for Πετειμούθου”.



P. Berl. Salmenkivi 3, Ro col. 1, 10: Π[ετει]μου (?)

- **Πετελλωνς** (TM Nam 33478: 1 attestation in O. Wilcken II 501, 3-4): the name read by the editor is not visible due to the faded ink.



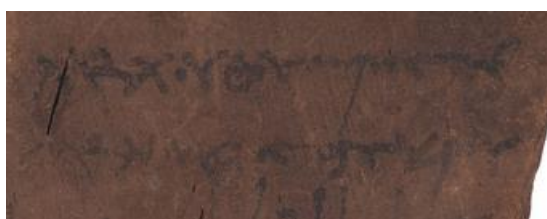
O. Wilcken II 501, 3-4: Πετελλωνς (?)

- **Πετέμουγης** (TM Nam 17786: 1 attestation in O. Ashm. Shelton 53, col. 1, 11): the letters Πετεμ- seem clear, but the following part of the name is uncertain.



O. Ashm. Shelton 53, col. 1, 11: Πετέμου(γης) (?)

- **Πετέναυς** (TM Nam 33539: 1 attestation in PSI VIII 984, 4-5): the name read by the editor is not visible because of the faded ink.



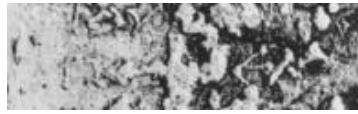
PSI VIII 984, 4-5: Πετέναυτος (?)

- **Πετενεύς** (TM Nam 18622: 3 attestations in P. Wash. Univ. II 78, col. 2, 15: Πετενεύ(ως) – for which no image is available – and in SB III 7013, col. 1, 6: Πετενεύς; and 18: Πετενεύς): the images available for the two latter attestations¹²⁶² are badly visible.



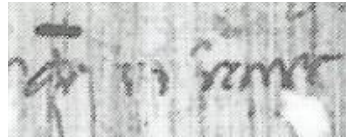
¹²⁶² From BOAK, A. E. R., “An overseer’s Day-Book from the Fayum”, p. 103-105, plates X and XI.

SB III 7013, col. 1, 18: Πετενεύς (?)



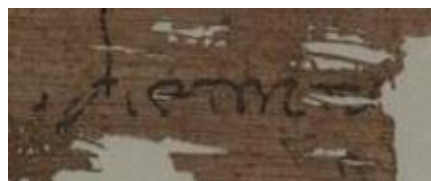
SB III 7013, col. 1, 6: Πετενεύς (?)

- **Πετενπετ()/Πετενπέτως** (both included in TM Nam 28430: 2 attestations in P. Erl. Diospolis 1, 338: Πετενπετ() – with dots under Πετε-; and SB III 7000, 1-2: Πετενπέτωτος, for which no image is available): the letters before the sequence -νπετ() are not visible in P. Erl. Diospolis 1, 338.



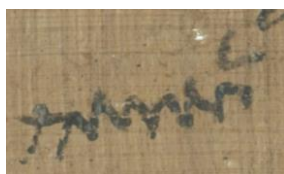
P. Erl. Diospolis 1, 338: Πετενπετ() (?)

- **Πετένταις** (TM Nam 24625: 1 attestation in P. Brem. 25, 3: Πετέντα[ιος]: the letters after Πετεν- are uncertain.



P. Brem. 25, 3: Πετέντα[ιος] (?)

- **Πετεπῶς** (TM Nam 7372: 2 attestations in BGU IX 1900, col. 4, 80: Πετεπᾶτος – no image of the col. 4 of the text is available – and BGU XVI 2674, 79: Πετεπ\α/, whose reading is not sure).



BGU XVI 2674, 79: Πετεπ\α/ (?)

- **Πετεπτενέψιλις** (TM Nam 29616: 2 attestations in O. Ashm. 21, 4: Πετεπτενε(ψίλεως) – for which no image is available – and O. Berl. 45, 3: Πετεπτενεψίλεως): the reading of the name is uncertain. In addition, it is possible that this anthroponym is a ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division.



O. Berl. 45, 3: Πετεπτενεψίλεως (?)

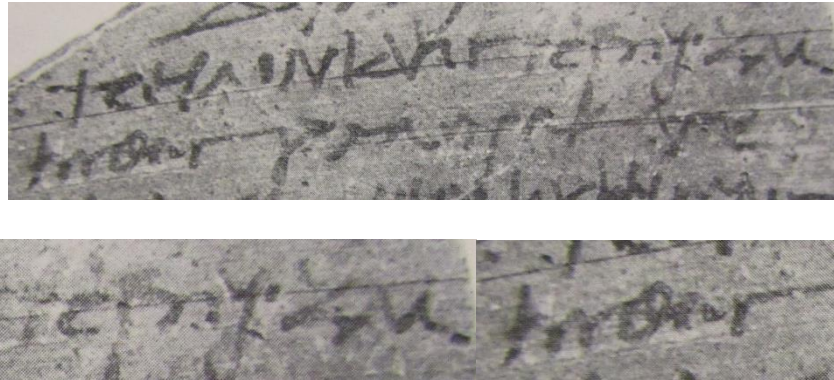
- **Πετέραις** (TM Nam 11539: 1 attestation in P. Fay. 24, 4: Πετεραίπιος): the letters -ρα- and the ending -ος are visible, but the rest of the letters cannot be clearly seen in the picture.



P. Fay. 24, 4: Πετεραίπιος (?)

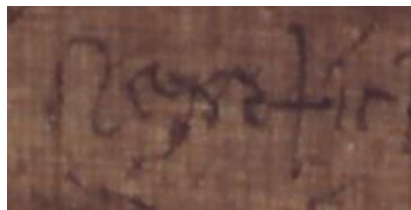
- **Πετερζμήνθις** (TM Nam 28243: 1 attestation in O. Leiden Gr. 177, 2-3: Πετερζμηύθιος): the prototype of this name seems to be *P3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr*, “He who has been given by Osiris, who belongs to the sacred emblem” (cf. TM Nam 7919; the Greek variant attested the most is

Πετόρζμηθις). The provenance of the ostrakon, Syene, appears to confirm this hypothesis¹²⁶³. Cf. also the name Ζμηύθιος (TM Nam 21796) in O. Leiden Gr. 176, 2.



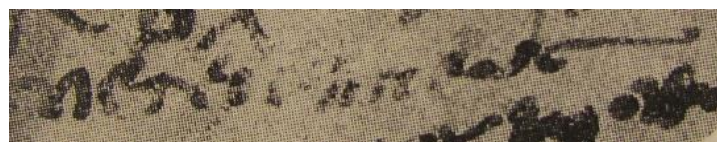
O. Leiden Gr. 177, 2-3: Πετερζμηθιος

- **Πέτερψις** (TM Nam 17475: 1 attestation in BGU VII 1616, 19: Πέτερψις): the letters between Πε- and -σις are not visible.



BGU VII 1616, 19: Πέτερψις (?)

- **Πετεσέηνις** (TM Nam 29698: 1 attestation in P. Brooklyn Gr. 67, 8: Πετεσεήνεως): the letters between Πετε- and the ending -ως are uncertain due to the faded ink.



P. Brooklyn Gr. 67, 8: Πετεσεήνεως (?)

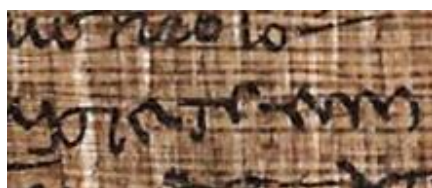
¹²⁶³ Cf. DE MEULENAERE, H., “L’enseigne sacrée du dieu Khnoum dans l’onomastique gréco-égyptienne”, p. 235.

- **Πετέσειος** (TM Nam 29123: 1 attestation in P. L. Bat. I 18, 9: Π[ε]τ[ε]σείου): the letters between Π[ε]- and the ending -ου are uncertain due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus.



P. L. Bat. I 18, 9: Π[ε]τ[ε]σείου (?)

- **Πετεσεύς** (TM Nam 7383: 3 attestations in BGU IX 1893, col. 13, 440: Πετεσεύς; BGU IX 1900, col. 3, 45: Πετεσεῦτος; and col. 6, 118: Πετεσεύς; for these two latter attestations no image is available): the letters after Π[ε]τ[ε]-, cursively written, are incertain.



BGU IX 1893, col. 13, 440: Πετεσεύς (?)

- **Πετέσκοντις** (TM Nam 23107: 2 attestations in P. Tebt. I 61 b, col. 1, 16 and Πετεσόκοντι; P. Tebt. I 77, 9: Πετεσκόντιος. This name has been completely reconstructed in P. Tebt. I 67, col. 5, 95: Πετεσόκοντι]): the fragmentary state of the papyrus and the faded ink do not allow to confirm the reading of the editors.

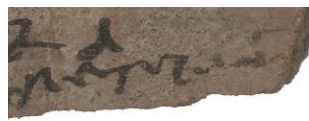


P. Tebt. I 61 b, col. 1, 16: Πετεσόκοντι (?)



P. Tebt. I 77, 9: Πετεςκόντιος (?)

- **Πέτευσις** (TM Nam 24285: 1 attestation in O. Lund 21, 14: Πετεύσεως): Πετε- can be seen on the ostrakon, but the following part of the name is uncertain.



O. Lund 21, 14: Πετεύσεως (?)

- **Πετέφως** (TM Nam 23114: 1 attestation in SB XVIII 13727, 7: Πετέφως). The reading of the letters between Π- and -ς is uncertain. SB XVIII 13727 is a bilingual document, but unfortunately the Demotic equivalent is not preserved¹²⁶⁴.



SB XVIII 13727, 7: Πετέφως (?)

- **Πετεχνουτ()** (TM Nam 18218: 2 attestations in O. Leiden Gr. 184, 2: Πετεχνουτ() – from Syene – and O. Bodl. II 1916, 9: Πετέχνουτ(ις?) – from Thebes –, for which no image is available): the name is illegible in the picture available. The provenance of O. Leiden Gr. 184

¹²⁶⁴ Cf. BRESCIANI, E., GIANGERI SILVIS, M. P., PERNIGOTTI, S., MUSZYNSKI, M., “Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco”, p. 69-70, n. 23, pl. XVII.

leads to think that in this ostrakon the name represented could be Πατχναντ(), a name characteristic from the area of Elephantine whose prototype is unknown¹²⁶⁵.



O. Leiden Gr. 184, 2: Πετεχνουτ() (?)

- **Πετεχωεύς (?)** (TM Nam 29928: 1 attestation in SB XVIII 13134, 15: Πετ[ε]χώεο(ς)): the name is illegible in the image available¹²⁶⁶.



SB XVIII 13134, 15: Πετ[ε]χώεο(ς) (?)

¹²⁶⁵ Cf. NACHTERGAEEL, G., “Papyrologica. II”, p. 235-236.

¹²⁶⁶ Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., WÖRPER, K. A. “Einige Papyri aus den Giessener Papyrussammlungen”, p. 61: “Die erhaltenen Spuren lassen eine Lesung κωιτου zu. Hinter dem Ypsilon sehen wir aber Spuren eines hochgestellten Buchstabens, was auf Abkürzung hinweist”.

c) Anthroponyms with a certain reading

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Παθεμγώτης,	1	29593 +
Πετέμγως,	1	24499 +
Πατόμγως	8	11346
Πατέητις,	1	27908 +
Πετέητις	16	11525
Πατεμιε	1	26102
Πάτεπνσνος	1	38298
Πατέτηφίς	1	26793
Πεθεθεύς,	2	7385
Πετεθεύς		
Πετεβαρε	1	26115
Πετεετ	1	34507
Πετεησέπως,	2	11524 +
Πετεησίπως	2	23093
Πετεκάς	21	7367
Πετεμπαῖος,	2	5082
Πετεπμαῖος		
Πετέμχημις	2	28174
Πετενεφῆς,	1	11534 +
Πετενεφιῆς ¹²⁶⁷	38	5085
Πετένωμθίς	2	5088
Πετεοκύως	2	7370
Πετέρσως	2	24467
Πετεσοράθης	1	34956
Πέτεσυς ¹²⁶⁸	19	26686
Πέτετις	4	5099
Πετεχορ()	1	33246
Πετσορολλοῦς	2	24121

¹²⁶⁷ The names Πετενεφρηούς (P. Lond. II 299, 5-6:) and Πετενεφ[ρή]ους (P. Lond. II 299, 6-7), included in TM Nam 5085, do not seem belong to the same prototype, but rather derive from *P3-di-nfr-...

¹²⁶⁸ In P. Fouad 70, 6, however, the name represented is Πετεσοῦχο[υ] < P3-di-Sbk, “He who has been given by Sobek”.

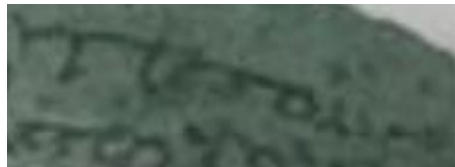
The anthroponyms Παθεμγώτης – in P. Tebt. III 871 Ro. descr., fr. 1 8: Παθεμγώτου –, Πετέμγως – in SB XII 10839¹²⁶⁹, 2: Πετέμγωτος – and Πατόμγως¹²⁷⁰, with 8 attestations, could transcribe *P3-di* in initial position or be composed of the pronoun *pa-* and a name *Θέμγως/Τέμγως/Τόμγως. In fact, the feminine forms Τατέμγως¹²⁷¹, Τετέμγως¹²⁷² and Τάμγως¹²⁷³ are attested. The prototype of the last part of these names is unknown.



Tebt. III 871 Ro. descr., fr. 1 8: Παθεμγώτου



P. Erl. 102 Vo. 3: Πατόμγωτος



P. Lips. 1 72, 1: Πατόμγ(ως)

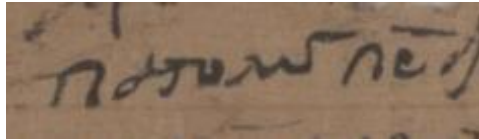
¹²⁶⁹ Cf. SHELTON, J. C., “Mummy Tags from the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford”, p. 352.

¹²⁷⁰ On the other hand, the names Πατόμεως and Πατομέους have been identified as ghostnames for Πατόμγως and Πατόμγους, respectively. Cf. YOUTIE, L. C., “P. Mich. inv. 1355 Recto: Account of Grain”, p. 183, n. 19; BL VII, p. 177; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=696>; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1446>.

¹²⁷¹ TM Nam 23521.

¹²⁷² TM Nam 23547.

¹²⁷³ TM Nam 6043.



SB XXIV 15989, 11: Πατόμγ(ως)



O. Petrie Mus. 508, 5: Πατόμγοις

The name Πετέητις¹²⁷⁴ is attested more than 10 times in different documents, and especially in BGU IV 1196¹²⁷⁵. As a variant of Πετέητις, Πατέητις occurs once in BGU IV 1196, col. 1, 4¹²⁷⁶. In all the attestations for which an image is available, the reading is clear and the ending -τις appears while -σις would be expected instead. Some editors, indeed, consider this name as a transcriptional variant of *P3-di-Īs.t*, “He who has been given by Isis”¹²⁷⁷. Even though there are a few attestations in which the Egyptian *s* of the element *Īs.t* seems to have been transcribed as τ¹²⁷⁸, Egyptian *s* rendered as τ is not easily justifiable. Exceptional attestations such as Τιναρσιέγετι (< *T3-šr.t-n-Hr-s3-Īs.t*) or Ἀρσίητις (< *Hr-s3-Īs.t*)¹²⁷⁹ could be considered as mistakes by the scribes, but could the attestations of Πετέητις/Πατέητις, which are more than 10 in different documents, also be considered as mistakes? Since no attestation of this name appears in a bilingual document, it is not possible to know if these attestations are renderings of or *P3-di-Īs.t* if they have other etymology.

¹²⁷⁴ Cf. Also the name Πετήτιος (nominative Πέτητις), in SB III 6924, 9 (TM Nam 38403), for which no image is available.

¹²⁷⁵ Cf. Πετέητις in BGU IV 1196, col. 2, 25; col. 3, 47; col. 4, 78; col. 5, 86; col. 5, 97; col. 5, 100; col. 6, 103; col. 7, 128; col. 7, 132. No image is available for any of these attestations.

¹²⁷⁶ Cf. BGU IV 1196, p. 335: “Πατεητιος eher als Πετεήτιος, meistens hat der Name in dieser Liste die Endung τις, nicht σις”.

¹²⁷⁷ Cf. P. Berl. Salmenkivi 8, p. 109: “The ending -τις (presumably a variant of Peteesis < *P3-tj-Is.t* “The one whom Isis has given”) is also frequent in BGU IV 1196”.

¹²⁷⁸ Cf. O. Florida 14, 1: Τιναρσιέγετι (< *T3-šr.t-n-Hr-s3-Īs.t*, “The daughter of Horos, son of Isis”); BGU VII 1532, 17: Ἀρσίητις (< *Hr-s3-Īs.t*, “Horos, son of Isis”); P. Heid. Gr. VIII 420, C col. 2, 11: Τετέητις (< *T3-di-Īs.t*, “She who has been given by Isis”).

¹²⁷⁹ Cf. previous note.



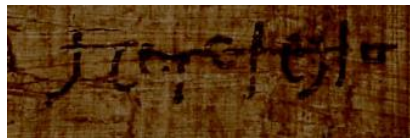
P. Berl. Salmenkivi 8, col. 1,7: Πετεήτει



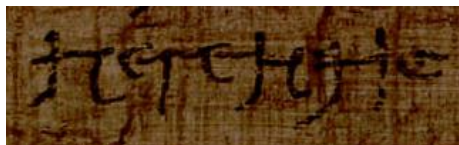
BGU XVI 2672 Vo., col. 2, 3: Πετεήτιος



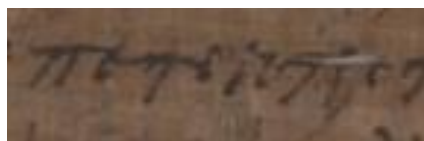
BGU XVI 2672 col. 1, 13: Πετεήτις



P. Oxy. XXIV 2412, col. 2, 61: Πετεήτις



P. Oxy. XXIV 2412, col. 5, 150: Πετεήτις



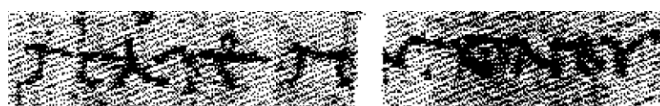
P. Bon. 28, col. 2, 26: Πετεήτις

In O. Ashm. Shelton 55, 4, the name Πατεμιε has been read. Even though the reading seems correct, only the first part of the name as a possible transcription of **P3-di*..., can be recognised.



O. Ashm. Shelton 55, 4: Πατεμιε

In SB XXIV 16069, 3, the name Πατεπτ[υ]σνου has been read. A. Martin and G. Nachtergaele¹²⁸⁰ discuss if this form contains one or two different names. In any case, Πατε- seems to render *P3-di*..., and -τσνου, Egyptian *t3-snw*¹²⁸¹.



SB XXIV 16069¹²⁸², 3: Πατεπτ[υ]σνου

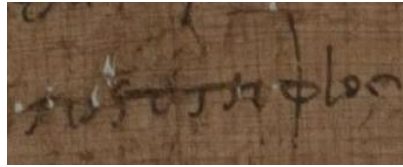
In P. Brem. 37, 23, the name Πατετήφιος can be read. In this name, only the first part Πατε-, as rendering of *p3-di*, can be recognised at first sight. However, the name Πάτηφιος as rendering of *P3-di=f*, “He who has been given by him”, is attested¹²⁸³. This leads to think that Πατετήφιος might be a mistake of the scribe for Πάτηφιος.

¹²⁸⁰ Cf. MARTIN, A., NACHTERGAEL, G., “Papyrus du Musée du Caire. II”, p. 112: “Le copiste a écrit sans hésitation ΠΑΤΕΠΤ, puis il a tracé une lettre, vraisemblablement N, peut-être l’amorce d’une seconde lettre, mais il a aussitôt effacé cette séquence fautive pour noter CNOY (...). Le rapprochement s’impose avec l’ἡγεμών Πατῆς Τσνοῦτος (...). Faut-il comprendre que Πατεπτσνου résulte ici de l’addition du nom Πατῆς et du patronyme Τσνοῦς? Ou faut-il penser que l’hypocoristique Τσνοῦς s’est reporté du père sur le fils, pour s’agréger au nom Πατῆς dans une combinaison originale? Quoi qu’il en soit, Πατεπτσνου est une forme nouvelle, sans parallèle”. On the name Τσνοῦς as hypocoristic, cf. CLARYSSE, W., WINNICKI, J. K., “Documentary Papyri”, p. 38.

¹²⁸¹ Cf. TM Nam 1181; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1085.

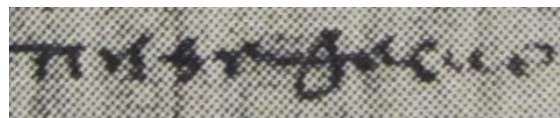
¹²⁸² Image from MARTIN, A., NACHTERGAEL, G., “Papyrus du Musée du Caire. II”, p. 109.

¹²⁸³ Cf. TM Nam 771; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 344.



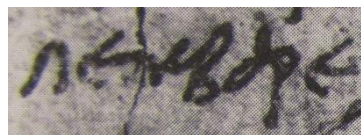
P. Brem. 37, 23: Πατετήφιος

In SB XVI 12522, 5 and P. Col. V 1 Vo. (3), col. 7, 143 – for which no image is available –, the names Παθεθέως and Πεθεθέω[ς] have been read, respectively. The etymology of the final part of the name, -θέως (nominative -θεύς), has not however been identified¹²⁸⁴. A possibly dittography of the syllable θε and the rendering of the name Παθεύς (< *P3-di=w*, “He who has been given by them”)¹²⁸⁵ is not, nevertheless, impossible.



SB XVI 12522¹²⁸⁶, 5: Παθεθέως

The reading of the anthroponyms Πετεβαρε (O. Waqfa 40, 2), Πετεετ (O. Douch 1 42, 1) and Πετεησίπως (P. Giss. 1 9, 3 and P. Coll. Youtie 1 26, 16) seems correct, but their etymology remains dark: only their beginning Πετε- as a possible transcription of *P3-di-*... seems identifiable. On the other hand, in in P. Lips. II 136, col. 1, 4 and 22-23, the name Πετεησέπωτος (nominative Πετεησέπως) has been read; this seems to be a variant of Πετεησίπως.



O. Waqfa 40, 2: Πετεβαρε

¹²⁸⁴ Cf. the name Θεύς in TM Nam 9543.

¹²⁸⁵ Cf. TM Nam 897.

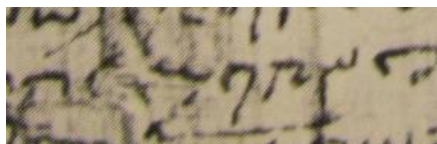
¹²⁸⁶ Image from HAGEDORN, D., “Die Schuldvollstreckungsverfahren in SB III, 6951 Rekto”, p. 182, 190.



O. Douch 1 42, 1: Πετεετ



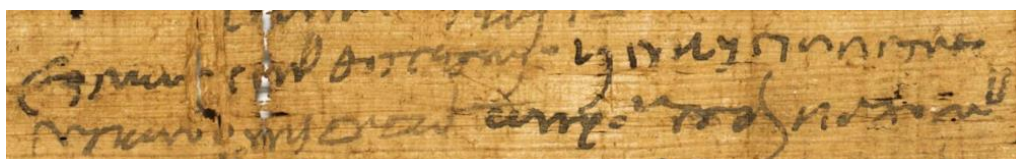
P. Giss. I 9, 3: Π]ετησίλωτο[ς]



P. Coll. Youtie 1 26, 16: Πετησίως

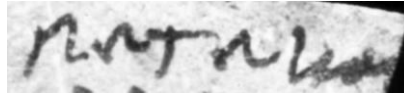


P. Lips. II 136, col. 1, 4: Πετησέπωτος



P. Lips. II 136, col. 1, 22-23: Πετησέπωτος

The anthroponym Πετεκῶς/Πετκῶς is attested more than 20 times¹²⁸⁷. Except one attestation¹²⁸⁸, all the names come from the Fayum and date from the Roman period. Even though this name is well attested in Greek transcription, its complete etymology is unknown. The ending -ῶς might indicate, on the other hand, that this anthroponym could be a hypocoristic.



O. Mich. II 837, 1: Πετεκῶ(ς)

In P. Tebt. III 736, col. 1, 8, the name Πετεμπαίου has been read; and in SB XXII 15282, 3, Πετεμπαίου¹²⁸⁹. In this latter document, what the editors consider as the second *pi* and the *mu* are not clear, and the reading Πετεμπαίου could also be possible. At first sight, the beginning of this name seems to render Egyptian *P3-di-*, but the rest of the prototype is unknown¹²⁹⁰. For this name M. Pezin¹²⁹¹ proposes a prototype **P3-nty-n-p3-iw*, “The one who is from the island”. Even though this etymology is possible, M. Pezin’s hypothesis cannot be confirmed because the Demotic equivalent is not attested and no name starting by *P3-nty-n-* in Demotic occurs in Greek transcription and the Greek rendering of *P3-nty-n-* is consequently unknown. The relative particle *nty* appears in Coptic as ⲉⲧ-

¹²⁸⁷ Πετεβῶς, on the other hand, has been identified as a ghostname for Πετεκῶς. Cf. P. Graux IV, p. 57; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1709>. Cf. also Πεθεβῶς as a ghostname for Πεθεκῶς; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1710>.

¹²⁸⁸ Πετεκῶς, in O. Douch IV 418, Vo. 1.

¹²⁸⁹ Cf. HARRAUER, H., PINTAUDI, R., “Tre papyri tolemaici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana”, p. 130-134.

¹²⁹⁰ On this name, cf. HAGEDORN, D., “Bemerkungen zu Urkunden”, p. 182: “Der Name des Topogrammateus, Πετεμπαῖος, war bislang nicht bezeugt. In P. Tebt. III 736, 8 (143 v.Chr.) finden wir jedoch den Namen Πετεμπαῖος; Πετεμπαίου ließe sich, so scheint mir, auch an unserer Stelle lesen”.

¹²⁹¹ Cf. PEZIN, M., “Les Étiquettes de Momies du Musée de Picardie à Amiens”, p. 12.

among other forms¹²⁹². On the other hand, the word *iw*, “island”, is contained in *Pay* (< *p3-iw*)¹²⁹³ (cf. the name *Pa-Sbk-nb-Pay*, “The one of Sobek, lord of Pay/the island” > Πασοκνοπαῖος¹²⁹⁴).



SB XXII 15282¹²⁹⁵, 3: Πετεπμαίου



P. Tebt. III 736, col. 1, 8: Πετεπμαίου

On the other hand, in SB I 4977, 2-3 and SB I 5392, 1-2 – two mummy labels –, the anthroponyms Πετερχήμιος and Πετέρχημις occur, respectively. At first sight, this name seems to render *P3-di-* at the beginning and possibly *hm*, “young”, at the end. However, M. Pezin¹²⁹⁶ considers that this anthroponym derives from **P3-nty-n/m-Kmy*, “The one who is from Egypt”. Even though this prototype is phonetically possible, it is unattested. In addition, personal names starting by *P3-nty* are not frequent in Demotic and no attestation seems to certainly occur in Greek transcription. On the other hand, in Short Texts II 486 B 4 and 487 B 3 the names Σενπετεμ<π>χήμιος and Σενπετεμρχήμιος occur, respectively, as renderings of *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-m-p3-hm.t* (?) (486 A 2 and *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-n-p3-hm.t* (?) (487 A 2), whose reading is considered as uncertain by the editor¹²⁹⁷.

¹²⁹² On the different forms, cf. LAYTON, B., *A Coptic Grammar*, p. 324. The etymology of all these forms, however, does not seem to be the same: according to VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 144, ⲉⲧ-, without the representation of Egyptian *n*, could derive from the feminine preposition *n.t*. Egyptian *.t*, however, was not pronounced or represented in Greek transcriptions: this leads to think that W. Vycichl’s theory could be incorrect. Cf. also ČERNÝ, J., *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, p. 38, who considers that ⲉⲧ- derives from *nty*.

¹²⁹³ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter I, p. 50.

¹²⁹⁴ Cf. TM Nam 11283.

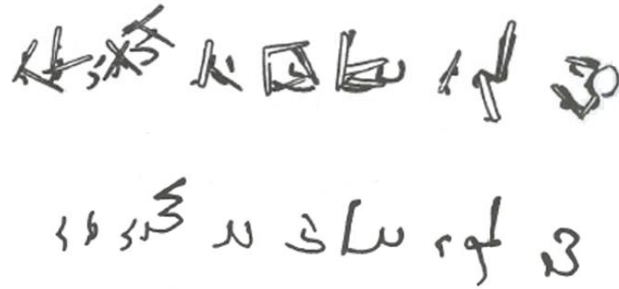
¹²⁹⁵ Image from HARRAUER, H., PINTAUDI, R., “Tre papyri tolemaici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana”, p. 131.

¹²⁹⁶ Cf. PEZIN, M., “Les Étiquettes de Momies du Musée de Picardie à Amiens”, p. 12.

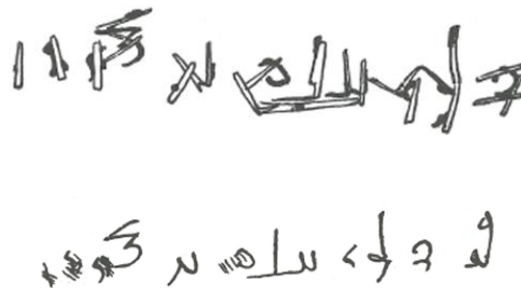
¹²⁹⁷ Cf. Short Texts II, p. 155: “The odd ‘euphonic’ *m* is to be marked as doubtful (sim. *DNb.*), especially since it seems to recur as an *n* in 487.2”.



SB I 4977, 2-3: Πετεμήμιος



Short Texts II 486, A 2, p. 155¹²⁹⁸



Short Texts II 487, A 2, p. 156

The editor of *P. Tebt. V* 1152, fr. A col. 2, 10 reads the name Πετενεφεῖ and considers it as a variant of Πετενεφιῆς¹²⁹⁹.

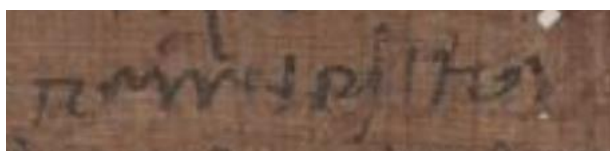
¹²⁹⁸ Images *apud Short Texts* II, p. 155 and 156. The original facsimiles are in MÖLLER, G., *Mumienschilder*, § 43 and § 42, pl. 15 and 14.

¹²⁹⁹ Cf. *P. Tebt. V*, p. 158: “The variant name is on record in Kerkeosiris as one of the farmers of the sacred land of the crocodile god Souchos (*P. Tebt. IV* 1111, 5 with *P.L.Bat.* 29, p. 196), 116/115 (*P. Tebt. I* 63, 6), 115/114 (*P. Tebt. IV* 1119, 53), and after 113/112 (*P. Tebt. IV* 1120, 30). Another Petenephies, possibly also the same man, is the author of a letter that mentions keepers of sacred crocodiles (σαυρηῖται) (*P. Tebt. I* 57)”.



P. Tebt. V 1152, fr. A col. 2, 10: Πετενεφεῖ

The name Πετενεφιῆς is, in fact, attested more than 30 times in different documents, all of them coming from the Fayum. The prototype of the first part of the name, Πετε-, seems to derive from *P3-di-*, but the Egyptian represented in -νεφιῆς is unknown. In some attestations, a *gamma* is represented between the *iota* and the *eta*: it probably represents an Egyptian *yod* or *wau*¹³⁰⁰. In CPR I 211, 3, the form Πεντενεφιηοῦ has been read, but it appears to be a ghostname for Πετενεφιηοῦ.



CPR I 211, 3: Πεντενεφιηοῦ



P. Tebt. I 63 Ro., col. 1, 7: Πετενεφιγῆς Πετενεφειῖους



P. Tebt. I 82, col. 1, 16: Πετενεφιγῆς Πετενεφειῖους

¹³⁰⁰ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 73-75.

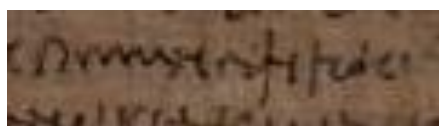


P. Tebt. I 82, col. 2, 32: Πετενεφιγῆς Πετενεφειῖους

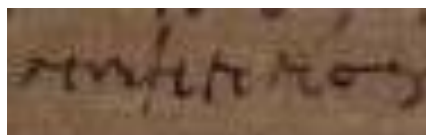


P. Tebt. III 1046 descr.: Πετενεφιγῆς

The simple name Νεφιγῆς, on the other hand, is attested five times also in documents coming from the Fayum¹³⁰¹. Thus, P. Mich. V 253 is a bilingual text that contains both the anthroponyms Πετενεφιγῆς (l. 6) and Νεφιγῆς (l. 8) in Demotic and Greek transcription. Unfortunately, the Demotic signs for these two names have not yet been deciphered¹³⁰².



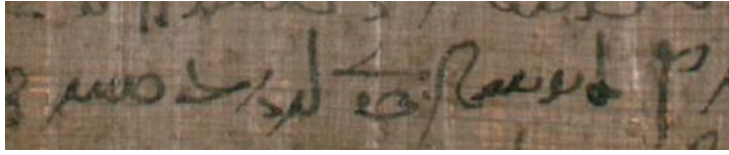
P. Mich. V 253, Greek part, 6: Πετενεφιγῆς



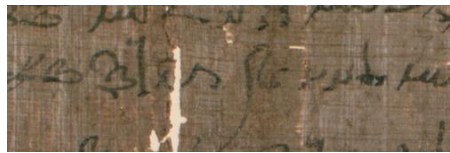
¹³⁰¹ Cf. TM Nam 10746.

¹³⁰² Cf. P. Mich. V 253, p. 136, on line 10 of the Demotic text: “I cannot interpret these signs, which should correspond to ‘Peteneephies, son of Orseus Achis’” (cf. P. Mich. V 253, Greek part, 6-7: Πετενεφιγῆς τοῦ Ὀρσεῦτος Ἀχίς); and on line 11 of the Demotic text: “A name which should correspond to ‘Nephies’”.

P. Mich. V 253, Greek part, 8: Νεφιήους

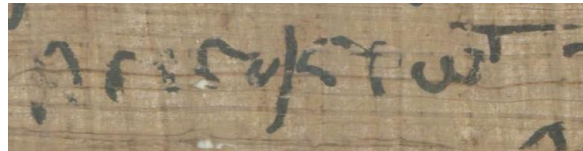


P. Mich. V 253, Demotic part, 10: presumably a Demotic name corresponding to Πετενεφιῆς



P. Mich. V 253, Demotic part, 11: presumably a Demotic name corresponding to Νεφιῆς

In the name Πετεοκύως – presumably attested in SB XVI 12320, 6: Π[ετεοκ]ύ(ωτος); and BGU IV 1077, 7: Πετεοκύωτ(ος) –, only the first part as a possible transcription of *p3-di* can be recognised.



BGU IV 1077, 7: Πετεοκύωτ(ος)

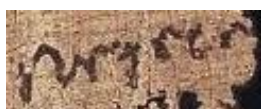
The editor of P. Cairo Goodspeed 15, 13, on the other hand, has read the name Πετέρσωτος. However, in the image available, only -τέρσωτος can be seen; given the fragmentary state of the previous part of the papyrus, it is not possible to certainly know the letters before the first *tau*. In addition, the anthroponym Πετέρσ[ωτος] has been reconstructed in SB XVIII 13133, col. 2, 36. It is not possible to know if both anthroponyms have the same prototype. Furthermore, the names Πατέρσυτος (P. Count. 24, 29), Πατέρσως (O. Wilcken II 1196, 4) and Πατέρσους (O. Wilcken II 1196, 9)¹³⁰³, seem also to be attested. The prototype of all these names is unknown: they could be

¹³⁰³ TM Nam 4945. No image is available for these names.

variants deriving from a same prototype or different names composed from a simple anthroponym *Τέρσως¹³⁰⁴.

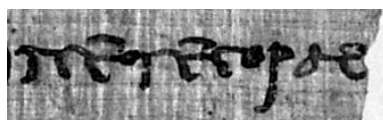


P. Cairo Goodspeed 15, 13: Πετερωτος



SB XVIII 13133, col. 2, 36: Πετερσ[ωτος]

In SB XVIII 13168, 6, the name Πετεσοράθηι has been read. In the image available, however, the ending -ηι is not visible. The beginning of this anthroponym could render **P3-di-Wsir*..., “He who has been given by Osiris...”. SB XVIII 13168 is a bilingual document, but unfortunately the Demotic part is unpublished and therefore it is not possible to know is the Demotic equivalent of this name occurs in the text.



SB XVIII 13168, 6: Πετεσοράθηι

A presumable name Πέτεσς is attested approximately 20 times. Of these attestations, 11 occur in SB III 7013, a waxed diptych from the Fayoum¹³⁰⁵. All the attestations date from the Roman period.

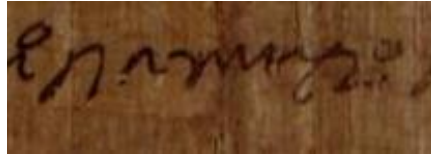
¹³⁰⁴ Cf. TM Nam 11489: περσορ (BKU 3.1 352, 1); Πέρσων (BGU IV 1134 (51 Ro.), 5). These are probably different names.

¹³⁰⁵ Cf. BOAK, A. E. R., “An Overseer’s Day-Book from the Fayoum”. This name is however illegible on the plates

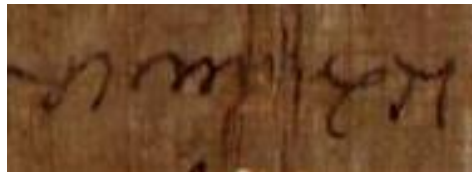
provided in this article. Cf. SB III 7013 col. 3, 11: Πέτεσς



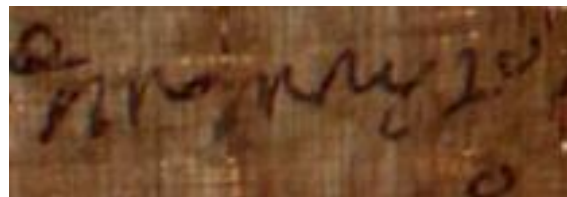
The beginning Πετε- (< *P3-di*ⁱ⁻) of the name seems clear, but the impression is that these attestations could note a hypocoristic or a name written in *Verschleifung*¹³⁰⁶.



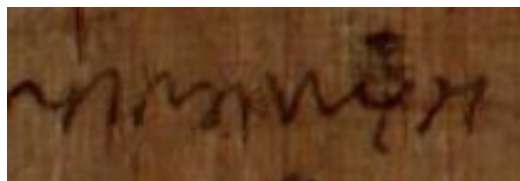
P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 2, 3: Πετέσυτο(ς)



P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 2, 8: Πέτεσυν

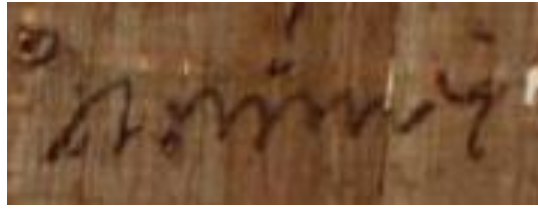


P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 7, 13: Πετέσυτο(ς)

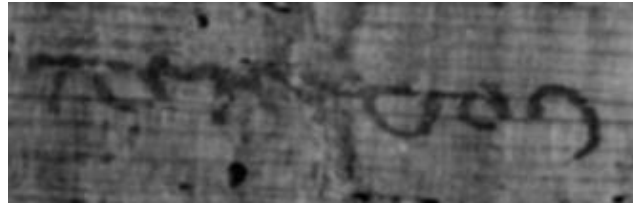


P. Mich. 2 121 Vo, col. 7, 14: Πέτεσυν

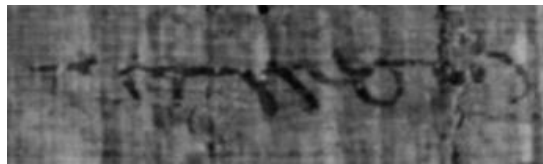
¹³⁰⁶ For the writing of the name Πετέσουχος (< *P3-di-Sbk*, “He who has been given by Sobek”) in *Verschleifung*, cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.



P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 12, 6: Πέτεσυν (?)

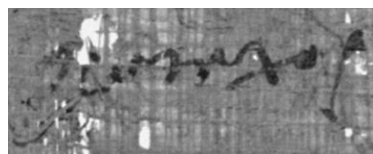


P. Fouad 70, 5: Πετέσυτος



P. Fouad 70, 15: Πετέσυτος

In P. Hibeh II 281, col. 2, 6, the editor has read Πετεχορ(). The prototype of the name after Πετε- is unknown, but it is not impossible that an anthroponym such as Χόρος¹³⁰⁷ occurs.



P. Hibeh II 281, col. 2, 6: Πετεχορ()

In P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 36 and 40, the anthroponym Πετσορολλοῦς occurs. Πετ- could represent Egyptian *p3-di*, but the name composing the second part is unknown; the impression is, however, that

¹³⁰⁷ Cf. *LGPN* III.A, p. 477, attested in Pompeii.

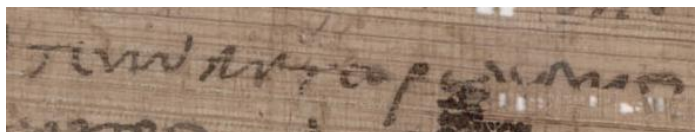
it might not be an Egyptian name. In P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 39, on the other hand, Τσενπετσορολλοῦτος (< *Tj-šr.t-n-p3-di*..., “The daughter of He who has been given by...”), appears.



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 36: Πετσορολλοῦτος



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 40: Π[ετ]σορολλοῦτος



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 39: Τσενπετσορολλοῦτος

2.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

Egyptian *P3-di-* appears in more than 50 variants in Greek transcription from all the areas of Egypt. Πετρε- is the best attested variant in all the zones, but other renderings, such as Πεθε-, are also frequent in specific regions such as the Fayum¹³⁰⁸.

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L13	L14	L16	L20	L21
παλ(η)-										
Πατ-	2									
Πατ(α)-	1									
Πατα-	1									
Πατ(ε)-	1									
Πατε-	8						1			
Πατ(η)-	2									
Πατη-										
Πατι-										
Πατ(ι)-	11									
Πατ(ο)-	2									
Πατο-										
Πατ(ου)-										
πατ(ογ)-										
Πε-										
Πεε-	1									
Πεεε-	1									
Πεθ-	2									
Πεθα-	1									
Πεθε-	2916									
Πεθεε-	1									
Πεθ(ο)-	1									
Πεσ-	1									
Πεστ(ο)-	1									
Πετ-	548	2	4		27	4				
πετ-	2									

¹³⁰⁸ The spelling of the following names is incorrect in the Trismegistos database and at <http://www.papyri.info/> and should be corrected: Περσοραίπ(ιος) (BGU IX 1891, col. 7, 195 and col. 12, 379) is Πετσοραίπ(ιος); Πεντενεντήριος (*Short Texts* II 668 bis, descr., 2) is Πετενεντήριος; Πεπεαρσέ[μθεως] (P. Köln Gr. I 51, Vo. 1) is Πεταρσέ[μθεως]; Πεπεαρσέμθεως (P. Köln Gr. I 50, Vo. 31) is Πεταρσέμθεως; and Πεύτευρις (P. Lond. 2 p. 155-158 no. 189, col. 7, 79) is Πέτευρις. On the other hand, the following names have been partially or completely reconstructed by the editors and have not been considered here: Π[ε]τραμενούφωος (SB I 5316, 8), Πα[τράννουφης] (O. Wilcken II 218, 2), Πα[τράχθο]υ (P. Baden II 26 [inv. 214], inv. 218 38), Πατ[α]τύμε(ως) (SB XVI 12739, col. 1, 10), Πα[τ]αωρ (P. Oxy. XVI 1912, col. 9, 142), [Πατέφαντος] (O. Wilcken II 147, 3), Πα[τ]εμο(ύ)θο(υ) (P. Cairo Masp. III 67328, (6) 24), Πάτις]ις (P. NYU I 15, col. 1, 18), Πάτι]σις (P. NYU I 15, col. 1, 24), Πατ[ο]ρσείους (P. Tebt. IV 1108, col. 6, 142), [Πατό]ρμουθις (O. Bodl. II 1910, 3), [Πε]θόσιρις (P. Count. 50 Ro., 12:), [Πεταρ]ποχ(ράτου) (P. Oxy. Census, 371-372), Πετ[ενύριο]ς (P. Achmim 9, col. 1, 9), Π[ε]τε[μούνιος] (P. Pherehnuis, col. 7, 194), Π[ε]τεμ[ούθ(ου)] (P. Oxy. Census, 99), [Πετ]ερμ[ούθ(ης)] (P. Oxy. Census, 72), Π[ε]τ[ε]υ(ς) (P. Tebt. III 867, col. 2, 8), [Πετ]ε[υ]σέρζμη(θις) (BGU VI 1476, 8), Πετ[ε]υσορβούχιος (P. Lond. VII 2188, Ro. col. 3, 64), [Πετ]ευσόρβο]υχιν (P. Lond. VII 2188, Ro. col. 3, 65), [Πέτη]σις (UPZ I 107, 11-12), [Πετή]σιος (UPZ I 107, 7), Π[ε]τ[ή]σιος (P. Lips. I 28, 7), Π[έτ]ιρις (P. Princ. I 14, col. 2, 17), [Πετό]σιρις (P. Tebt. III 867, col. 8, 143), Π[ετο]βάσιος (P. Strasb. Gr. VIII 742, 7), Π[ετ]ουφώιτο(ς) (P. Oxy. Census, 179), [Πετό]σιρις (P. Oxy. Census, 94), Π[ετ]οσούχου (BGU XIII 2216, 16), Π[ετ]οσ[ο]ράπ[ιος] (P. Tebt. II 313, 5-6), Π[ετ]οσίριος (P. Cair. Zen. IV 59294 (p. 287-288), Vo. 36).

Πετ(α)-	13									
Πετα-	628		5				1			
Πεται-	5									
Πετ(ε)-	181		3					6	1	1
Πετε-	3711	16	45	1	13	1	1	39		1
πετε-	1									
Πετεε-	142									
Πετ(ει)-	2									
Πετετ(ε)-	1									
Πετ(ευ)-	8									
Πετ(η)-	71	4	12		1					
πετ(η)-										
Πετη-	2									
Πετ(ι)-	3							1		1
Πετ(ο)-	816	4	25			2		22		5
πετ(ο)-										
Πετο-	6									
Πετ(οι)-		1								
Πετ(ου)-	20									
Πεττ(ο)-										
Πεττυ-	1									
Πετ(υ)-	1									
Πετ(ω)-	3									
Πητ(ο)-										
Πιτ(ο)-	1									
Πτ(ε)-	1									
Πτε-	2		1							
Πτο-	1									
Total attestations	9123	27	95	1	41	7	3	68	1	8

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U06	U07	U08	U09	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20	U22
παλ(η)-				1												
Πατ-	13			2					2			2		3		
Πατ(α)-	3									2				3		
Πατα-									1	1				15	1	
Πατ(ε)-	6			4												
Πατε-	29			24					5		1	1		4	2	
Πατ(η)-																
Πατη-				6												
Πατι-									1					1		
Πατ(ι)-																
Πατ(ο)-	4			3												
Πατο-				9					1					1		
Πατ(ου)-	1	1		2												
πατ(ογ)-				2												
Πε-				1												
Πεε-																
Πεεε-																
Πεθ-												1				
Πεθα-																
Πεθε-		2					1		2			1				
Πεθεε-																
Πεθ(ο)-																
Πεσ-																
Πεστ(ο)-																

Πετ-	21			10					5	1		1		83	7	
πετ-																
Πετ(α)-	2		3	4							3	1		1		
Πετα-		5	1	2							1	1		3	4	
Πεται-																
Πετ(ε)-	2	2	1	456	3				2	15	4	9	8	27	16	
Πετε-	186	70	24	1266	15	1	39	3	288	31	7	67	4	133	261	1
πετε-																
Πετεε-	1			1								2		4		
Πετ(ει)-				2												
Πετετ(ε)-																
Πετ(ευ)-	3			2										1		
Πετ(η)-	3			1	2		2		12	2		3		2		
πετ(η)-												3				
Πετη-																
Πετ(ι)-														4		
Πετ(ο)-	271	10	1	201	3		2	1	8	18	6	25	15	153	96	2
πετ(ο)-												1				
Πετο-	1			4										2		
Πετ(οι)-																
Πετ(ου)-									3			1				
Πεττ(ο)-	1															
Πεττο-																
Πετ(υ)-							1					1				
Πετ(ω)-				1										1	3	
Πητ(ο)-				1												
Πητ(ο)-																
Πτ(ε)-				1												
Πτε-				2												
Πτο-																
Total attestations	547	90	30	2008	23	1	45	4	330	70	22	120	27	441	390	3

2.3. Linguistic characteristics

In all the transcriptions representing *P₃-di-* in initial position Egyptian *p* has been rendered as Π-/n into Greek: there are no attestations of *p* represented as aspirated. Since in numerous anthroponyms containing the definite article *p₃/t₃* or the possessive pronoun *pa-/ta-*, Egyptian *p/t* has been transcribed as aspirated, the lack of aspiration in the renderings of *P₃-di-* seems significant. On the other hand, in 99.63 % (9090) of the attestations from the Fayum, 99.20 % (249) from Lower Egypt and 96.12 % (3990) from Upper Egypt, the vowel represented between *p* and *d* is ε/ε. This is the usual vocalization of the Coptic definite article (νε-) when a consonant and a vowel or two consonants follow¹³⁰⁹.


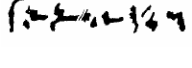


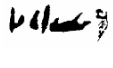

¹³⁰⁹ Cf. LAYTON, B., *A Coptic Grammar*, p. 44: “The long form νε-, τε-, νε- is normally required before a morph beginning with a consonant cluster in which the second phoneme is not syllabic (could not bear a superlinear stroke in that particular written morph)”.

However, in 28 attestations from the Fayum (0.30 %), one from Lower Egypt (0.39 %) and 157 from Upper Egypt (3.78 %), the transcriptional variant found is Πα-/πα-, which occurs in attestations dating from both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods. In these attestations, Πα-/πα- can only represent the Egyptian definite article from a grammatical point of view: cf. Πατράνσουφις (< *P3-di-Īry-ḥms-nfr*), Πάτησις (< *P3-di-Īs.t*), Πατέρζμηθις (< *P3-di-Wsīr-ns-mtr*), Πατέχνουμις (< *P3-di-Ḥnm*),... The rate of attestations with α/א is slightly higher in Upper Egypt, and especially in the areas of Thebes, in which 53 attestations (2.63 %) are found, and Elephantine (56 attestations: 10.23 % of the transcriptions). This led J. Quaegebeur to wonder if the variant with α/א was dialectal or a vulgar vocalisation:

“L’alternance ε/α ne pourrait-elle pas comporter un indice dialectal? À première vue, les noms qui présentent la vocalisation Πατε-/Τατε- se situent dans le Sud du pays et témoignent du parler local. Cependant la forme Πετε- est également très fréquente dans la Thébàide (...) et elle y est attestée depuis la deuxième moitié du 2^e siècle av. J.-C. jusqu’au 3^e siècle ap. J.-C. Peut-on attribuer ce phénomène à une influence sahidique dans cette région pendant l’époque ptolémaïque et romaine? Nous avons l’impression que la forme Πατε- est une vocalisation vulgaire qui souvent a été supplantée dans le langage soigné par la forme plus courante Πετε-. Un examen plus poussé de pareils indices pourrait éventuellement nous enseigner davantage sur la valeur dialectale des transcriptions”¹³¹⁰.

However, the hesitance between the variants Πα-/Πε- seems also to occur in Demotic: in some attestations, the sign of the possessive pronoun *pa-* (cf. the variants *pa-tw-*, *pa-di-*) appears to have been used instead of the masculine definite article *p3* when this latter is required by the grammar of

¹³¹⁰ QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 213.

the clause: *Pa-tw-Ġs.t*  ¹³¹¹, *Pa-tw-nfr-ḥtp*  ¹³¹², *Pa-tw=f*  ¹³¹³, *Pa-di=f*  ¹³¹⁴, *Pa-di=w*  ¹³¹⁵, *Pa-di-Sbk*  ¹³¹⁶,...

In addition, in some texts several transcriptional variants of *P3-di-* occur. Thus, in O. Wilcken II 402, the names Πατεήσιος, Πατέησις (< *P3-di-Ġs.t*) (l. 1) and Πετεμενροῦς (< **P3-di-Ġmn-rwš*) Πατραάσσνουφίς (< *P3-di-Ġry-ḥms-nfr*) (l. 5) appear. In O. Berl. 74, 2 and 4, the anthroponyms Πετορζμήθου and Πετορζμήθ(ου) (< *P3-di-Wsr-ns-mtr*) appear, respectively, and in O. Berl. 74, 10 the editor has read the name Πατάνουβίς (< *P3-di-Ġnpw*), although Πατάνουκίς (< *P3-di-ḥnq.t*) could also be read instead.



O. Wilcken II 402, 1: Πατεήσιος Πίβοχίς Πατέησις



O. Wilcken II 402, 5: Πετεμενροῦς Πατραάσσνουφίς

¹³¹¹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 290: *P3-di-Ġs.t*, n. 37.

¹³¹² Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 318: *P3-di-nfr-ḥtp*, n. 30.

¹³¹³ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 344: *P3-tw=f*, n. 3.

¹³¹⁴ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 344: *P3-tw=f*, n. 14.

¹³¹⁵ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 296: *P3-di=w*, n. 4.

¹³¹⁶ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 340: *P3-di-Sbk*, n. 23.



O. Berl. 74, 2: Πετορζμήθου

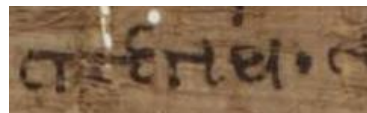


O. Berl. 74, 4: Πετορζμήθ(ου)

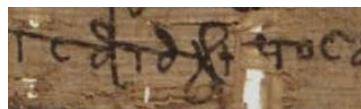


O. Berl. 74, 10: Πατάνουβις/Πατάνουκις (?)

Likewise, in P. Oxy. VI 895 Ro. 4 and 5, the names Πετίριος (< *P3-di-iry*) and Πατάβητος (**P3-di-Bs*)¹³¹⁷ occur, and in P. Hibeh II 218, col. 2, 3 and 16, Πετεχῶν (< *P3-di-Hnsw*) can be read, but in col. 2, 7, the anthroponym Πάτευρις (< *P3-di-Hr*) appears and in col. 2, 26, Πετοβάστιος (< *P3-di-B3st.t*) is found. In P. Oxy. LI 3621, 15, Παταύριος (< *P3-di-Hr*) seems to have been written, whereas in the same text (l. 21), the anthroponym Πετόσειρις¹³¹⁸, written by other hand, appears.



P. Oxy. VI 895 Ro. 4: Πετίριος



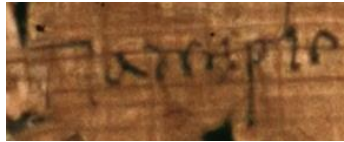
P. Oxy. VI 895 Ro. 5: Πατάβητος

¹³¹⁷ This name could also be a transcription of **Pa-ta-Bs*, “The one of the one of Bes”, but, since no name attested seems to start by **Pa-ta-* in Demotic, it seems improbable.

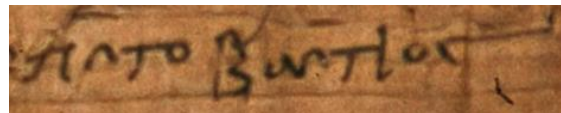
¹³¹⁸ The reading Πέτσειρις of the editor is incorrect. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.



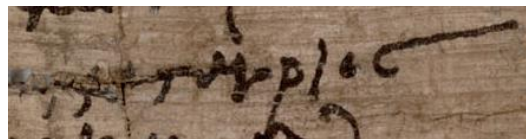
P. Hibeh II 218, col. 2, 3: Πετεχῶν



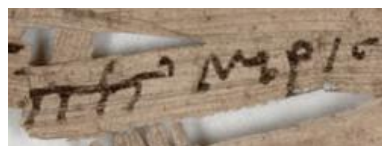
P. Hibeh II 218, col. 2, 7: Πάτευρις



P. Hibeh II 218, col. 2, 26: Πετοβάστιος



P. Oxy. LI 3621, 15: Παταύριος



P. Oxy. LI 3621, 21: Πετόσειρις

In some specific names the variant Πατ- might be due to the regressive assimilation with a following α (cf. Πατραάσσνουφίς, Πατάνουβις/Πατάνουκίς), but in other attestations it has no apparent justification (cf. Πατεήσιος, Πατέησις, Πάτευρις). In fact, in P. Cornell 22, col. 1, 22 and 26, two






different variants of the same anthroponym occur: Πετε[σόρ]αιπς and Πατε[σόρ]αιπς (< *P3-di-Wsir-Hp*), respectively¹³¹⁹.



P. Cornell 22, col. 1, 22: Πετε[σόρ]αιπς



P. Cornell 22, col. 1, 26: Πατε[σόρ]αιπς

Given the inconsistent use of several variants even in the same text and the confusion of the definite article *p3* and the possessive pronoun *pa* in some Demotic attestations, the impression is that the sound represented between the *p* and the *d* – probably /ə/ –, which was situated in an unaccented syllable, was indeterminate and, although Πετ- seems to have been the standard variant, in some cases scribes tried to reflect what they really heard with Greek characters, which did not represent well Egyptian phonemes. The ambiguity in the pronunciation of this vocalization seems already be reflected in Late Egyptian: in numerous attestations, *P3-di-* appears as  or ¹³²⁰, with the definite article written as *p* , and not as *p3* , ¹³²¹. As pointed out by J. Quaegebeur¹³²², the variants with *a* could be vulgar to the extent that Πετ- may have been considered as the standard variant, but there is no reason to think that Πατ- may be dialectal. The possible pronunciation of a /ə/ between *p* and *d* might be supported by 7 attestations in which no vocalization is represented (Πτ-) – if the readings of the names

¹³¹⁹ The name Πετεσέραιπς read by the editor has been identified as a ghostname. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

¹³²⁰ Cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 121-126.

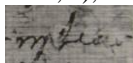
¹³²¹ Cf. JUNGE, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, p. 36: “Stressless – “pretonic” or “post-tonic” – syllables can be severely shortened”; p. 37: “Particularly in compounds, the strong tonic stress of Egyptian may bring about a reduction of unaccented, mostly post-tonic syllables, especially in compounds”. On the standard writings of the definite article in Late Egyptian, cf. JUNGE, F., *ibidem*, p. 53; NEVEU, F., *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, p. 4.

¹³²² Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 213.

are correct –¹³²³. On the other hand, in two attestations the vocalisation might have been represented as η and ι ¹³²⁴: if the reading of these anthroponyms is correct, these would be variants of ε ¹³²⁵.

In 32.01 % (2921) of the attestations from the Fayum, 0 % from Lower Egypt and 0.16 % (5)¹³²⁶ from Upper Egypt, Egyptian d/t is represented as aspirated (θ). Consequently, θ as a rendering of Egyptian t/d in P_3-di - has been considered as a dialectal feature of the Fayum¹³²⁷. The use of θ instead of τ is especially frequent in the name $\Pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ($< P_3-di=w$)¹³²⁸, which appears to be popular in the

¹³²³ Cf. $\Pi\tau\epsilon\rho\mu(\acute{o})\theta(\eta\varsigma)$ ($< P_3-di-Rnn.t$) (P. Princ. I 5, col. 2, 11), $\Pi\tau\epsilon\epsilon\mu\alpha\nu$ ($< *P_3-di-imy$) (Stud. Pal. 10 210, 3), $\Pi\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\tau\iota(\omicron\upsilon)$ ($< P_3-di-Mw.t$) (Stud. Pal. 10 297, 17), $\Pi\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\eta\rho\iota\varsigma$ ($< P_3-di-Hr-wr$) (O. Bodl. I 281, 7), $\Pi\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\beta\tau\omega$ ($< *P_3-$

$di-Nb-t_3.wy$) (O. Wilcken II 848, 7-8), $\Pi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\upsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$ ($< P_3-di-Itm$) (O. Bodl. I 290, 1), $\Pi\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\nu$  ($< *P_3-di-imy$) (CPR X 65, 63). The reading of these names is, however, not sure. According to the image available for $\Pi\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\nu$ (CPR X 65, 63), the reading of the name is uncertain. The anthroponym $\Pi\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\beta\tau\omega$ ($< *P_3-di-Nb-t_3.wy$), in O. Wilcken II 848, 7-8, is illegible in the image available owing to the faded ink, and for the rest of the names no picture is available. $\Pi\tau\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\eta\rho\iota\varsigma$, in O. Bodl. I 281, 7, has been edited with dots under the *tau-epsilon-alpha*. On the other hand, the name $\Pi\tau\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$, has been identified as a ghostname. Cf. HANSON, A. E., “Lists of Taxpayers from Philadelphia”, p. 230; P. Mich. X, p. 18; and especially SB XX 14576 = HANSON, A. E., “P. Princeton I 13: Text and Context Revised”, p. 259-83. Cf. also BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.

¹³²⁴ Cf. $\Pi\eta\tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ (?) in I. Syr. 626, 1-2, which the editor interprets as a transcription of $P_3-di-Wsir$ (cf. I. Syr., p. 133: “les deux derniers mots semblent bien faire corps: $\Pi\eta\tau\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ = $P\acute{e}tosiris$ ”); and $\Pi\iota\tau\omicron\sigma\iota\rho\iota$... – with a dot under the *pi* –, in P. Hamb. I 117, 4, which would also be a rendering of $P_3-di-Wsir$. These readings are, however, not sure and no images are available to confirm them.

¹³²⁵ On the interchange of ε , η and ι in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 235-249.

¹³²⁶ The names $\Pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, in O. Strasb. I 138, 1 – with a dot under the theta in this document – and O. Strasb. I 139, 1, from Apollonopolis (U02), $\Pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ $\Delta\iota\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, in SB XXIV 15952, 2, from Diospolites (U07), $\Pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\upsilon<\tau\omicron>\varsigma$, in *CRIPPEL* IV 713, A 1, from Sohag (U09), and $\Pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, in P. Strasb. Gr. IV 294, Ro. 11, possibly from the Hermopolites. Most of the bearers of these names could come from the Fayum. On the other hand, the reading of the anthroponym $\Pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\upsilon$

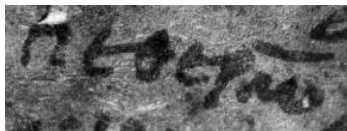


, in BGU III 860, 3, which has been considered as a variant of $P_3-di=w$ in the Trismegistos database, is uncertain and has not been considered here.

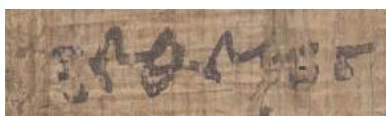
¹³²⁷ Cf. P. Petaus, p. 17-18; BINGEN, J., “Critique et exploitation de l’onomastique: le cas de l’Égypte gréco-romaine”, p. 560: “Un même homme, dans un même village, est $\Pi\tau\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\delta\varsigma$ $\text{Ἀτρείου}\varsigma$ ou $\Pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\upsilon\delta\varsigma$ $\text{Ἀτρήτ}\omicron\varsigma$. Ajoutez à cela des variations dialectales importantes dans l’égyptien même, précieuses d’ailleurs puisqu’elles permettent des localisations fort précises. On est $\Pi\tau\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\upsilon\delta\varsigma$ de toute les côtés ne Égypte, ou $\Pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\upsilon\delta\varsigma$ dans tout le Fayoum, mais on n’est $\Pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\delta\varsigma$, semble-t-il, que dans le nord de celui-ci”.

¹³²⁸ P. Lille Dem. II 34, A 4, B 17; 36, B 17; 37, A 4; 38, A 4; 55, A 4; 55, B 18.

Fayum: 73.29 % of the Greek transcriptions of this name¹³²⁹ represent aspiration. Nevertheless, θ also occur in other names: Πεθέυρις¹³³⁰, Πεθόσιρις¹³³¹, Πεθέρμουθις¹³³²,...



O. Mich. II 851, 3: Πεθερμο(ύθεως)



P. Tebt. II 525 Vo. descr.: Πεθεύς

Except the names Πεθέυρις, Πεθόσιρις and a presumable attestation of Πεθεύς – in P. Tebt. II 525 Vo. descr., dated from 30 BC-14 AD – all the transcriptions with θ date from the first three centuries AD. Given the peculiarities of the anthroponym Πεθεύς¹³³³ and its limitation to a main geographical area – the Fayum –¹³³⁴ and a period of time – the Roman period –, the impression is that the θ might not represent a dialectal characteristic but a graphic particularity of the name: 32.01 % of the attestations from the Fayum represent aspiration, but a majority (67.93 % or 6198 attestations) contain τ as rendering of Egyptian *d/t*.

¹³²⁹ In ciphers, 2953 attestations.

¹³³⁰ In P. Count. 32, 4: Π[έ]θευρις.

¹³³¹ In P. Count. 6, 165: Πεθόσιρις; P. Count. 50 Ro., 12: [Πε]θόσιρις – with a dot under the theta –.

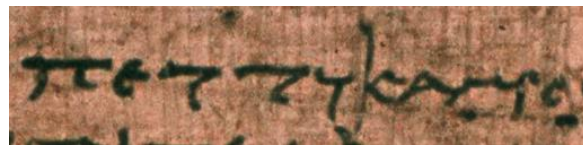
¹³³² In O. Mich. I 619, 4: Πεθέρμου[υθις]; and O. Mich. II 851, 3: Πεθερμο(ύθεως). The name Πεθέμινις (P. L. Bat. XIX 36, 1) has been corrected to Πετέμινις at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.batav;36>. It is not clear if a *tau* or a *theta* has been written,

although a theta is likely: .

¹³³³ In Demotic, it is only attested 95 times, and its earliest attestation, in P. Ehevertr. 8 + P. Lonsdorfer 1, Vo. 5, which dates from 367-366 BC; this name does not seem to be attested in Late Egyptian and is not listed in RANKE, H., *PN*. In addition, in Demotic it is generally written with the full form of the verb *dī* (cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 296); this might be because the pronoun =w follows.

¹³³⁴ Cf. http://www.trismegistos.org/graphs/nam_stats_geo.php?nam_id=897. Cf. also In MARTIN, A., “P. Oxy. II 331 (83), contrat de vente d’une mètrikè oikia”, p. 302: “La plupart des mentions de ce nom concernent le Fayoum”.

On the other hand, Egyptian *d/t* is represented as Δ in one Coptic attestation¹³³⁵. In the names Πεττύκαμς (< **P3-di-gm*), in P. Cairo Zen. III 59500, 1, and Πεττόρζμητις (< *P3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr*), in O. Wilcken II 197, 3 – for which no image is available –, τ has been written with dittography. The anthroponym Πετε{τέ}νουφς, in SB XVI 12337, 26, also contains dittography of the -τε-¹³³⁶. In Πε<τε>μαρσνο(ύφιος) (O. Deiss. 23, 2), the second part of *P3-di* does not seem to have been written due to a mistake of the scribe, and in Πε<τ>εεύς (cf. SB III 7199, col. 1, 16: Πετεεὺς Πε<τ>εεύς), the τ appears to not have been noted by the scribe. In BGU XIII 2345, 5, the name Πέσσιρις instead Πέτσιρις is found; if the reading is correct, it is not possible to know if the first *sigma* is a mistake of the scribe or if it has been written due to an assimilation with the following *sigma*. In P. Lond. II 438, 4, on the other hand, the anthroponym Πεστοσείρω[ς] has been read. Since no image of the text is available, it is not possible to know, again, if it is a mistake of the scribe or a ghostname for Πεττοσείρω[ς].



P. Cairo Zen. III 59500, 1: Πεττύκαμς

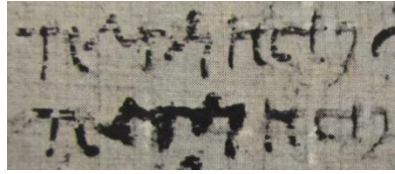
Numerous variants are attested for Egyptian *i*, which in most attestations was situated in an unstressed syllable. Moreover, the *yod* is contracted with the first vowel of the next element in 12.49 % (1140) attestations from the Fayum, 34.66 % (87) from Lower Egypt and 35.17 % (1460) from Upper Egypt. The best attested variant for Egyptian *di* in names without contractions with the following element is -τε-: attested in 74.35 % (6783) of the transcriptions of the Fayum, 47.41 % (119) from Lower Egypt and 59.72 % (2479) from Upper Egypt, ε seems to be the standard variant to render *yod* in *P3-di*-. In five attestations from the Fayum, on the other hand, the variant αι for ε is found¹³³⁷.

¹³³⁵ In O. Med. Habu Copt. 42, 1: ΠΔΗϢΕ. On the interchange of voiceless and voiced stops in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T. *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 76-85.

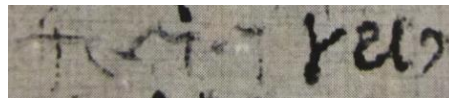
¹³³⁶ Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., “Four Ptolemaic Papyri from a Dutch Private Collection”, p. 44: “It cannot be excluded that we are dealing with a case of dittography and that the scribe meant to write Πετενοῦφς”.

¹³³⁷ In P. Vind. Sal. 18, 4 and 5: Πεταίησις; P. Vind. Sal. 18, 7 and 13: Πεταίηρις (cf. P. Vind. Sal., p. 177); and possibly in P. Graux II 15, 9: Πετωισού[χου?], although this reading is not completely sure. Cf. P. Graux II, p. 44: “Ou peut-être

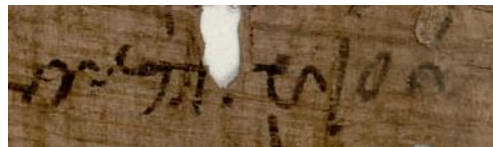
Likewise, in two attestations ι instead of ε seems to have been written¹³³⁸, and in the name Πεττύκαμις, in P. Cairo Zen. III 59500, 1, υ represents Egyptian *yod*¹³³⁹.



P. Vind. Sal. 18, 4 and 5: Πεταίησις



P. Vind. Sal. 18, 7: Πεταύρις



P. Oxy. XXIV 2415, col. 3, 43: Πατήσιος

Πετερσου[?]. On the interchange of ε and αι in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 191-195.

¹³³⁸ In the name Πατιάπις, which occurs in the bilingual text Short Texts II 598, B, 1 representing Demotic *P3-di -Wp(.t)*; and in Πατήσιος, in P. Oxy. XXIV 2415, col. 3, 43. On confusion of ε and ι in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 249-262.

¹³³⁹ On the interchange of ε and υ in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 273-275. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *ibidem*, p. 275: “These interchanges of the symbols for /y/ and /ε/ occur mainly in unaccented syllables, suggesting that they reflect the reduction of unstressed vowels to /ə/. In terms of bilingual interference, Coptic had a strong stress accent, with consequent reduction of unstressed vowels. There is also a parallel interchange of γ and ε in Greek loanwords in Coptic”.

In 143 attestations from the Fayum and 8 from Upper Egypt – all of them representing the name *P3-di=w* –, Egyptian *yod* might have been represented as double ε¹³⁴⁰. It is not possible to certainly know, however, if the second ε belongs to *P3-di* or if it is part of the suffix pronoun *w*.



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 18: Πεττεύς Ὄρου

In 630 attestations from the Fayum (6.90 %) – most of them belonging to the prototype *P3-di=w* –, *yod* has been rendered as α. Since in only 35 transcriptions from Upper Egypt (0.84 %), α appears as rendering of *i* (cf. for example the names Πατάησις (< *P3-di-Is.t*), Πάταυρις (< *P3-di-Hr*), Πετάσουχος (< *P3-di-Sbk*), along with Πέταυς, from *P3-di=w*), the impression is that the rendering of *yod* as α in the Fayum could be dialectal¹³⁴¹.



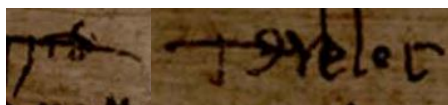
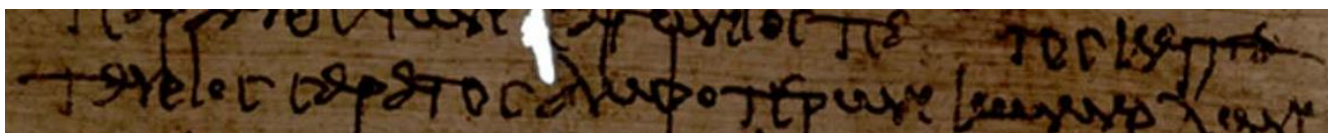
P. Oxy. XII 1430, Ro. 4: Παταήσιος



P. Oxy. XLII 3064, 9: Παταήσιος

¹³⁴⁰ Cf., for example, BGU XI 2111, 3: Πεθεες; O. Wilcken II 1020, 2: Πετεεῦτι; O. Wilcken II 1573, 5: Πετεεῦτος; P. Rein. II 103, 31: Πετεεῦτος; SB XVI 12391, 12: Πετεεῦτος; P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 18: Πεττεύς.

¹³⁴¹ Cf. BINGEN, J., “Critique et exploitation de l’onomastique: le cas de l’Égypte gréco-romaine”, p. 560.

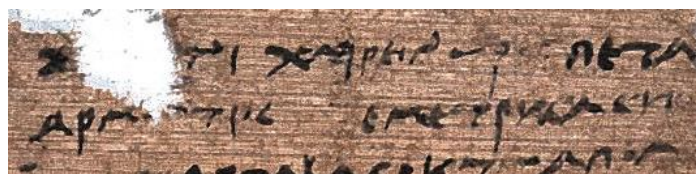


P. Oxy. XXXIV 2714, 3-4: Παταύριος

However, 73.35 % of the attestations from the Fayum have ε as transcription of *yod*. Except 8 attestations dating from the Ptolemaic period¹³⁴², all the transcriptions with α as representation of *yod* from the Fayum date from the I-IV centuries AD, and some of these 8 exceptional attestations are indeed uncertain: in the name Πέταντος, the alpha has been edited with a dot and it is not really visible in the picture; the name Πεταήσιος, in P. Tebt. III 1015 descr. 2, is illegible in the image available; and in the anthroponym Πετααρμώτιος (< *P3-di-Hr-Mtn*), in PSI IV 372, Ro. 1-2, the *alpha* can be due to regressive assimilation.



BGU VI 1252, 23-24: Πέταντος (?)



PSI IV 372, Ro. 1-2: Πετααρμώτιος

¹³⁴² Cf. PSI IV 372, Ro. 1-2 (250 BC): Πετααρμώτιος; BGU VI 1252, 23-24 (BC 199-100): Πέταντος; P. Paramone 10, 6 (BC 199-100): Πέτανς; P. Hels. I 1, 29 (BC 194-180): τὸν Πέταν; BGU VII 1537, 14 (BC 193-187?): Πέτανς; P. Tebt. III 1015 descr., 2 (BC 199-175): Πεταήσιος; P. Tebt. III 833, col. 2, 37 (BC 150-100): Πετάτωτος; P. Fay. 101, col. 2, 16 (BC 18 about): Πέταντος.

The variant Πετε-, however, with ε as transcription of *yod*, is well attested in the Fayum in both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods. The Coptic verb † (< *dī*) appears in fact as both τλ- and τε- in Fayumic in *status nominalis*, and as τεε= in *status pronominalis*¹³⁴³. Nevertheless, in Sahidic it occurs as τλ(λ)= in *status pronominalis*. Since most names with α as rendering of *yod* in the Fayum belong to the name Πέταυς and its variants, presumably from a prototype *P3-di=w* and consequently with the verb *dī* in *status pronominalis*, the variant -τε- would be expected, unless τλ= in *status pronominalis* is also characteristic of Fayumic and it is not recorded in the dictionaries. The transcriptional variant -τα-, on the other hand, seems to have been used almost exclusively in the Roman period. This leads to think that, if this variant is not characteristic of Fayumic (cf. both the variants τλ- and τε- in Fayumic in *status nominalis*), it could be due to Sahidic influence on the Fayum. In that case, the scarce number of attestations with the variant -τα- in Upper Egypt, where Sahidic has traditionally been supposed to be spoken, poses a problem. New bilingual material will probably shed more light in the future on the name *P3-di=w* and its Greek transcriptions and help to confirm if all the different Greek variants belong to this prototype or if they represent different Egyptian names.

In the six Greek renderings of the name *P3-di=f*, “He who has been given by him”, Egyptian *yod* is transcribed as η: Πάτηφις. This seems to be due to the stress position of the name, which was situated in the antepenultimate syllable. *Yod* also appears to have been represented as η in the names Πετηαμούνι(ο)ς and Πετη(α)μούνι(ο)ς (< *P3-di-Īmn*) in P. Princ. I 8, col. 10, 10 and 11, respectively. However, the lack of an image available does not allow to confirm the reading proposed by the editor, which seems doubtful at first sight.

In 6 attestations from the Fayum and 7 from Upper Egypt – all of them representing the Egyptian prototype *P3-di-Sbk* –, Egyptian *yod* has been transcribed as ο into Greek: Πετόσουχος. Since the most frequent rendering of *Sbk* in final position is -σουχος, with ου as vocalisation situated in an accented syllable, the ο rendering *yod* in these attestations seems to be due to regressive assimilation: the *yod*, situated in an unstressed syllable, is rendered as an etymologically short vowel with the same timbre than the vowel of the tonic syllable of the anthroponym, which is represented as an etymologically long vowel. Even though in the attestation of PSI VI 675, 6 it might seem that the fibre where the

¹³⁴³ Cf. In CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 392: τε- (Achmimic, Fayumic), τλ- (Fayumic), τλ(λ)= (Sahidic), τεε= (Achmimic, Sub-Achmimic, Fayumic), τε= (Achmimic). Cf. also VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 209.

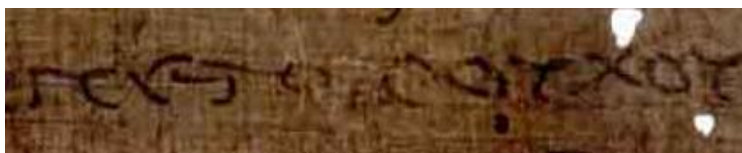
vertical stroke of the *tau* is lacking and that the name represented is Πετ{σό}σουχος, with dittography of σο, the way the scribe has written other *taus* in the same document (cf. the *tau* in δεκάταρχος) confirms that the reading Πετόσουχος in l. 6 is correct.



PSI VI 675, 6: Πετόσουχος



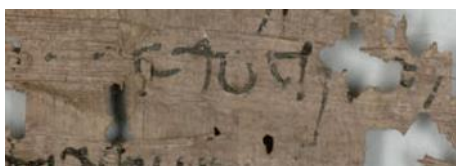
PSI VI 675, 8: Δεκάταρχος



P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2846, 4: Πετοσούχου

In 6.05 % (552) of the attestations from the Fayum, 14.74 % (37) from Lower Egypt and 3.61 % (150) from Upper Egypt, no representation of Egyptian *yod* occurs in Greek characters. In these transcriptions, generally a liquid, a nasal or a sibilant follows the τ that transcribes Egyptian *d/t*: Πατράνσουφις (< *P3-di-Ỉry-hms-nfr*), Πετμοστοϋς (< *P3-di-Ỉmn-nsw-t3.wy*), Πέτσιρις (< *P3-di-Wsir*). This drop of *yod* is probably due to its situation in an unstressed syllable of the names. However, several variants can occur in a same text. Thus, in P. Oxy. LV 3779, 4 and 6, the names Πετοσίριος and Πεσίριος can be read¹³⁴⁴.

¹³⁴⁴ In some attestations, a little o barely visible between the τ and the σ in the anthroponym Πετόσιρις has been missed by the editors. In most cases, however, there are no images available to check the readings. On these incorrect readings, cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.



P. Oxy. LV 3779, 4: Πετοσίριος



P. Oxy. LV 3779, 6: Πετοσίριος

In all the names with contraction of the *yod* of *Pz-di-* and the first vowel of the next element, the timbre of the vowel of the following element is predominant¹³⁴⁵: Πετέμουνις (< *Pz-di-Īmn*), Πετέθυμις (< *Pz-di-Ītm*), Πάτησις¹³⁴⁶/παλῃσις¹³⁴⁷/Πάτισις¹³⁴⁸, Πέτεισις¹³⁴⁹/Πέτησις (< *Pz-di-Īs.t*), Πετόσιρις/πετοσίρις¹³⁵⁰/πατογσίρις¹³⁵¹/Πετώσιρις¹³⁵² (< *Pz-di-Ŵsır*), Πετόβαστις/πατογβάστε¹³⁵³ (< *Pz-di-*

¹³⁴⁵ The name Πετε{τε}νοῦφις, in SB XVI 12337, 26, can be interpreted as rendering of *Pz-di-Īnpw*, “He who has been given by Anubis”, but also as transcription of **Pz-di-nfr*, “He who has been given by the good one”.

¹³⁴⁶ In P. Mich. V 295, 1 and P. Tebt. I 121, Ro. col. 8, 103.

¹³⁴⁷ In O. Med. Habu Copt. 42, 1.

¹³⁴⁸ In P. Lond. II 351, 9; O. Mich. I 106, 9; O. Mich. I 347, col. 1, 13; O. Mich. I 348, 5; O. Mich. I 590, 6; O. Mich. I 614, 10; O. Mich. III 1089, 2; P. Cairo Isid. 17, col. 2, 44; P. NYU I 15, col. 1, 4; col. 2, 32; col. 3, 47.

¹³⁴⁹ In P. Strasb. Gr. V 469, 5; SB XIV 11515, col. 1, 5 and in the bilingual text O. Ashm. Shelton 1, Ro. 4.

¹³⁵⁰ In P. Ryl. Copt. 270, 24.

¹³⁵¹ In O. Crum 315, 4.

¹³⁵² In BGU II 666, 14: Πετωσίρεως; SB XVI 12375, col. 2, 29: Πετωσίρει; BGU XVI 2672 col. 1, 14: Πετώσιρις; col. 2, 10: Πετώσ[ι]ρις; col. 2, 18: Πετώσιρις.

¹³⁵³ In P. Mon. Epiph. 147, 21-22.

*B3st.t*¹³⁵⁴), Πεττόρζμητις¹³⁵⁵ (< *P3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr*), Πέτυρις¹³⁵⁶ (< *P3-di-Hr*),... This not only seems to confirm that *dī* was situated in an unstressed syllable, but also that, except in the names in which the subject of the clause is expressed by a suffix pronoun (cf. *P3-di=f* and possibly *P3-di=w*) and the anthroponyms *P3-di/Pa-tw* – probably abbreviated names or hypocoristics –, the element *P3-di-* was proclitic.



SB XIV 11515, col. 1, 5: Πέτεισις



O. Ashm. Shelton 1, Ro. 4: Πετείσιος



SB VI 9326, 5: Πετύρεως

¹³⁵⁴ The name *B3st.t* seems to start by Oū- in transcriptions and consequently in pronunciation. Cf. TM Nam 554 and the name of the town ΒΟΥΒΑΣΤ/ΠΟΥΒΑΣΤ, from a prototype *Pr-B3st.t*, “The house of Bastet”. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 25; <http://www.trismegistos.org/place/462>.

¹³⁵⁵ In O. Wilcken II 197, 3.

¹³⁵⁶ In SB VI 9326, 5: Πετύρεως; and P. Erl. Diospolis 1, 10: Πετύρε[ως]. Cf. also Πέτοιπν, in P. Oxy. XXII 2339, Vo. 28. On the interchange of υ and οι in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 197-199.



BGU XVI 2672 col. 2, 10: Πετώσ[ι]ρις

3. *P3-DĪ* IN MIDDLE POSITION

3.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

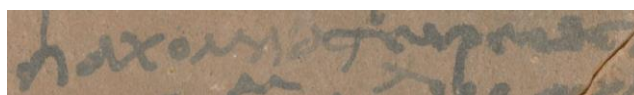
Approximately 50 anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription contain *-p3-di-* in middle position. The best attested names of this type is **Ta-p3-di=w*, with more than 600 attestations.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*P3- ^h hm-p3-di- ^{Imn} -(m)- ^{Ip} .t	The eagle of He who has been given by Amun in Apis	Παχομπετεμένωφις ¹³⁵⁷	1	38325
P3- ^h hm-p3-di- ^{Is} .t	The eagle of he who has been given by Isis	Παχομπετέησις	3	17404
*P3- ^h hm-p3-di-Nfr- ^h tp	The eagle of the He who has been given by Nephotes	Παχομπετενεφώτης	16 ¹³⁵⁸	11405
*P3- ^h hm-p3-di- ^{Hr}	The eagle, He who has been given by Horos	Παχομπάτευρις ¹³⁵⁹	1	24299
P3- ^h hm-p3-di- ^{Hr} -sm3-t3.wy	The eagle of He who has been given by Horos, who unites both lands	Παμπατες ¹³⁶⁰ (<i>abbreviated name or hypocoristic</i>)	1	8153
*P3- ^{šr} -n-p3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr	The son of He who has been given by Osiris, who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Ψινπετόρζμητις	1	18099

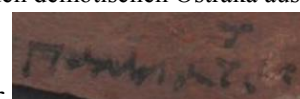
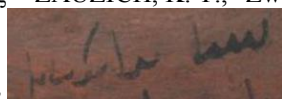
¹³⁵⁷ Presumably in O. Wilcken II 1610, 3: Παχομπετεμ(ενώφιος).

¹³⁵⁸ In TM Nam 11405 the attestations of the abbreviated name Παχο() have been considered as attestations of the name Παχομπετενεφώτης. Since these attestations do not really exist, they have been excluded here.

¹³⁵⁹ In O. Berl. 38, 2: Παχομπατεύρεως



¹³⁶⁰ In SB XVIII 13567, 4: Παμπατες = ZAUZICH, K. T., "Zwischenbilanz zu den demotischen Ostraka aus Edfu", p. 77,



n. 3.3, 1: P3-^hhm-p3-di-^{Hr}-sm3-t3.wy and 4: Παμπατες. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 77: "Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre Tau für Παμπατεστ(εος)". There is only one attestation in Greek of this name and not two as it appears in TM Nam 8153.

*P3-šr-n-p3-di-Ḥr	The son of He who has been given by Horos	Ψενπάτευρις, Ψενπάτυρις	2	18222
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Is.t	The son of the daughter of He who has been given by Isis	Ψενσενπέτησις	1	25929
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr-(n)-p3-di-Mn	The son of the daughter of He who has been given by Min	Ψενσενπετέμινις	3	10329
*Pa-p3-di-Wsir	The one of He who has been given by Osiris	Πανπατούσιρις	1	26591
*Pa-p3-di-B3-nb-Ḍd.t	The one of He who has been given by Bendetis	Παπετεβένδη	1	33538
Ḥr-p3-di-Is.t	Horos, he who has been given by Isis	Ἀρπιτέησις	1	28959
*Ḥr-s3-p3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr	Horos, son of He who has been given by Osiris, who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Ἀρσιπετόρζμηθις	1	16563
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di=w	The daughter of He who has been given by them	Θινπατῆς	1	26796
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-...	The daughter of He who has been given by ... (<i>incomplete names</i>)	Σενπετε...	6	30323
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-3b3	The daughter of He who has been given by the panther	Σενπετεάβως	1	24488
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Imn	The daughter of He who has been given by Amun	Τσενπετέμουινις	1	18003
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Imn-Ḳp.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Amun in Apis	Σενπετεμένωφις	18	12073
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḳnpw	The daughter of He who has been given by Anubis	Σενπετεάνουπις	1	28262
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḳry-ḥms-nfr	The daughter of He who has been given by Arsenuphis	Θινπατράνσνουφις	4	13650
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Is.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Isis	Σενπέτησις	12	13679
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḳnq.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Anukis	Σενπατάνουκις	2	18064

*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- ‘hm-p3-ḥm	The daughter of He who has been given by the little eagle	Σενπετέμψημης	1	23341
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- wr(.t)	The daughter of He who has been given by the great one	Σενπάτουρις	1	28280
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Wsir	The daughter of He who has been given by Osiris	Σενπετόσιρις	16	12662
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Wsir-ns-mtr	The daughter of He who has been given by Osiris, who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Θινπετόρζμηθις	18	18168
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-byk	The daughter of He who has been given by the falcon	Σενπετέβηκις	1	28248
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-p3- wr	The daughter of He who has been given by the great one	Θινπετεπούηρις	1	28167
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-p3- ḥm	The daughter of He who has been given by the younger	Σενπετέψημης	1	35980
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- m3y-ḥnt ¹³⁶¹	The daughter of He who has been given by the lion that is in the front	Σενπετεμιχόντης, Σενπετεμιχώντης, Χενπετεμιχώντης	3	30815
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Mn	The daughter of He who has been given by Min	Σενπετέμινις	48	19427
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Mn-p3-t3	The daughter of He who has been given by Min of the land	Σενπετεμπέτως	1	28439
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- mn-t3		Σενπετβέτως	1	13694
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di- Mnṯ	The daughter of He who has been given by Montu	Σενπετεμώνθης	1	28767
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-nfr	The daughter of He who has been given by the good one	Τσινπετένουφις	1	28250
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-di- Rnn.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Thermuthis	Θενπετέρμουθις, Σενπετερμούθης	19	13681
		Τσενπατερμουθία	1	24916
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos	Σενπέτευρις	1	13682
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr- i(w)n-mw.t=f(.t)	The daughter of he who has been given by Horos, the pillar of his mother	Σενπετεαρμούθης	1	23339

¹³⁶¹ On the equivalence of the Greek forms and the Egyptian prototype, cf. *supra*, the name *P3-di-m3y-ḥnt.

*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr-wr	The daughter of He who has been given by the great Horos	Σενπετεαρούηρις	3	23340
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr-p3-ḥrd	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos the child	Σενπετεαρποχράτης	1	26490
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥr-Mnṯ	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos-Montu	Σενπετεάρμωνθις	1	35978
T3-šr.t(n)-p3-di-Ḥnsw	The daughter of He who has been given by Khonsu	Σενπετεχωνσις	25	5719
T3-šr.t(n)-p3-di-Ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd	The daughter of He who has been given by Khonsu the child	Σενπετεχεσποχράτης	3	13654
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥnm	The daughter of He who has been given by Khnum	Σενπετέχνουμις	2	23342
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Sbk	The daughter of He who has been given by Sobek	Θενπετσώυκις	16	9501
		Θενπετέσουχος, Χεμπτετέσουχος, Χενπετέσουχος	9 2	26970 + 30816
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Sm3-t3.wy	The daughter of the union of both lands	Σενπετεσθεύς	10	13652
*Ta-p3-di-Ḥmn	The one of He who has been given by Amun	Θαπετέμουνις	7	16868
*Ta-p3-di-Ḥs.t	The one of He who has been given by Isis	Ταπετέησις	1	38748
*Ta-p3-di=w	The one of He who has been given by them	Ταπεθεύς	616	7727
*Ta-p3-di-wr.(t)	The one of He who has been given by the great one	Ταπέτουρις	1	18050
Ta-p3-di-Wsir	The one of He who has been given by Osiris	Ταπέτσιρις	128	12408
*Ta-p3-di-nsw-t3.wy	The one of He who has been given by the king of both lands	Ταπετεστοῦς	1	18878
*Ta-p3-di-Rnn.t	The one of He who has been given by Thermuthis	Ταπετέρμουθις	3	7726
*Ta-p3-di-Ḥr	The one of He who has been given by Horos	Ταπέτευρις	3	12407
*Ta-p3-di-Ḥnsw	The one of He who has been given by Khonsu	Ταπετεχῶν	1	19149

Ta-p3-di-Sbk	The one of He who has been given by Sobek	Ταπετέσουχος, Ταπτώουκισ	75 1	7731 + 18790
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B. Anthroponyms with a prototype unknown

The etymology of the following anthroponyms is unknown. It has been discussed in the parts for names starting by *Pa-*, *T3-šr.t-n-*, *Ta-*, and *P3-šr-n-*, respectively.

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Πενπατέουρις ¹³⁶²	1	34763
Σενπάτχναυτις	10	9570
Σενπετέκαις	1	35979
Σενπετεπαα	1	5720
Σενπετεχραίτης	2	26491
Σεπετέχονις	1	24669
Ταπετεσκ	1	30345
Ταπέτεσος	1	30356
Τσενπετσορολλοῦς	1	38854
Ψενσενπεντενταία, Ψενσενπετένταις	2	30616
Ψενσενπετενομθ	1	33938

3.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

¹³⁶² P. Brooklyn Gr. 78, 9: Πενπατέουριν.

Egyptian -p₃-dī- in middle position is attested in all the geographical areas of Egypt. The variant -πετε- is the common variant to all the zones¹³⁶³.

	00	L16	U01	U02	U04	U09	U10	U15	U17	U19	U20
-βετ-	1										
-πατ-			13								
-πατ(α)-			2								
-πατε-			8	1	1	4	1				
-πατ(ου)-				1		1					
-πατ(υ)-				1							
-πε-								1			
-πεθε-	547					1				1	
-πειτ- (?)	1										
-πεντε- (?)								1			
-πετ-	126					1				10	
-πετα-	56										
-πετ(ε)-			1		18					1	4
-πετε-	62	1	12	10	35	67	4	6	2	1	7
-πετεε-	3										
-πετ(η)-						9					
-πετ(ο)-	3		16		1	4		2		1	1
-πετ(ου)-	1					1					
-ππτ(ο)-	1										
-πτ-	1										
-πτ(ο)-	41		1								
Total attestations	843	1	53	13	55	88	5	10	2	14	12

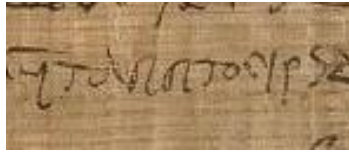
3.3. Linguistic characteristics

Except in the name Ταβετσίρεως¹³⁶⁴ (< *Ta-p₃-dī-Wsīr*), in which β occurs¹³⁶⁵, Egyptian *p* is rendered as π in all the attestations. In one anthroponym, Ταπποσίρ(εως) (< **T₃-šr.t-n-p₃-dī-Wsīr*), in P. Mich. IV 224, col. 28, 1209, π has been written with dittography due to a mistake of the scribe.

¹³⁶³ The following names have been totally or partially reconstructed and consequently have not been considered here: Θινπατέρ]ζμηθις (O. Wilcken II 121, 2-3), Σεμπε[τ (CPR XVII.2 18, 20), Ταπετε-]εῦς (P. L. Bat. XIII 3, 5-6), Ταπετ[εῦς (P. L. Bat. XIII 3, 16).

¹³⁶⁴ In P. Mich. IV 225, col. 41, 919. No image of the col. 41 of the text is currently available.

¹³⁶⁵ On the interchange of voiceless and voiced labials in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 83-86.



P. Mich. IV 224, col. 28, 1209: Ταπποσίρ(εως)

In 94.78 % (799) of the transcriptions from the Fayum, the only name attested with *-p3-di-* in middle position from Lower Egypt and 86.90 % (219) of the attestations from Upper Egypt, the vowel of the Egyptian definite article *p3* has been rendered as ε. In 13.09 % (33) of the transcriptions from the Fayum, however, it appears as α (cf. for example the names Θινπατράνσνουφίς < *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-İry-hms-nfr*, Παχομπατενεφώτης < **P3-ħm-p3-di-Nfr-htp*, Σενπατέμινις < *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Mn*, Σενπάτχναυτις < **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-...*). Except the abbreviated name (or the hypocoristic) Παμπατες, from a prototype *P3-ħm-p3-di-Hr-sm3-t3.wy*¹³⁶⁶, which has been dated from 50 BC-50 AD, all the anthroponyms with the representation of the Egyptian article *p3* as -πα- in middle position date from the Roman period. In some texts, several variants are found for *-p3-di-* in middle and initial positions, which indicates that the variant with α is not dialectal¹³⁶⁷. In other texts, however, similar variants are found¹³⁶⁸.

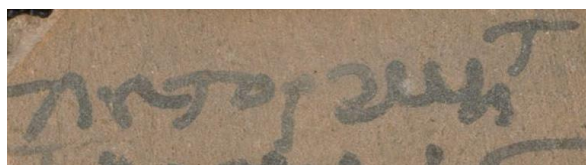


O. Berl. 38, 2: Παχομπατεύρεως

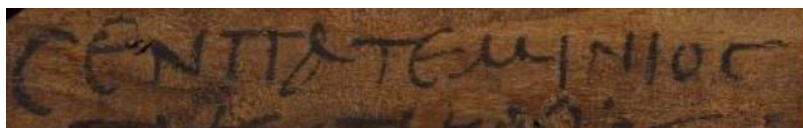
¹³⁶⁶ Cf. the bilingual text in ZAUZICH, K. T., “Zwischenbilanz zu den demotischen Ostraka aus Edfu”, p. 77, n. 3.3, 1: *P3-ħm-p3-di-Hr-sm3-t3.wy*; and 4: Παμπατες. Cf. *supra*, the anthroponym *P3-ħm-p3-di-Hr-sm3-t3.wy* in the list of names with *-p3-di-* in middle position.

¹³⁶⁷ Cf. O. Berl. 38, 1: Πετόρζμητ(ις) (< *P3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr*); and 2: Παχομπατεύρεως (< **P3-ħm-p3-di-Hr*). Cf. also O. Wilcken II 124, 1: Παχομπατενεφώτης (< **P3-ħm-p3-di-Nfr-htp*); and 2: Πετόρζμηθις (< *P3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr*).

¹³⁶⁸ Cf. *Short Texts* II 743, B 1: Σενπατέμινιος (< *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Mn.t* in A 1); and B 4: Τατετρίφιος (< *Ta-{ta}-tw-t3-Rpy.t* in A 4).



O. Berl. 38, 2: Πετόρζητ(ις)

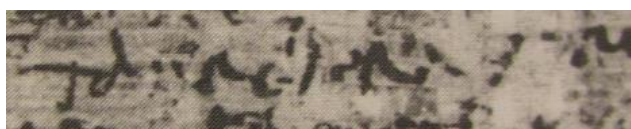


Short Texts II 743, B 1: Σενπατεμίνιος



Short Texts II 743, B 4: Τατετρίφιος

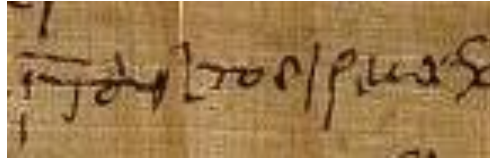
In one attestation, the name Ταπειτσει[ρ]εως, in CPR XV 42, fr. A col. 1, 28, appears according to the editor. However, given that some letters are not visible, the anthroponym can barely be read and the reading is indeed uncertain. In fact, in the same text, l. 15, the editor has read Τα]πετσειρεω[ς]. If the proposition of the editor is correct and -πειτ- should be read as transcription of *-p3-di-*, ει could be considered as a confusion for ε¹³⁶⁹.



CPR XV 42, fr. A col. 1, 28: Ταπειτσει[ρ]εως

¹³⁶⁹ On the interchange of ει and ε in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 249-262.

In 43 attestations (17.06 %) from the Fayum, no vowel between π (< *p*) and τ (< *d/t*) has been represented. Except two names – Ταπτω(ούκιος)¹³⁷⁰ (< *Ta-p3-di-Sbk*) and Σενπορζμήθ(ιος)¹³⁷¹ (< **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ḥsr-ns-mtr*) –, all the anthroponyms in which the variant -πτ- appears belong to the prototype *Ta-p3-di-Ḥsr* (cf. the variants Ταπποσίρ(εως)¹³⁷² and Ταπόσιρις, which are attested in Karanis, mainly in P. Mich. IV 223, 224 and 225).



P. Mich. IV 224, col. 22, 925: Ταπποσίρεως



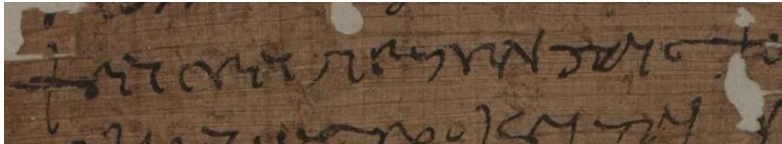
P. Mich. IV 224, col. 79, 3137: Ταπποσίρεως

On the other hand, the editor of P. Brem. 29, 3-4 has read the name Ψενσενπεντενταία (**P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-di-...*), with a *v* between -πε- and -τε-; the etymology of the last part of this anthroponym is unknown. In the same text, in l. 23, the name Ψενσενπετένταις, without *v*, occurs. Since there is no image available for the upper part of the text, it is not possible to confirm the reading Ψενσενπεντενταία, which seems doubtful at first sight. Nevertheless, the representation of -*p3-di*- in middle position in this name is probable.

¹³⁷⁰ In P. Mich. IV 223 Ro. col. 3, 9. No image is available for this name.

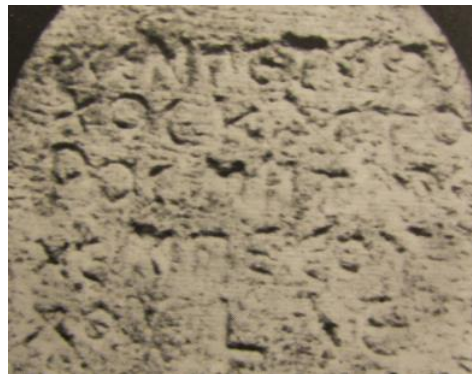
¹³⁷¹ In O. Wilb. 9, 5: Σενπ<ε>τορζμήθ(ιος). No image is currently available for this ostrakon.

¹³⁷² In P. Mich. IV 224, col. 28, 1209.



P. Brem. 29, 23: Ψενσενπετένταις

In 35.11 % (296) of the names from the Fayum, the only anthroponym attested from Lower Egypt and 98.80 % (249) of the transcriptions from Upper Egypt, Egyptian *d/t* is represented as τ in Greek. In 64. 88 % (547) of the attestations from the Fayum – all of them belonging to the name Ταπεθεύς, presumably from a prototype **Ta-p3-di=w*, and dating from the Roman period –, it has been transcribed as θ. In two attestations from Upper Egypt, also belonging to Ταπεθεύς¹³⁷³, it has been rendered as θ as well. In one attestation from Upper Egypt, Χεμπε<τε>σούχου, in I. Akôris 107, 3-5, -τε- has not been transcribed due to a mistake of the scribe: in the same inscription, in fact, in l. 1-2, the anthroponym Χενπετέσουχος (< **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Sbk*) occurs.



Χενπετέσου-
χος Κάστο-
ρος, μητρός
Χεμπε<τε>σού-
χου, (έτῶν) λε.

I. Akôris 107

In 72.59 % (612) of the attestations from the Fayum, the only name attested from Lower Egypt and 64.28 % (162) of the transcriptions from Upper Egypt, the Egyptian *yod* of *p3-di* has been rendered as ε. In three names from the Fayum¹³⁷⁴, all of them presumable renderings of **Ta-p3-di=w*, it appears as double ε. In 56 attestations from the Fayum (6.64 %), all of them belonging to the name Ταπέταυς

¹³⁷³ Cf. SB I 797, 3: Ταπεθεῦτος (on the correction of Ταπεθεῦτος for Ταπεθεῦτος cf. BOYAVAL, B., “Ghost-names?”, p. 292); and P. Oslo III 111, Ro. col. 3, 101: Ταπεθέφ[ς].

¹³⁷⁴ Cf. BGU I 6, 9 and 11: Ταπετεεῦτ(ος); and P. Lond. II 181 C, 21: Ταπετεεῦτο(ς).

and dating from the Roman period, it has been transcribed as α. In 15.30 % (129) of the names from the Fayum and 9.52 % (24) from Upper Egypt, *yod* is not represented (cf. Τσενπέτσιρις < **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ṡsr*, Ταπέτσιρις < *Ta-p3-di-Ṡsr*, Θινπατράνσνουφίς < *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Īry-ḥms-nfr*, Θινπάτχναυτίς < *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-...*). In some anthroponyms, the vowel represented between after the τ and the next consonant is the result of the contraction of *yod* with the first vowel of the following element. In all the attestations with contraction, the timbre of the resulting vowel is the same as the one of the next element: cf. Ταπέτουρις < **Ta-p3-di-wr(t)*¹³⁷⁵, Ψενπάτυρις < **P3-šr-n-p3-di-Ḥr*, Σενπατάνουκίς < **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-ḥq.t*, Σενπέτησις < *T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Īs.t*, Σενπετόσιρις < **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Ṡsr*, Σενπετεμένωφίς < **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Īmn-Īp.t,...*).

4. *P3-DĪ* IN FINAL POSITION?

In O. Wilcken II 95, 4, the anthroponym Θινπατῆτος¹³⁷⁶ (nominative Θινπατῆς) is attested. Its presumably prototype is **T3-šr.t-n-p3-di*, “The daughter of He who has been given”. The name Πατῆς (< *P3-di*) is also attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription. Nevertheless, these names are possibly abbreviated names or hypocoristics; the position of -πατῆς in Θινπατῆτος, which would seem final at first sight, may indeed be medial considering that other element that has been abbreviated might follow.

¹³⁷⁵ This name could also be considered as a rendering of **Ta-p3-di-Ḥr*, “The one of He who has been given by Osiris”. On the interchange of υ and ου in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 214-216.

¹³⁷⁶ TM Nam 26796.

5. *T3-di-* IN INITIAL POSITION

5.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

More than 20 Egyptian anthroponyms with the element *T3-di-* in initial position are attested in Greek transcription. The personal name *T3-di-Wsir*, with more than 50 attestations, is the best attested in Greek rendering, followed by *T3-di-Hr*, *T3-di-Inpw* and *T3-di-Hw.t-Hr*, which have more than 10 attestations each. The element *T3-di-* does consequently not seem to have been as popular as its masculine counterpart *P3-di-* in Graeco-Egyptian onomastics.


Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*P3-šr-n-t3-di-t3-Rpy.t	The son of She who has been given by Triphis	Ψεντατέτριφης	3 ¹³⁷⁷	10345
*T3-di-...	She who has been given by... (incomplete names)	Τετε... ¹³⁷⁸	4	6208
T3-di-İy-m-ḥtp	She who has been given by Imhotep	Τετείμουθης	3	1364
T3-di-İmn	She who has been given by Amun	Τετέαμουνης ¹³⁷⁹	1	1358
T3-di-İnpw	She who has been given by Anubis	Τατεάνουπης	18	1359
T3-di-İs.t	She who has been given by Isis	Τατέησις ¹³⁸⁰ , Τετέητις ¹³⁸¹ , Τέτησις ¹³⁸² , Τάτισις ¹³⁸³	4	1360

¹³⁷⁷ There is not attestation of this name in Greek transcription in *Short Texts* II 608, A 2 as it appears on the Trismegistos database (cf. http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/ref_list.php?namvar_id=34388); the attestation of A 2 is in Demotic.

¹³⁷⁸ In TM Nam 6208, the Greek transcriptions of *T3-di-Hr*, along with the incomplete attestations of the names starting by *T3-di-* in Greek transcription have been included. Here we keep those different names separately.

¹³⁷⁹ In P. Count. 50 Ro., 204: Τετέαμουνης.

¹³⁸⁰ In *CRIPEL* IV 947, 1: Τατέησις.


¹³⁸¹ In P. Heid. Gr. VIII 420, fr. C col. 2, 11: Τετέητις .

¹³⁸² In SB XX 14483, 16: Τετέησει.


¹³⁸³ In O. Mich. I 268, 5: Τάτισις.

T3-di=w	She who has been given by them	Τέτους	8	1373
T3-di-Wsir	She who has been given by Osiris	Τετόσιρις ¹³⁸⁴	64	1372
*T3-di-Wsir-Hp	She who has been given by Osiris-Apis	Τετσόραιπις ¹³⁸⁵	2	7796
T3-di-B3st.t	She who has been given by Bastet	Τετόβαστις	2	1371
*T3-di-p3-nṯr	She who has been given by the god	Τατέπνουτις ¹³⁸⁶	4	18809
*T3-di-p3-hb	She who has been given by the ibis	Τετέφιβις ¹³⁸⁷	1	1338
*T3-di-p3-šr-n-ta-Is.t	She who has been given by the son of the one of Isis	Τατεψενθάσις ¹³⁸⁸	1	23519
T3-di-m3y-ḥs	She who has been given by the fierce looking lion	Τετέμυς ¹³⁸⁹	1	1365
*T3-di-Mn	She who has been given by Min	Τατέμινις ¹³⁹⁰	1	17956
*T3-di-n3-m3y	She who has been given by the lions	Τιτινμουει ¹³⁹¹ , Τιτινμουι ¹³⁹²	2	38821
T3-di-n3-nṯr.w	She who has been given by the gods	Τατενέντηρις	8	13899

¹³⁸⁴ The name Τοτόσιρις has been identified as a ghostname for Τετόσιρις. Cf. http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/zaw/papy/forschung/bullempap_3.1.pdf; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1289>.

¹³⁸⁵ In P. Col. II 1 Ro. (2), col. 5, 27: Τετ[σ]ο[ρ]αίτιδος ; and BGU IX 1891, col. 11, 327: Τετσοραιπ(). In DERDA, T., NOWAK, M., “Two Wills from Oxyrhynchus”, p. 110, n. 2, 28, the name Πετσοραιπιος(ς) and not Τετσοραιπιος(ς) can be read; this name should consequently be removed from TM Nam 7796. Cf. the masculine counterpart *P3-di-Wsir-Hp* in the list of *P3-di-* in initial position above.

¹³⁸⁶ The name Τατάπνου(τις?), in UPZ II 180 a, col. 18, 3, is doubtful, no there is no image available to check this reading.

¹³⁸⁷ In P. Tebt. IV 1106, col. 2, 12: Τε{τ}έφι(βις) . Τετέφι(βις) should be edited instead. In TM Nam 1338 the name *Ḍd-hr-p3-hb* and its Greek transcriptions (e. g. Τεέφιβις) have been gathered. However, we consider that the name Τετέφι(βις) of P. Tebt. IV 1106, col. 2, 12, included in TM Nam 1338, is not a rendering of *Ḍd-hr-p3-hb*, but of **T3-di-p3-hb*, as the beginning Τετε-, readable in the image despite the papyrus damage, seems to indicate.

¹³⁸⁸ In *CRIPEL* IV 807, A 2: Τατεψενθαήσιος.

¹³⁸⁹ In PSI III 230, 10: Τετεμυτος.

¹³⁹⁰ In SB VI 9141 (ε), 4: Τατέμινις

¹³⁹¹ In P. Mich. IV 225, col. 136, 2415: Τιτινμουει.

¹³⁹² In P. Mich. IV 224, col. 94, 3760: Τιτινμουι.

*T3-di-Ni.t	She who has been given by Neith	Τετένιθις ¹³⁹³	1	1366
T3-di-Nb(.t)-Hw(.t)	She who has been given by Nephthys	Τατενέβθως ¹³⁹⁴	2	13900
T3-di-Nfr-htp	She who has been given by The good one is satisfied	Τετενεφώτης ¹³⁹⁵	1	1367
T3-di-Rnn.t	She who has been given by Thermuthis	Τατέρμουθις ¹³⁹⁶	1	1368
T3-di-Hw.t-Hr	She who has been given by Hathor	Τατεάθυρις	16	1363
T3-di-Hr	She who has been given by Horos	Τέταυρις ¹³⁹⁷ , Τέτευρις	1 18	6207 + 6208
		Τετεώριον	5	27964
*T3-di-Hr-m-hb	She who has been given by Horos is in feast	Τετάρμαις	4	1361
T3-di-Hnsw ¹³⁹⁸	She who has been given by Khonsu	Τετέχωνσις ¹³⁹⁹	1	23549
T3-di-Sbk	She who has been given by Sobek	Τετέσουχος ¹⁴⁰⁰	1	1370
*T3-di-t3	She who has been given by (the) land	Τατέτως ¹⁴⁰¹	3	25871
T3-di-t3-Rpy.t	She who has been given by Triphis	Τατέτριφις	39	12449

¹³⁹³ Partially reconstructed in P. Count. 50 Ro., 277: [Τετ]ένιθις. Cf. P. Count., p. 530: “If the reading and supplement are correct, this would be a new theophoric name from the goddess Neith”.

¹³⁹⁴ Presumably in P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 137: Τατενέβ(θωτος); and 155: Τ[ατε]νέβ(θωτος). Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1222.

¹³⁹⁵ In P. Count. 50 Ro., 303: [[Τετενεφώτης]]. Cf. also the name *Nfr-htp* > Νεφώτης (TM Nam 13265).

¹³⁹⁶ In P. Achmim 7, col. 2, 14: Τατερμούθ(ις); and partially reconstructed in SB X 10724, 22: Τατέρ]μουθ[ι (not included here).

¹³⁹⁷ In P. Petaus 69, col. 1, 7: Τεταύ[ρις].

¹³⁹⁸ Attested in abnormal hieratic in CRUZ-URIBE, E., “A Look at Two Early Divorce Documents”, p. 42, l. 3.



¹³⁹⁹ In P. Tebt. III 1039 descr., col. 1, 11: Τετεχώνσιος.

¹⁴⁰⁰ In P. Count. 49 Ro., 19: Τετέσο(υχος).

¹⁴⁰¹ In *CRIPPEL* II 129, A 2: Τατέτωτος; *CRIPPEL* V 1069, A 3: Τατέτωτος; and B 3: Τατέτωτος.

B. Hybrid anthroponyms in Greek characters

Two anthroponyms dating from the Roman period are composed of the Egyptian element *T3-di-* and a Greek personal name:

Base name	<i>LGN</i> (volume: page)	Hybrid name	Attestations	TM Nam
Διονῦς	II: 121; III.A: 128; IV: 101; V.A: 136; V.B: 114	Τατεδιονῦς ¹⁴⁰²	1	34417
Ἀπόλλων	I: 52; IV: 36; V.A: 46	Τατοαπόλλων ¹⁴⁰³	1	18952

C. Anthroponyms with a prototype unknown

For the names listed in the table below, only the first element as a possible transcription of Egyptian *T3-di-* is recognisable.

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Τατεανευ ¹⁴⁰⁴	1	34631
Τατεεύς ¹⁴⁰⁵	1	33992
Τατενθπέτως ¹⁴⁰⁶	1	23517
Τετεάνημις ¹⁴⁰⁷	1	12517
Τέτεις ¹⁴⁰⁸	3	17985

¹⁴⁰² In P. Coll. Youtie II 99, 1 (100-399 AD): Τατεδιονῦ. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 634: “Τατεδιονῦ is the short genitive of -διονῦς, replacing the more normal -διονῦτος”.

¹⁴⁰³ In SB III 7125, 1 (100-299 AD): Τατοαπόλλων Ἀπόλλων(ος) μητρός.

¹⁴⁰⁴ In O. Ashm. Shelton 55, 3: Τατεανευ.

¹⁴⁰⁵ In P. Mich. II 127, col. 2, 44: Τατεεῦτι. If the reading is correct, this name could have a nominative Τατεεύς and its etymology could be *T3-di=w*, “She who has been given by them”. However, the image available is not clear enough to confirm the reading of the anthroponym.

¹⁴⁰⁶ In SB VI 9601 (7), 1: Τατενθπέτως.

¹⁴⁰⁷ In SB XX 14474, A 2: Τετεανήμιος. A Greek name Ανήμιος is not attested, but some others that might have the same root are. Cf. Ἀνέμων in *LGN* V.A, p. 33; and Ἀνέμιος, in *LGN* V.B, p. 28. This anthroponym might be a hybrid name with a first Egyptian element and the Greek base name Ἀνέμιος, with confusion of ε and η (cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 242-249).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Twice in SB XVI 12391, 20: Τέτειτος, ἡ δὲ Τέτεις; and in P. Rein. Gr. II 94, 5: μητ(ρὸς) Τέτειτος.

Τετρκᾶς ¹⁴⁰⁹	1	38797
Τετέμγως ¹⁴¹⁰	1	23547
Τετεμνᾶς ¹⁴¹¹	1	36052

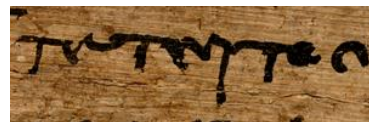
Only for four anthroponyms (Τατεανευ, Τατεεῦτι, Τέτειτος and Τετεμνᾶτος) there is an image available. The image for Τατεεῦτι is not clear enough to confirm the reading; likewise, the picture available for PSI III 229, 26 is not good and a name Τετεμνᾶτος (or Τετέμνωτος) is illegible on it. In O. Ashm. Shelton 55, 3, the reading for the letters Τατε- seems certain, but the following letters cannot be surely read. The reading of the name Τέτειτος in P. Rein. Gr. II 94, 5 could be, on the other hand, correct.



O. Ashm. Shelton 55, 3: Τατεανευ



P. Mich. II 127, col. 2, 44: Τατεεῦτι



¹⁴⁰⁹ Presumably in P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 11, 19: Τετρκ(αν). Since the name Ἔκας is listed in *LGPV* III.A, p. 138 and V.B, p. 130, it could be a hybrid name. Cf. also the presumable masculine counterpart Πετρκᾶς (TM Nam 7367).

¹⁴¹⁰ In SB III 7058, 2: Τετέμγως. Cf. the masculine counterpart Πετέμγως (TM Nam 24499).

¹⁴¹¹ Cf. PSI III 229, 26, where the name Τετέμνωτος can be read. This anthroponym has however been changed to Τετεμνᾶτος at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/psi;3;229>. However, the name is illegible in the image available.



PSI III 229, 26: Τετέμνωτος/Τετεμνῶτος (?)

5.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

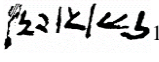
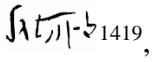
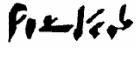
More than 10 Greek transcriptional variants for Egyptian *T3-di-* can be found. Names starting by *T3-di-* in Greek transcription are mainly attested in the Fayum and in Upper Egypt. Only 6 attestations are found for Lower Egypt¹⁴¹².

	00	L01	L16	U04	U09	U10	U15	U17	U19	U20
Θεθ(ο)-	2									
Θετ(ο)-	1									
Τατα-				1						
Τατε-	1			10	61	2			1	
Τατ(ι)-	1									
Τατο-					2					
Τετ-	2								7	
Τετ(α)-		2								
Τετα-	1									
Τετ(ε)-	2									
Τετε-	18		3		2		1	1	26	2
Τετ(η)-	1									
Τετ(ε/ι)- (?)										1
Τετ(ο)-	40	1							1	1
Τετ(ου)-	6									
Τετ(ω)-	5									3
Τιτι-	2									
Total attestations	82	3	3	11	65	2	1	1	35	7

¹⁴¹² The following names are partially or completely reconstructed and have not considered here: [χαίρειν Θετόσιρις - ca.?-] (P. Enteux. 24, Ro 1), (P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 137), T[ατε]νέβ(θωτος) (P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 155), Τέτευρις (P. Tebt. III 933, col. 2, 12), T[ετέχ(?)]νουμις (O. Wilcken II 306, 5), [Τετεύριος] (SB XVI 12333, 1), [Τετ]οσίριος (SB XX 14492, H descr.), Τετ]όσιριν (P. Hamb. I 30, 16), [Τετοσίριος] (P. Hamb. I 30, 26), Τετοσί]ριος (P. Hamb. I 30, 28), [Τετόσιρις (P. Hamb. I 30, 29).

5.3. Linguistic characteristics

In all the transcriptions Egyptian *t* has been rendered as τ except in three attestations (3.65 %) from the Fayum, in which it appears as aspirated θ¹⁴¹³. Likewise, except in two attestations in which the dental aspirate θ has been noted¹⁴¹⁴, Egyptian *d/t* appears as τ in all the anthroponyms. On the other hand, in 95.12 % (78) of the transcriptions of the Fayum, 100 % (6) from Lower Egypt and 36.88 % (45) from Upper Egypt, the Egyptian feminine definite article *t3* has been represented with the vowel ε in Greek. In two attestations, however, it has been transcribed as ι¹⁴¹⁵.

In 2.43 % (2¹⁴¹⁶) transcriptions from the Fayum and 63.11 % (77) from Upper Egypt, Egyptian *aleph* has been rendered as α. Of the attestations with the variant Τα-, at least 10 (12.65 %) date from the Ptolemaic period and 63 (79.74 %) from the Roman period. It is not possible to know if, as pointed out by J. Quaegebeur for the names beginning by Πατε- (< *P3-di-*)¹⁴¹⁷, the variants starting by Τα- should be considered as characteristic of a vulgar register. In Demotic, however, some attestations with the form *Ta-di* or *Ta-tw*, with the possessive feminine pronoun, instead of *T3-di*, with the feminine definite article, are found: *Ta-di-Īy-m-ḥtp* ¹⁴¹⁸, *Ta-di-Hr-Sm3-t3.wy* ¹⁴¹⁹, *Ta-tw-Wsir* ¹⁴²⁰. It is not consequently impossible that in the Greek variants with Τα- the Egyptian possessive pronoun instead of the definite article is represented. Even though these variant seems to

¹⁴¹³ Cf. Θεθόρις (P. Count. 6, 160 and 302) and Θετόρις (P. Enteux. 24, Vo. 2). P. Enteux. 24, Vo. 2 the name Πετόρις also occurs. In On the interchange of voiceless and aspirated stops in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 86-98.

¹⁴¹⁴ Cf. previous note.

¹⁴¹⁵ Cf. P. Mich. IV 224, col. 94, 3760: Τίτινμου; P. Mich. IV 225, col. 136, 2415: Τίτινμουει, presumably from a prototype **T3-di-n3-m3y*, “She who has been given by the lions”. Both variants allude to the same person. No image of the texts is available. On the interchange of ε and ι in the Koine, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 249-262.

¹⁴¹⁶ Τάτις (O. Mich. I 268, 5) (< *T3-di-Īs.t*) and Τατεάθυρις (P. Count. 6, 394) (< *T3-di-Hw.t-Hr*).

¹⁴¹⁷ Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 213.

¹⁴¹⁸ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1154: *T3-di-Īy-m-ḥtp*, n. 9.

¹⁴¹⁹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1160: *T3-di-Hr-Sm3-t3.wy*.

¹⁴²⁰ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1156: *T3-di-Wsir*, n. 6.

be more frequent in Upper Egypt, it occurs in all the geographical areas and cannot be considered as a dialectal feature. Several variants, Τα- and Τε- can even occur in the same text: cf. Τατεφέρσωτος (P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 2, 41) and Τετένουφιν (P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 2, 42).

If only the names without a contraction of Egyptian *yod* and the first vowel of the next element are considered, Egyptian *i* is represented as ε in 79.16 % (19) of the attestations from the Fayum, 100 % (3) from Lower Egypt and 92.17 % (106) from Upper Egypt¹⁴²¹. In two attestations it has been rendered as ι¹⁴²². In addition, in other two attestations – one from the Fayum¹⁴²³ and another one from Thebes¹⁴²⁴ –, it has presumably been rendered as α, and in another two from Sohag (U09) – the hybrid name Τατοαπόλλων¹⁴²⁵ and [Τ]ατοανού[π]ιος¹⁴²⁶ – as ο. In these latter attestations the ο rendering Egyptian *yod* could be explained by regressive assimilation with a close accentuated vowel of the same timbre¹⁴²⁷: Τατοαπόλλων, [Τ]ατοανού[π]ιος. In 9 attestations – 2 from the Fayum and 7 from Oxyrhynchus –, no representation of *yod* is noted in Greek characters. In all these names, a σ follows the τ: Τετσόραιπις (< **Tj-di-Wsir-Hp*), Τέτσ(ε)ιρις (< *Tj-di-Wsir*).

In all the attestations with a contraction of Egyptian *yod* and the first vowel of the next element, the vowel resulting has the same timbre as that of the following element¹⁴²⁸: Θεθόσιρις¹⁴²⁹/Θετόσιρις¹⁴³⁰/

¹⁴²¹ Or, considering the total number of names, in 26.74 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 50 % from Lower Egypt and 86.88 % from Upper Egypt.

¹⁴²² In P. Mich. IV 224, col. 94, 3760: Τιτινμουι; P. Mich. IV 225, col. 136, 2415: Τιτινμουει (< **Tj-di-nj-mjy*). Interchange of ε and ι also occurs in these attestations in the rendering of Egyptian *aleph*.

¹⁴²³ Cf. P. Petaus 69, col. 1, 7: Τεταύ[ριος] (< *Tj-di-Hr*). The reading is not completely certain. The name is illegible in the image available.

¹⁴²⁴ Cf. UPZ II 180 a, col. 18, 3: Τατάπνου(τις(?)) (< **Tj-di-pj-ntr*). No image of the name is currently available.

¹⁴²⁵ In SB III 7125, 1: Τατοαπόλλων Ἀπόλλων(ος).

¹⁴²⁶ In the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 685, B 3: [Τ]ατοανού[π]ιος. In this document the Demotic equivalent appears as *Ta-tw-Īnp.t* (A 4).

¹⁴²⁷ In SB III 7125, the same text in which Τατοαπόλλων is attested (l. 1), the variant Τατέτριφις occurs in l. 3.

¹⁴²⁸ The prototype of the names Τετένουπις (P. Count. 6, 586) and Τετένουφιν (P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 2, 42) is not completely clear: it could be *Tj-di-Īnpw*, but also **Tj-di-nfr*, “She who has been given by the good one”.

¹⁴²⁹ In P. Count. 6, 160 and 302.

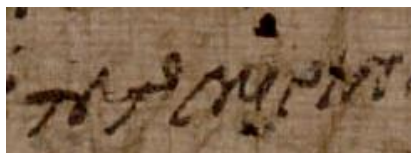
¹⁴³⁰ In P. Enteux. 24, Vo. 2.

Τετόσιρις/Τετούσιρις (< *T3-di-Wsir*); Τετόβαστις (< *T3-di-B3st.t*); Τάτισις¹⁴³¹/Τέτησις¹⁴³² (< *T3-di-Is.t*); Τετάνουπις¹⁴³³ (< *T3-di-Inpw*); Τέτως/Τέτωϋς, presumably from a prototype *T3-di=w*. In SB XX 14304, 13, the editor has read Τετεμούθ(ιως) – with a dot under the τ –, from a prototype *T3-di-ly-m-htp*. It is not however clear if, after Τε[τ]-, an *epsilon* or, more likely, an *iota* (cf. Τε[τ]ιμούθ(ιως)) is represented.

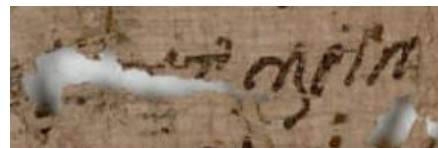


SB XX 14304, 13: Τετεμούθ(ιως) (?)

Several variants can, however, occur in the same text. Thus, in P. Oxy. LI 3638, 18 and 31, the anthroponym Τετόσειριν (< *T3-di-Wsir*) appears, with an upper *omicron* linked to the second *tau*. In P. Oxy. LI 3638, 3 and 35, on the other hand, the names Τέτσειρι and Τετσίρει – this latter written by a different hand occur –, respectively. Some of these variants have been incorrectly read by the editor¹⁴³⁴.



P. Oxy. LI 3638, 18: Τετόσειριν



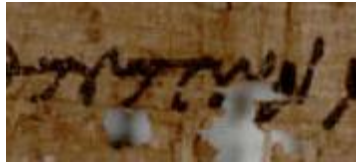
P. Oxy. LI 3638, 31: Τετόσειριν

¹⁴³¹ In O. Mich. I 268, 5: Τάτισις Πρίσκου.

¹⁴³² In SB XX 14483, 16: Τετήσει.

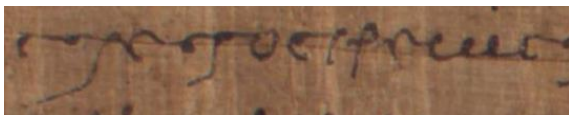
¹⁴³³ In P. L. Bat. XI 24, 3: Τετανούπιος; and 19: Τετάνουπιν.

¹⁴³⁴ Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.

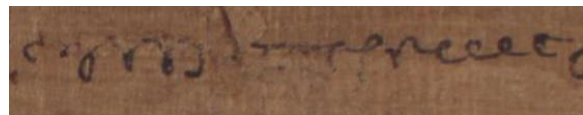


P. Oxy. LI 3638, 3: Τέτσειρι P. Oxy. LI 3638, 35: Τεσίρει

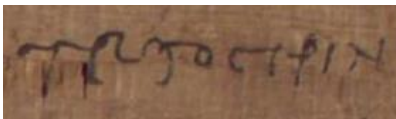
Likewise, in P. Mich. V 322 a, which has been written by nine different hands¹⁴³⁵, both the variants Τετόσιρις and Τετούσιρις occur several times. The writing of each variant does not depend on a specific hand according to the editor: l. 1-37 have presumably been written by the same hand and both variants are found, Τετόσιρις in l. 2, 3, 7, 30, 32, 34 and 37, and Τετούσιρις in l. 23, 27 and 31. In l. 39, 40 and 43 the variant Τετούσιρις, written by different hands, also appears.



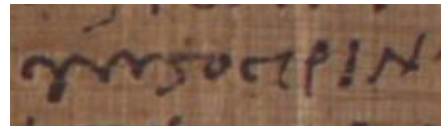
P. Mich. V 322 a, 2: Τετοσίρεως



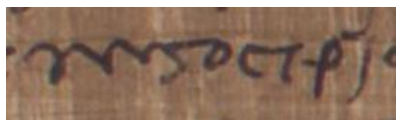
P. Mich. V 322 a, 3: Τετοσίρεως (?)



P. Mich. V 322 a, 7: Τετόσιριν

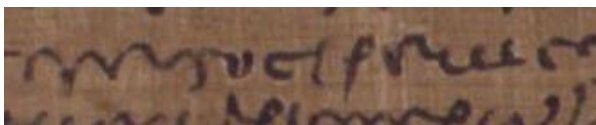


P. Mich. V 322 a, 30: Τετόσιριν



P. Mich. V 322 a, 32: Τετόσιρι

¹⁴³⁵ According to the editor, the first hand has written the l. 1-37; the second, l. 38-39; the third, 39-43; the fourth, l. 43-44; the fifth, l. 44; the sixth, l. 44-45; the seventh the lines after l. 45-46; the eighth, l. 46-47; the ninth, 47-48; and lines 48-49 have been written again by the first hand.

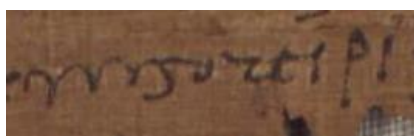


P. Mich. V 322 a, 34: Τετοσίρεως

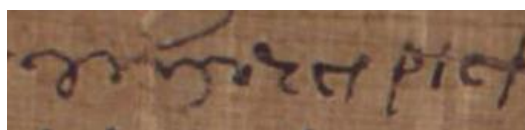


P. Mich. V 322 a, 37: Τετοσίρεως

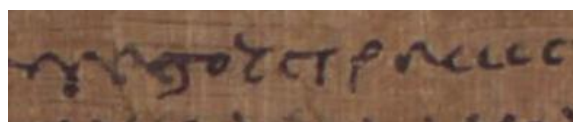
* * *



P. Mich. V 322 a, 23: Τετούσιρι

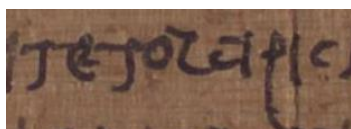


P. Mich. V 322 a, 27: Τετούσιρις

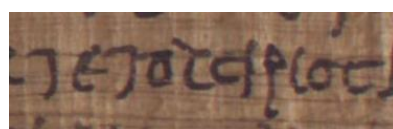


P. Mich. V 322 a, 31: Τετουσίρεως

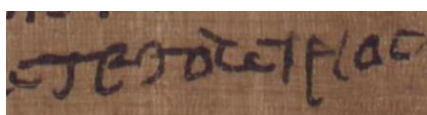
* * *



P. Mich. V 322 a, 39: Τετούσιρις



P. Mich. V 322 a, 40: Τετουσίριος



P. Mich. V 322 a, 43: Τετουσίριος

6. *T3-DĪ*- IN MIDDLE POSITION

In middle position, *t3-dĭ* is attested in there anthroponyms in Greek transcription occurring in bilingual texts¹⁴³⁶. In all these attestations, the variant found is -τατε-, which appears in the name Ψεντατέτριφις. In *Short Texts* II 612 A 1 the Demotic equivalent is *P3-šr-ta-tw-t3-rpy*; in 613, A 1-2, *P3-šr-ta-tw-t3-rpy.t*; and in 608 A 2: *P3-šr-ta-<tw>-t3-rpy*, all of them with the variant *ta-tw*. This leads to think that the Greek variants with -τα- might be representing the Egyptian possessive pronoun *ta-* and not the definite article *t3*.

7. CONCLUSION



None of the transcriptional variants of Egyptian *p3-dĭ* / *t3-dĭ*- can certainly be identified as dialectal. The variation between the renderings Πε- can also be found Πα- in anthroponyms written in hieroglyph, which reveal that the masculine definite article was confused with the Egyptian possessive prefix. Aspirated θ as representation of *d* only seems to occur in the renderings of the anthroponym *P3-dĭ=w* dated from the Roman period and coming from the Fayum. Since in the Fayum other variants such as Πετε- are also well attested for both the Ptolemaic and the Roman period, it is difficult to say if the rendering Πεθε- is due to a dialectal reason or if it is a local variety of Πετε- limited to a specific area.

¹⁴³⁶ In *Short Texts* II 612, B 1: Ψεντατέτριφις; II 613, B 1-2: Ψεντατετρίφις; and II 608, A2 and B 2: Ψεντατετρίφις.

CHAPTER 3

Pa-/Ta-

Pa-/Ta-

A great number of Egyptian anthroponyms both attested in Demotic and in Greek transcription are constructed with *pa-* ¹⁴³⁷ (masc.), “He of .../The one of ...”, or *ta-* ¹⁴³⁸ (fem.), “She of .../ The one of ...”, which are situated in initial position – absolute (e.g.: *Pa-Mn*, “The one of Min”) or secondary (e.g. *T3-šr.t-n-pa-Mn*, “The daughter of the one of Min”) – and have been defined as possessive prefixes or pronouns¹⁴³⁹. The proclitic¹⁴⁴⁰ pronoun *pa-/ta-* seems to derive from the demonstrative composed by the Egyptian article *p3* (masc.)/*t3* (fem.) plus the preposition *n*, “This one of ...”, a structure attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards¹⁴⁴¹ and characteristic of Late Egyptian¹⁴⁴². Although in some anthroponyms attested in hieroglyph the *n* is clearly noted¹⁴⁴³, in Late Egyptian texts the *n* was not, however, usually written¹⁴⁴⁴. Filiation, which had been indicated in Egyptian by the substantive *s3* (masc.)/*s3.t* (fem.), “son/daughter”, until the Saite period, was expressed

¹⁴³⁷ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 354, *Pa-Īs.t*, n. 1.




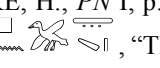




¹⁴³⁸ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1166, *Ta-Īs.t*, n. 2.

¹⁴³⁹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *Thus Wrote ‘Onchsheshonqy. An Introductory Grammar of Demotic*, p. 45: “Possessive prefix”; SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 16-17: “Possessivartikel”; JUNGE, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, p. 53: “Possessive prefix”; TILL, W. C., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 29: “Possessivpräfix”; LAYTON, B., *A Coptic Grammar*, p. 46: “Possessive pronoun”; VYCIHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 157: “Préfixe possessif”; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 259: “possess art.”.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Cf. FECHT, G., *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 125-127.

¹⁴⁴¹ Cf. ALLEN, J. P., *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, p. 53-54; RANKE, H., *PN II*, p. 236.

¹⁴⁴² Cf. JUNGE, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, p. 53-54, NEVEU, F., *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, p. 9, RANKE, H., *PN II*, p. 238.

¹⁴⁴³ Cf., for exemple, *P3-n-3s.t* , “The one of Isis” (RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 105.21); *P(3)-n-Īmn* , “The one of Amun” (RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 106.8); *P(3)-n-p3-R* , “The one of Ra” (RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 107.19); *P(3)-n-p3-t3* , “The one of the land” (RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 107.23); *T3-n.t-Īmn* , “The one of Amun” (RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 358.4); *T3-n.t-Mn-nfr* , “The one of Memphis” (RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 360.14); *T3-n.t-Nfr-tm* , “The one of Nefertum” (RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 361.4); *T3-n.t-H‘py* , “The one of Hapy” (RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 361.21).

¹⁴⁴⁴ Cf. NEVEU, F., *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, p. 9.

in the Graeco-Roman period with the pronoun *pa-/ta-*, which was equivalent to the patronymic in genitive in Greek¹⁴⁴⁵.

1. THE PRONOUN *PA-* IN INITIAL POSITION

1.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

The masculine pronoun *pa-* is attested at the beginning of more than 200 Egyptian proper names in Greek transcription. Thus, the anthroponyms *Pa-Sy*, “The one of Osiris”, with more than 1200 attestations; *Pa-Īs.t*, “The one of Isis”, attested more than 1000 times; *Pa-Īkš*, “The one of the Kushite”, and *Pa-p3-ntr*, “The one of the god”, with more than 800 attestations; *Pa-Mnt*, “The one of Montu”, and *Pa-n3-m3y.w*, “The one of the lions”, attested more than 700 times; and *Pa-nfr-imy*, “The one with good character”, and *Pa-t3-Rnn.t*, “The one of Thermuthis”, with more than 500 attestations, are the proper names starting by *Pa-* the best attested in Greek transcription.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*Pa-...	<i>Incomplete names</i>	Πανεφ(...)	1	38216
		Πανεχ(...)	3	38217
Pa-3b3(.t)	The one of the panther	Πάβως	49	4773
Pa-3h.t	The one of the field	Παχῆς	45	673
Pa-iwiw	The one of the dog	Παιηοῦς	87	681
Pa-Īmn	The one of Amun	Πάμουνις	378	722
		Πεμούνιος	1	28792
*Pa-Īmn-iw	The one of Amun has come	Παμμονήουις	1	22863
Pa-Īmn-(m)-Īp.t	The one of Amun is in Opet	Παμέννωπις	1	711
Pa-Īnpw	The one of Anubis	Πάνουπις	66	738

¹⁴⁴⁵ CLARYSSE, W., “Filiation the Egyptian Way in Greek Documents”, p. 277. In the Coptic period, however, filiation is not expressed by the pronoun *pa-/ta-*. Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Filiation the Egyptian Way in Greek Documents”, p. 280: “In Coptic the pronoun *na* is no longer used for filiation. Instead the scribes either spell out the relationship between son and father by means of a fully written out *na nre n*, an abbreviated *nae n*, *na n*, the genitive particle *n* or they simply put name and patronymic side by side without any linking element”. On expressions for filiation, cf. also MUHS, B., “Language contact and personal names in early Ptolemaic Egypt”, p. 191-194; VLEEMING, S. P., *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications* B, p. 901-906.

		Πανουβᾶς, Πανουπᾶς	1	22911 + 26473
		Πανουβίων	1	24179
*Pa-Ḳn-hr.t	The one of Onuris	Πάνουρις	34	7294
Pa-Ḳry	The one of the companion	Φάηρις	423	682
		Φάηρος	1	26199
Pa-Ḳs.t	The one of Isis	Φάησις, Φάησις ¹⁴⁴⁶ , Πέησις	1081 1 12	685 + 23627 + 11432
		Παησοῦς	1	28551
*Pa-Ḳs.t-wr.t	The one of the great Isis	Πασόηρις, Πεσοῦηρις	3 1	17341 + 24720
*Pa-Ḳšwr	The one of the Syrian	Πασουλ	1	11286
Pa-Ḳš	The one of the Kushite	Πάκυσις	889	7268
Pa-Ḳtm	The one of Atum	Πάτυμις, Πάτημις	18 22	781 + 769
Pa-ym	The one of the lake	Παιαμ	16	697
Pa-Ḳq	The one of the raven	Παβουκᾶς	42	11009
Pa-Ḳw	The one of the great one	Παοῦς, Πάανς, Πάαος	151 139 3	745 + 7953 + 22756
Pa-Ḳn-wšb	The one of the avenger	Πάγγωσβις	1	733
*Pa-Ḳl(t)	The one of the shrewmouse	Παλειλ	1	29476
Pa-Ḳw/lw3	The one of the child ¹⁴⁴⁷	Παλοῦς	53	613
Pa-Ḳt (?)	Meaning unknown ¹⁴⁴⁸	Πάλτυτις	2	706
Pa-Ḳhm	The one of the eagle	Πάαχουμις	499	679
Pa-w3	Meaning unknown ¹⁴⁴⁹	Παυῆς	64	785

¹⁴⁴⁶ First edited as Φαηριμ(ι)ος, this anthroponym has been identified as a ghostname and should be read as Φαησεω(ς). Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1286>; http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/zaw/papy/forschung/bullemendpap_3.1.pdf.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Cf. VITTMANN, G., “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion. Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names”, p. 97.

¹⁴⁴⁸ The name *Pa-Ḳt* is attested in P. Count. 4, 208, and the two attestations in Greek transcription in SB XVI 12416, 6 and 7. The equivalence between the Demotic name and the two anthroponyms in Greek transcription is not completely sure. The Greek names do not seem to transcribe the Egyptian word *Ḳt(t)*, which appears in Coptic as αλωτ, “compulsory service, forced labour” (CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 6). Cf. also DEVAUCHELLE, D., *Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre I*, p. 31-32, SHELTON, J., “Ḳt(t) = λειτουργικόν”, p. 137, THISSEN, H. J., *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu: Zeugnisse zu Tempel und Kult im ptolemäischen Ägypten*, p. 69), ZAUZICH, K. T., *Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin III*, p. 4, P. Berlin 13537.

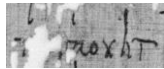
¹⁴⁴⁹ This name is likely an unidentified hypocoristic. Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 84. Cf. also its feminine counterpart *Ta-w3* (TM Nam 1215).

Pa-W ₃ dy.t	The one of Wadjet	Παούτης	41	746
*Pa-Wp-w ₃ .wt	The one of Wepwawet	Παύφωις	19	11393
Pa-wn	The one of the light	Φάγωνις, Φαύωνις	57 2	687 + 25941
Pa-Wn-nfr	The one of Onnophris	Παόννωφρις	7	10389
Pa-wr	The one of the great one	Παούηρος	1	740
*Pa-wrš-nfr	The one of the good guardian	Πανγορσένουφις	1	22891
Pa-wr(.t) (?)	The one of the great one	Πάουρις, παίουγρε	2	26593
Pa-wr.t	The one of the great one	Φάγηρις	13	784
*Pa-wrt	The one of the rose	Φαύωρτις	1	29618
Pa-Wsir	The one of Osiris	Παύσιρις	246	744
		Πανσειρίων	21	11390
		Πανσειράς	1	19221
*Pa-Wsir-Ḥp	The one of Osiris-Apis	Πανσόραπις	2	17386
*Pa-Wsir-Sbk	The one of Osiris-Sobek	Πανσόρσουχος	1	26353
*Pa-wd ₃ .t ¹⁴⁵⁰	The one of the Oudjat eye	Παούητις (?), Πάαθις, Παούατις	50 3 17	11187 + 17380 + 23639
Pa-B ₃ st.t	The one of Bastet	Παύβαστις	7	739
		Πενόβασθος	1	30556
Pa-by	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁴⁵¹	Φάβις	57	671
*Pa-bl	The one of blind one	Παβελλᾶς	1	22764
		Παβελληῆς	8	19586
Pa-Bḥ	The one of Bouchis	Πάβουχις	30	672
		Πανβύχιος	1	11124
*Pa-Bs	The one of Bes	Παβήσιος	1	30412
		Φαβῆς	2	38868
*Pa-p ₃ -ym	The one of the lake	Παφίωμις, Παπίωμις	9 1	697 + 38254
*Pa-p ₃ -Ḳnpw (?)	The one of Anubis	Πάπνουβις	1	38256

¹⁴⁵⁰ Cf. Greek τὸ οὐάτιον in *LSJ*, p. 1268; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter W, p. 213.

¹⁴⁵¹ The anthroponyms composed with *by* are probably hypocoristics. Cf. QUAEGERBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 76. Cf. also its feminine counterpart *Ta-by* (TM Nam 1155).

*Pa-p3-wnš	The one of the wolf	Παπουωνς	1	34653
*Pa-p3-wr	The one of the great one	Παπούηρις	2	24641
*Pa-p3-wd3	The one of the Oudjat-eye	Παπουαιετ, Παπουαιετ, Παπαουητ ¹⁴⁵²	3	33304
Pa-(p3)-byk	The one of the falcon	Πάβηκις, παβικ	18 1	669 + 31114
*Pa-p3-mw	The one of the water	Παπμουου	1	30295
Pa-p3-nb-(t3)-Tn	The one of the lord of Tynis	Παπνέβτουνις	123	748
Pa-p3-ntr	The one of the god	Παπνούθιος, Παπνούσιος	882 1	749 + 27014
		Πάπνουτις ¹⁴⁵³	3	17398
		Παπνουτίων	1	24160
Pa-(p3)-r3-mh̄t	The one of the northern gate	Παπρεμίθης	104	10415
*Pa-p3-R ^c	The one of Ra	παρη	1	31047
*Pa-p3-rše	The one of the delight	Πάπρασις	1	33593
*Pa-p3-lyn	The one of the smith	Πάπληνις	1	11210
*Pa-p3-sbt	The one of the wall	Πανώβθης ¹⁴⁵⁴	1	750
*Pa-p3-Š3y	The one of Shai	Πάνοις, Πάψωις	17	11414
*Pa-p3-šr-n-Wsir	The one of the son of Osiris	Πεψενόσιρις	1	24744
*Pa-p3-šr-n-Ḥnm	The one of the son of Khnum	Παψένχνουμις	3	17412
*Pa-p3-šr-n-Tb3	The one of the son of Apollonopolis	Παψεντβω	1	33460
*Pa-p3-gwy-ḥtr	The one of the little horse ¹⁴⁵⁵	Παπκουιζτο	1	33192
*Pa-p3-di-Wsir	The one of He who has been given by Osiris	Πανπατούσιρις	1	26591

¹⁴⁵² P. Oxy. XVI 2055, 19: Π[α]παουητ ; P. Lond. IV 1552, 20: Παπουαιετ; O. Strasb. I 558, col. 1, 5: Παπουαιετ. Cf. the female counterpart *Ta-wd3* > Ταούαθις (TM Nam 13844) in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1172. Cf. also JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter W, p. 213.

¹⁴⁵³ The name Πάχνουτις is possibly a ghostname for Πάπνουτις. Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Some Papyrological Ghostnames”, p. 215, n. 774.

¹⁴⁵⁴ In the name Πανώβθης the *psi* indicates a contraction of the masculine article *p3* and the *s* of *sbt*. The other transcriptional variants of TM Nam 750 (cf. Πάσαφθις and Πάσαπτις) do not seem to contain the Egyptian word *sbt*, but *Spd*, “Sothis”: the two different names of TM Nam 750 should consequently be splitted up. In fact, in Sahidic and Bohairic *sbt* appears as ⲥⲟⲃⲧ, in Achmimic as ⲥⲁⲃⲧⲉ and in Fayumic as ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲧ. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 323; VYČICH, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 185.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Cf. CPR IX 45, p. 64: “Der zum kleinen Pferd Gehörige”.

*Pa-p3-di-B3-nb-Dd.t	The one of He who has been given by Bendetis	Παπετεβένδης	1	33538
*Pa-pa-iry	The one of the one of the companion	Πεφάρης	1	38412
Pa-Pay	The one of Soknopaiou Nesos	Πάπαις	62	7303
*Pa-p3- 'w ¹⁴⁵⁶	The one of the great one	Παπαούς	1	18456
*Pa-pa-Dm3	The one of the one of Djeme	Παπάσημης	2	17310
*Pa-Pth	The one of Ptah	Πάπταις, Παπταῖς	3	33643
Pa-m3y	The one of the lion	Πάμοις, Πάμουις, Φάμοις	7	718
*Pa-m3y.w	The one of the lions	παμεγς, Παμεύς	6	4815
*Pa-m3y-ḥs	The one of the fierce looking lion	Παμιοῦς	19	17276
		Παμίουςις	1	22860
Pa-M3' .t-R'	The one of Marres	Παμαρῆς	2	11088
Pa-my	The one of the cat	Πάμις	37	7275
*Pa-Mwt	The one of Mut	Παμούθιος,	205	4820 +
		Πάμυτος,	1	29155 +
		Παμουθο(...),	1	34682 +
		Παμούτης,	1	33519 +
		Παμούθιος	1	39433
Pa-Mn	The one of Min	Φάμινις	227	716
		Παμινούς	1	18484
Pa-mn	The enduring one	Πάμηνις	16	709
*Pa-Mn-nfr	The one of Memphis	Πάμεμφις	1	22856
Pa-mn-n=s	He whom they brought ashore ¹⁴⁵⁷	Παμένησις, Παμμοννᾶς, Παμοννᾶς, Παμόννασις	4	719
Pa-mnh	The one of the youth	Παμένως ¹⁴⁵⁸	2	712
Pa-mnh	The one of (the) excellent one	Παμενχῆς, Παμονχ...	2	708
Pa-Mnt	The one of Montu	Παμώνθης,	703	720 +
		Πάμοντις	4	22867
			1	

¹⁴⁵⁶ Cf. TM Nam 745: Παούς (< Pa- 'w).


¹⁴⁵⁷ Meaning proposed by VITTMANN, G., "Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion. Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names", p. 95. Cf. also WEGNER, W., "Eine demotische Abrechnung und ein demotischer Brief aus Tebtynis (P. Hamburg D 45 und 46)", p. 168; BRUNNER-TRAUT, E., BRUNNER, H., *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, p. 295; ZEIDLER, J., "Totenbuch des Petechons", p. 68-69.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 370.

*Pa-Mnt-...	The one of Montu ... (<i>incomplete</i>)	Παμεντ(...)	1	34713
*Pa-Mnt-ʿ3	The one of Montu, the great one	Παμόντως, Παμώπτως ¹⁴⁵⁹	2 1	22871 + 22878
*Pa-Mnt-p3-ʿ3	The one of Montu, the great one	Παμόντπως	3	22868
*Pa-Mnt-Īkš	The one of Montu, the Kushite	Παμοντέκυσις	19	11097
*Pa-Mnt(.w)-sn.w	The one of (the) two Montus	Παμόντσωνς	14	22869
*Pa-Mnt-k3-mw.t=f	The one of Montu, the bull of his mother	Παμοντκάμητις	7	11099
Pa-Mr-wr	The one of Mnevis	Πάμνηις	4	717
*Pa-mrš (?)	The one of the read (?)	Παμορσής ¹⁴⁶⁰	1	19591
Pa-mtr	The one of the sacred emblem of Khnum	Πάμηθις, Παμητ	3 2	715 + 20434
Pa-n3	He who has been given by Amun is in Opet (<i>hypocoristic</i> ¹⁴⁶¹)	Πανᾶς	142	725
Pa-n3-iry.w	The one of the companions	Πανερεύς	7	731
*Pa-n3-ʿhm.w	The one of the eagles	Φαναχύμιος, Φανάχωμις, Φανεχωμ(...)	3	12731
*Pa-n3-wr.w	The one of the great ones	Πανούηρις, Πενεούηρις, Πενέγηρις ¹⁴⁶²	1 21 4	28164 + 5019 + 17445
Pa-n3-wrš.w	The one of the <i>ouresh</i> demons	Πανγόρσαις	30	736
*Pa-n3-wrš.w- nfr.w ¹⁴⁶³	The one of the good guardians	Πανγορσένουφις	1	22891

¹⁴⁵⁹ The name Παμώπτως, read by the editor in O. Strasb. I 644, 7, is possible a ghostname and Παμωντως should be read instead, but no image of the text is available to be checked.



¹⁴⁶⁰ In P. Brem. 41, 28: Παμορσήους . The prototype of the name is uncertain, but its derivation from *Pa-mrš is not impossible. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 121: ΜΡΟΥ (also ΜΟΥ), “devenir rouge, jaune”; ΜΗΡΟΥ, “rouge, roux”. Cf. also CRUM, W. A., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 183.

¹⁴⁶¹ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 84; GLANVILLE, S. R. K., *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum I*, p. 65, n. 92; SPIEGELBERG, W., “Der Strategie Pamenches (mit einem Anhang über die bisher aus ägyptischen Texten bekannt gewordenen Strategen)”, p. 91. Cf. the feminine counterpart Ta-n3 (TM Nam 1267).

¹⁴⁶² The belonging of the variant Πενέγηρις, attested four times in P. Tebt. III 894, to the prototype *Pa-n3-wr.w is possible but not completely sure. On the other hand, the prototype of these variants could be *Pa-n-wr, “The one of the great one”. Cf. Pa-wr and even Pa-n.t-wr in TM Nam 740.

¹⁴⁶³ The prototype of this name could also be interpreted as *Pa-n-wrš-nfr, “The one of the good guardian”. The variant Pa-wrš-nfr is attested. Cf. TM Nam 36223.

*Pa-n3-whr.w	The one of the dogs	πενεγχορ	2	27678
Pa-n3-byk.w	The one of the falcons	πάμβηκις	59	734
*Pa-n3-pyn.w	The one of the mice	πάνπινις	1	11170
Pa-n3-m3y.w	The one of the lions	Φανομγεύς	793	735
Pa-n3-ntr.w	The one of the gods	Πάνθηρος	11	730
		Πανίνουτις	15	7287
*Pa-n3-hb.w	The one of the ibises	Πανέφιβις, Πάνιβις	2	10409
*Pa-n3-hsy.w	The one of the blessed ones	Πανεσιῆς	4	22896
Pa-n3-ht.w	The one of the <i>chet</i> demons	Πανεχώτης	330	727 +
		Πανεχάτης ¹⁴⁶⁴	2	29596
		Παν[έ]χατος ¹⁴⁶⁵	1	24511
Pa-n3-sn.w	The one of the brothers	Πανεσνεύς	273	4834 +
		Παπεσνεύς ¹⁴⁶⁶	3	18621 +
		Φάνσνως	30	22962 +
		Πανσνηου ¹⁴⁶⁷	1	27107
*Pa-n3-k3.w-mw.t=f	The one of the bulls of his mother	Πανκάμητις	7	11154
*Pa-n3-twt.w	The one of the statues	Πανετούωτις	9	11132

¹⁴⁶⁴ The name of SB XVI 12371, 2 and 14, read as Νεχάτης by the editor, has been identified as a ghostname for Πανεχάτης. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “New Ghostnames from Papyrological Documents”, forthcoming.

¹⁴⁶⁵ In the name Παν[ύ]χατος (P. Lond. IV 1461, 39), the υ has been reconstructed by the editor. However, the letter that should be reconstructed here is ε (Παν[έ]χατος); this name would consequently be a Greek transcriptional variant of *Pa-n3-ht*, “The one of the *chet* demons”, and ε would represent the vocalisation of the Egyptian plural article *n3*. The vocalisation of *ht*, which appears as α and not as ο/ω, is possible for the area of provenance of the text (U10, Aphroditopolis), which seems to be in the transitional zone between the Akhmimic and the Sahidic dialects. Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 248.

¹⁴⁶⁶ The name Παπεσνεύς, read in P. Cornell 21, col. 10, 247, P. Cornell 21, col. 12, 324 and P. Lond. II 259 Ro., col. 4, 117, is probably a ghostname and Πανεσνεύς should be read instead, but no images of the papyri are available to be checked.

¹⁴⁶⁷ The interpretation of the name written in the mummy label edited in SB I 5200 is doubtful. Even if on <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;5200> this anthroponym appears as Καταπανσνήου – a name that cannot be etymologically justified in Egyptian –, in SB I 5200 and Stud. Pal. VII 74 and 94, it appears as κατὰ Πανσνήου, and in C. Étiq. Mom. 379, as Κατὰ Πανσνήου. The preposition κατά, however, cannot be easily justified in the text: Χεπατωμε Ταουρσενούφιος, κατὰ Πανσνήου πατήρ. On the wood of the mummy label, the letters κα before τα seem to have been erased by the writer, so the name Ταπανσνήου should also be considered. The problem in this case would be the interpretation of πατήρ and the name it refers to: Χεπατωμε, if we accept that the scribe missed the ν (cf. Χε<ν>πατωμε), would be a feminine anthroponym transcribed from *T3-šr.t-n-pa-İtm, “The daughter of the one of Atum” (cf. for example Πάτωμις in TM Nam 781 as transcription of *Pa-İtm*, The one of Atum”; cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 355), and so Ταπανσνήου (< *Ta-pa-n3-sn.w, “The one of the one of the brothers”). On the other hand, the reading Χεπατωμε Ταουρσενούφιος (cf. Stud. Pal. VII 94 and C. Étiq. Mom. 379) instead of Χεπατω μετὰ Ούρσενούφιος (SB I 5200), seems clear.



Pa-n3-d ḥ 3.w	The one of the avenging demons	Πανετβεύς, Παντβωοῦς ¹⁴⁶⁸	311 1	732
*Pa-n- Imn	The one of Amun	Φαναμιουν	3	11114
Pa-n- Is.t	The one of Isis	Φάνησις, Πανήσις (?), Πάνασις (?)	267 1 2	17289 + 17294 + 11120
Pa-Ni.t	The one of Neith	Φάνητις, Πάνηθος, Πενίθης, Πέννιθις, Παναίθιος	21 1 3 1 2	729 + 4842 + 23055 + 38351 + 39432
*Pa-n- Itm	The one of Atum	Πανέτμυς	1	17291
*Pa-(n)- ‘nh	The one of life	Πάυνχης, Πάυνχις, Πάνωνχης, Παγχῆς	2 1 3 1	22988 + 22989 + 29702 + 38152
Pa-nb-B ḥ n	The one of the lord of the pylon	Πανόβχουνις	139	726
*Pa-nb.t- thy	The one of the mistress of drunkenness	Πανεβτίχιος	4	22893
Pa-nfr	The one of the good one	Πάνουφης, Πάνεφρις	176 1	737 + 17292
Pa-nfr- imy	The one with good character	Πανέφρεμμυς	534	4833
Pa-n ḥ t	The one of the strong one	Πάνακθος	1	724
*Pa-ns-Bs	The one of He/She who belongs to Bes	Πασβῆς	2	22953
Pa-ns-m t (r)	The one who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Πασμητ	8	8197
*Pa-n-sn-sn.w	The one of the two brothers	Πανσοσνεύς	1	36035
*Pa-n tr	The one of the god	Φάνουθις	2	17938
Pa-ry.t	The one of the cell	Πάρις	83	755
Pa-R [‘]	The one of Ra	Παρῆς	19	754
*Pa-R [‘] -Qdy.t	The one of Alexandria	ΠΑΡΑΚΟΤΕ	1	31048
*Pa-Rpy.t	The one of Tryphis	Πάριπις	1	33550
*Pa-rnp.t	The one of the year	Φάρεμφις, Φέρεμφις	11 5	753 + 23647
*Pa-Rnn.t	The one of Thermuthis	ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ, Παρμούθιος, Πάρμουθος, Πάρμυθις, Πέρμουθις	7 4	17329 + 24701

¹⁴⁶⁸ The Παντκωοῦς has been identified as a ghostname for Παντβωοῦς. Cf. SHELTON, J. C., “Short Greek Texts from Various Collections”, p. 96; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=277>.


Pa-r.r=w	He who has been made by them (?) (hypocoristic ¹⁴⁶⁹)	Πάροος, Πάραυς, Παρευ	9 14 26	756 + 11236 + 11240
Pa-rhw	The one of <i>rhw</i> ¹⁴⁷⁰	Πάλευις	36	704
Pa-rꜥ	The one of Horos the child (hypocoristic ¹⁴⁷¹)	Φαράτης	58	752
Pa-hb	The one of the ibis	Πέιβις	4	689
Pa-ḥꜣ.t	The one of the superior one ¹⁴⁷²	Παῆς	75	683
Pa-ḥy	Meaning unknown ¹⁴⁷³	Πάις	278	698
Pa-Ḥ'py	The one of Hapy	Πάωπις	168	742
Pa-Ḥp	The one of Apis	Πάαπις, Πάαιπις, Πάναπις, Πάεπις	111 7 3 2	667 + 4765 + 11115 + 17245
		Πααπίων	1	27043

¹⁴⁶⁹ According to VITTMANN, G., “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion. Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names”, p. 91-92, the form *Pa-r.r=w* can be a non-etymological writing of *Pꜣ-ṛ.ṛ=w*, “He who has been made by them”. Another interpretation of the name could be “The one who is against them”.



¹⁴⁷⁰ The exact meaning of *rhw* is unknown. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 392. The substantive *lhwh* is not listed in JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, but *rhw* is (Letter R, p. 52-54, with the meaning of “evening”). ZAUZICH, K. T., “Zwischenbilanz zu den demotischen Ostraka aus Edfu”, p. 72; ZAUZICH, K. T., “Ein neuer Schlangengott”, p. 89 proposes that this term refers to the Levi tribe. Cf. also P. Köln. IX, p. 149-150; O. Cracovie, p. 41: “W. Clarysse remarque toutefois que ce texte bilingue contredit l’étymologie juive (*Pa-Levi*) proposée par Zauzich: le démotique *lhwh* ne peut correspondre à l’hébreu *Lwy*, qui est dépourvu de *h*. Il s’agit sans doute d’un nom de lieu, inconnu par ailleurs. De même, V.A. Tcherikover (CPJ I, p. XVIII, n. 6) considère que l’anthroponyme Levi est sans rapport avec Παλεῖτις, qui n’apparaît que dans des contextes égyptiens”.

¹⁴⁷¹ Cf. GLANVILLE, S. R. K., *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum I*, p. 55; QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 75-77, 81-83. Cf. also the feminine counterpart *Ta-rꜥ* (TM Nam 12419).

¹⁴⁷² Meaning proposed in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 397. This name could also be translated as “The one who is in advance/ The best one”. Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 555; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p. 46-51. The vocalization of the Greek transcriptions is in agreement with the one of the Coptic word *ⲕⲏ* (Sahidic and Bohairic),

derived from  *ḥꜣ.t*, a term from which also the Egyptian word for “heart” derives. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 285, 314-315; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 640-642.

¹⁴⁷³ QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 84, suggested that *Pa-ḥy* could be a hypocoristic. According to the Demotic forms in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 398, 555 (cf. n.

3 : , it is not impossible that the meaning of this name is “The one of the light” or similar. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *CDD*, Letter H, p. 52: “light, radiant one”. In Coptic this word is attested as *ⲕⲏ*. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 286, who gives the meaning “apparaître, fleurir”, “‘briller’ dit du soleil ou de ses rayons”. The determinative of the Demotic forms may correspond to hieroglyph . Cf. also the feminine counterpart *Ta-ḥy* (TM Nam 1249).

*Pa-ḥf	The one of the snake	Πάαφις ¹⁴⁷⁴	1	17232
Pa-Ḥr	The one of Horos	Πάνρις, Παορ, Πάορις	31 2	690 + 11182
Pa-ḥr	The one of the face	Πάως	146	743
*Pa-Ḥr-ꜣḥ.ty	The one of Horos of both horizons	Πανάραχθις	1	22885
*Pa-Ḥr-Ḳš	The one of Horos the Kushite	Παρέκυσις, Φωρέκυσις	2	33522
*Pa-Ḥr-byk	The one of Horos the falcon	Πάρβηχις	1	17324
*Pa-Ḥr-Bḥt	The one of Horos of Behdet	Φαρβαιτίων ¹⁴⁷⁵	1	34875
*Pa-Ḥr-pꜣy-kꜣ	The one of Horos, this one of the bull	Παορπίκως	1	22924
Pa-Ḥr-pꜣ-ḥrd	The one of Horos the child	Πεναρποχράτης	1	11006
*Pa-Ḥr-mꜣy-ḥs	The one of Horos, the fierce looking lion	Παρμύσιος, Παρμίνσις	2	4902
*Pa-Ḥr-sꜣ-Sbk ¹⁴⁷⁶	The one of Horos, son of Sobek	Παορσίσουχος	4	28617
*Pa-Ḥr-Tbꜣ	The one of Horos of Apollonopolis	Πάαρτβως	8	7255
Pa-ḥtr	The one of the twin	Πααθρήις, ΠΑΞΑΤΡΗ	5 2	11001 + 31026
Pa-ḥy	The one of Khonsu (<i>hypocoristic</i> ¹⁴⁷⁷)	Πάχοις	88	643
*Pa-ḥm	The one of the younger	Πάχημις	5	17395
		Παχίμιος	1	30729
Pa-Ḥmnw	The one of Hermopolis	Πάχμουινις	10	10430
Pa-Ḥnsw	The one of Khonsu	Πάχωνσις, Πέχωνσις	9	678
Pa-ḥt(.w)	The one of the <i>chet</i> demons	Παχοίτης, Πάχοιτις	13 1	10431 + 17399
Pa-Ḥnm	The one of Khnum	Πάχνουβις	404	674
Pa-Ḥnm-ꜣꜣ	The one of the great Khnum	Παχνούβως	1	10432
*Pa-Ḥnm-pꜣ-ꜣꜣ	The one of the great Khnum	Παχνέμπως	1	22997

¹⁴⁷⁴ The equivalence between the name Πάαφις, attested in P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr. and *Pa-ḥf, “The serpent”, is not completely sure but it is possible: the form ϣⲱϥ is attested for Bohairic and ϣⲁϥ for Achmimic, Sub-Achmimic and Fayumic. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 740-741.

¹⁴⁷⁵ This attestation is found in P. Oxy. XII 1444, 29: [Φα]ρβαιτίωνος, with a dot under *rho*, and it is not completely sure since the beginning of the name has been reconstructed.

¹⁴⁷⁶ The name *Ḥr-sꜣ-Sbk* is attested both in Demotic and in Greek transcription. Cf. TM Nam 300.

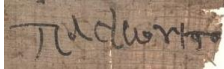
¹⁴⁷⁷ Cf. DEVAUCHELLE, D., “À propos du nom *Pn-ḥj*”, p. 141-142.


Pa-Hr	The one of Phoenicia	Πάχιρις, Πάκοιρις	21 1	676 + 27172
Pa-ḥy-rmt-Bḥt	<i>Pa-chi</i> , man of Behdet	Παχιρεθάβαχθις	3	10429
Pa-ḥrd	The one of the child	Παχράτης	93	680
*Pa-s3-Hr	The one of the son of Horos	Πάσευρις	1	4912
Pa-Sy	He who has been given by Osiris (<i>hypocoristic</i> ¹⁴⁷⁸)	Πάσις	1279	760
Pa-Sy-iwn	<i>Meaning unknown</i>	Πασίγωνις ¹⁴⁷⁹	7	762
*Pa-Sy-p3-ḥm	Pasis the child	Πασίψημις	16	11275
*Pa-Sy-gwy (?) ¹⁴⁸⁰	Pasis the young	Πασικούιτος ¹⁴⁸¹	1	11266
Pa-swn.t	The one of the feast	Πάσηνις	14	10437
Pa-Sbk	The one of Sobek	Πασόκιος	3	35960
		Πάσουχος	1	14743
*Pa-Sbk-iw	The one of Sobek has come	Πασουχεύς	1	26599
*Pa-Sbk-nb-Pay	The one of Sobek, lord of Pay	Πασοκνοπαῖος	218	11283
*Pa-Spd	The one of Sothis	Πάσαφθις	8	750 +
		Πέσαφθις	1	17461
Pa-st3.ḫ=w	He whom they have redeemed ¹⁴⁸²	Πέσταυς	3	816

¹⁴⁷⁸ Cf. DE MEULENAERE, H., “Anthroponymes Égyptiens de Basse Époque”, p. 213-216; QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 79. Cf. also the feminine counterpart *Ta-Sy* (TM Nam 1306).

¹⁴⁷⁹ On the equivalence of the Greek and the Demotic forms, cf. the bilingual text in CLARYSSE, W., “The Financial Problems of the Beer-Seller Ameneus”, p. 11-21. On the name *Pa-Sy-iwn*, cf. CLARYSSE, W., *ibidem*, p. 16: “The first part of it reads quite clearly as the well-known personal name *Pa-sy* (Greek Πᾶσις) (...). It is followed by a group of two signs. The most likely reading of these would be a divine name followed by a god’s determinative, but no god’s name fits both the traces and the Greek transcription. We here follow, somewhat hesitantly, THISSEN’s interpretation of the group as a writing of *Iwn* (...). The sign that we read as *Iwn* (?) may indicate a local divinity rather than the town *Iwn* – On – Heliopolis”.

¹⁴⁸⁰ The prototype **Pa-Sy-gwy* for this anthroponym seems more plausible than **Pa-s3-gwy*, “The one of the little son”. Cf. also Πασίψημις (< **Pa-Sy-p3-ḥm*). The adjective *gwy* also appears in other names in Greek transcription, e. g.: Βήσκουις (< **Bs-gwy*), “Bes the young”.

¹⁴⁸¹ On the anthroponym Πασικούιτος , cf. SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., “Lists of Names from Karanis”, p. 16: “The proper name Πασικουῖς appears here for the first time (cf. in O. Tait 1716, 4). The proper name Τασικουῖς is attested”.

In P. Amst. I 71, col. 2, 11 and O. Bodl. II 1716, 4, the names Πασικουῖς  and Πασικου() are respectively attested. The derivation of these anthroponyms from the prototype **Pa-Sy-gwy* is not sure since in one of them *yod* does not seem to be represented in Greek characters and the other one is incomplete. Nevertheless, Egyptian *gwy* appears in Coptic as ⲕⲟϥ/ⲕⲟϥ-. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 73.

¹⁴⁸² Meaning proposed by VITTMANN, G., “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion. Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names”, p. 92.

*Pa-Stt ¹⁴⁸³	The one of Setis	Πάσητις	9	11263
*Pa-sn.w	The one of (the) brothers	Πασνοῦς, Πάσνως	4 30	11280 + 22962
Pa-Shm.t	The one of Letopolis	Πάσχεινις, Πάσχινις	7	759
*Pa-sdm	The one who hears	Πάστυμις	4	26216
Pa-Š3y	The one of Shai	Πάσοις	15	757
		Πασᾶς	13	758
Pa-Šw	The one of Shu	Πάσως	106	764
*Pa-Qlwd	The one of Colluthus ¹⁴⁸⁴	Πανκόλλαυχις,	7	11155 +
		Πανκόλλουθης,	1	22908 +
		Πανκόλλαυθος,	2	29451 +
		Πανκόλλαθις	1	22907
*Pa-gwy	The one of the little one	Πάκουις	16	11048
Pa-Gbk	The one of Geb	Πάκηβκις.	374	700 +
		Πακηβ,	2	38172
		Πακῆβε		
Pa-gm	The one of the <i>gem</i> bull	Πάκημις,	14	701 +
		Πάκαμις	2	11041
*Pa-grr	The one of (the) frog	Πάκρευρις ¹⁴⁸⁵	1	17261
*Pa-gl3(.t)	The one of the lame one	Πακαλῆς	1	33346
*Pa-t3	The one of (the) land	Πάτως,	60	4886 +
		Πατωου	11	28214
*Pa-t3-3lly	The one of the vineyard	Πατέλωλις	43	11308
Pa-T3y-ḥtwṯ ¹⁴⁸⁶	The one of Techto	Πατέχθως	3	22977
*Pa-t3-ḥm.t	The one of the eagle	Πατάχουμις ¹⁴⁸⁷	1	26636
Pa-t3.wy	The one of both lands	Πατοῦς,	140	778 +
		Παθοοῦς, Πάθωνς	60	4886
Pa-t3-wmt.t	The one of the tower	Πατούαμις ¹⁴⁸⁸	15	777

¹⁴⁸³ Cf. LOCHER, J., *Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit*, p. 94-97.

¹⁴⁸⁴ On the meaning of Colluthus, cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 78.

¹⁴⁸⁵ The equivalence of Πάκρευρις and *Pa-grr is not completely sure, since in most attestations the vocalisation of grr appears as ov. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 117; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 86-87.

¹⁴⁸⁶ On T3y-ḥtwṯ, cf. TM Geo 2288.

¹⁴⁸⁷ This anthonym could also derive from *P3-di-ḥm, “He who has been given by the Eagle”, a prototype not attested without the masculine article p3 before ḥm (cf. TM Nam 7922).

¹⁴⁸⁸ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter W, p. 78-79; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 422; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 233: ογομρε (Sahidic), “tour, tour de fortification (πύργος)”. Cf. also CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 479-480; BRUNSCH, W., “Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Wiedergaben ägyptischer Personennamen”, p.87.

*Pa-t3-m3y.t	The one of the lioness	Πάτμουις ¹⁴⁸⁹	58	4948
Pa-t3-msy-ʿ3.t	The one of the Great of births	Παμεσιαύεις	2	10447
*Pa-t3-nfr-Š3y	The one of the one with good fate	Πατνεφέρσοις	2	24335
Pa-t3-nh.t	The one of the sycamore	Πατνούεις, Πατνουει ¹⁴⁹⁰	2 1	11344 + 10449
Pa-t3-Rpy.t	The one of Tryphis	Πέτριφις	3	779
*Pa-t3-rmt.t-n-pa-Bḥt	The one of the woman of the one of Behdet	Πατρεμβαθάθης	4	11352
Pa-t3-Rnn.t	The one of Thermuthis	Πατερμούθιος	546	7319
Pa-t3-ḥby.t	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁴⁹¹	Πάθηβις	25	773
*Pa-t3-ḥtr.t	The one of the twin	Παθατρήις	9	10945
Pa-t3-ḥwy	The one of the offering table ¹⁴⁹²	Πάτχευις	6	766
*Pa-t3-ḥm.t	The one of the younger	Πάτχημις ¹⁴⁹³	1	23999
Pa-t3-ḥnm(.t)	The one of the well	Πάτχομβις ¹⁴⁹⁴	3	768
Pa-t3-sbt	The one of the hill	Πάτσεβθις ¹⁴⁹⁵ , Πάτεσβθις	91 1	10949 + 24743
Pa-t3-s.t-ʿ3.t	The one of the great place	Πατσεούς	56	780
*Pa-t3-šr.t-n-Īs.t (?)/ *Pa-t3-šr.t-n-nḥs (?)	The daughter of Isis (?)/ The daughter of the Aethiopian (?)	Πασένασις ¹⁴⁹⁶	1	11261
*Pa-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥnm	The one of the daughter of Khnum	Πασένχνουβις	1	24635

¹⁴⁸⁹ This anthroponym could also derive from *P3-di-m3y, “He who has been given by the lion”. Cf. TM Nam 867.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 423.

¹⁴⁹¹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 425, where the meanings “Der des Unglücks” and “Der des Zeltens” are discussed. However, in Coptic the word for “tent, covering” appears as 2BΩ (cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 656), and the one for “grief, mourning”, as 2HBE in Sahidic and Achmimic and as 2HBI in Bohairic and Fayumic. The attestations in Greek transcription seem to represent what in Coptic appears as 2HBE/ 2HBI rather than 2BΩ, which in Coptic has other type of vocalisation.

¹⁴⁹² Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p. 44-45: “altar”. The attestations in Greek transcription seem to be in agreement with the Coptic vocalisation: ʾHḤYĖ (Sahidic), ʾHḤOYI (Bohairic). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 274.

¹⁴⁹³ This rendering could also be interpreted as *P3-di-p3-ḥm, “He who has been given by the little one”.

¹⁴⁹⁴ In Sahidic, 2ONBE. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 305; P. Count., p. 564: “The name is etymologically clear: ‘the one of the well (Coptic 2ONBE)’; it corresponds to Greek Πάτχομβις”.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Cf. the different vocalisation of the forms C1ET (Sahidic), “hill”, and COT (Sahidic, Bohairic), “wall”, whose etymology is the same. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 184-185.

¹⁴⁹⁶ In O. Eleph. DAIK 16, 3.

*Pa-t3-gwy.t	The one of the little one	Πάτκουις	1	11338
*Pa-t3-gl3.t	The one of the lame one	πατκαλε	1	31060
*Pa-ta-hr	The one of the one of the face	Πατάως	4	11303
Pa-Twtw	The one of Totoes	Πατοτοῖς	1	20833
Pa-Tn	The one of Tynis	Πάτνις, Πάθυις, Πάντνις, Πατουνε, Πάτουνις, Πάτωνις	272 108 2 2 1	782 + 4883 + 17304 + 25979 + 26594
*Pa-tny	The one of This ¹⁴⁹⁷	Πάτεινις	7	4947
Pa-tr.t	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁴⁹⁸	Πάτηρις	8	11316
*Pa-thy	The one of drunkenness	Πατίχιος, Πάτιχις	2	33408
*Pa-t3y-dy	The one of the bearer of the hairlock	Πανσίσωις	11	11172
*Pa-Dwn	The one of Thonis	Παθώνιος	4	17251
*Pa-d3(.w)	The one of (the) avenging demons	Πατβεύς, Πατβῆς, Πατβιοῦς	2 1	11304 + 36731
Pa-Dm3	The one of Djeme	Πάσημις	330	761
Pa-Dhwtj	The one of Thoth	Παθώτης	166	774
Pa-dd-hr-(iw=f/s-nh)	The one of the face says: ('He/She will live') (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	Πατέως	4	10955
*Pa-(?) ¹⁴⁹⁹	The one of Soxis	Πάσοξις	256	11284

B. Hybrid names in Greek transcription

¹⁴⁹⁷ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter T, p. 237.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter T, p. 250-251.

¹⁴⁹⁹ The name Soxis, characteristic of the area of Karanis, makes allusion to Sobek, but the Egyptian prototype of the anthroponym transcribed into Greek is unknown. Cf. WAGNER, G., EL-NASSERY, S. A. A., "Une nouvelle dédicace au grand dieu Soxis", p. 142: "Le nom de Soxeis/Soxis/Souxis en revanche n'est pas clair: il s'agit bien sûr d'une autre forme du dieu Σοῦχος/Sbk, mais le deuxième terme du nom demeure obscure (...). Tout ce qu'on peut dire, selon S. Sauneron qui a bien voulu nous entretenir de cette question, c'est que l'élément sei/si (Sok-sei/si) ne correspond pas à une indication de provenance comme c'est le cas dans Soknebtynis, Soknopaios, Soknobrasis etc...". Cf. also SPIEGELBERG, W., "Das Heiligtum der zwei Brüder in Oxyrhynchus", p. 140; HOPFNER, T., "Graezisierte, griechisch-ägyptische, bzw. Ägyptisch-griechische und hybride theophore Personennamen aus griechischen Texten, Inschriften, Ostraka, Mumientäfelchen u. dgl. Und ihre religions-geschichtliche Bedeutung", p. 49; NACHTERGAEEL, G., "Papyrologica. I", p. 250; BLUMELL, L. H., "A Note on a Dedicatory Inscription to the God Soxis from Karanis", p. 267-268.

More than 20 anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription have been constructed with the Egyptian pronoun *Pa-* plus a Greek, Latin, Hebrew or Arabic proper name. These anthroponyms, which date without exception from the Roman period onwards, are listed in the table below:

Base name	LGPN (volume: page)	Hybrid name	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἀγάπη	II: 6; III.A: 6; IV: 4; V.B: 4	Παγάπη	4	18336
Ἀγοράσιος	III.A: 12	Παγόρασιν ¹⁵⁰⁰	2	11285
Ἄμμων	I: 32; IV: 21; V.B: 23	Πάμων, ΠΑΜΩΝ	9 2	722 ¹⁵⁰¹
Ἀμμώνιος	I: 32; II: 25-26; III.A: 33; III.B: 28; IV: 21; V.A: 27; V.B: 23	Παμώνιος ¹⁵⁰² , Παμόνιος (?) ¹⁵⁰³	1	22877 722
Ἀμμώνιος	I: 32; IV: 21	Παμμώνιος	1	722
*Ἀμμώνος	---	Παμόνος, Παμόνος	1 2	722
*Ἀνάχωρις	---	ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΕ, Πανάχωρις ¹⁵⁰⁴	14	22889
Ἀπόλλων	I: 52; IV: 36; V.A: 46	Παπόλλων	21	11214
Ἀπολλώζ/- ῶς	Ἀπολλώζ: I: 56; III.A: 52; V.A: 56; V.B: 47 Ἀπολλῶς: IV: 39; V.B: 47	Παπολλώζ/-ῶς	2	11215
Ἀχιλλεύς	I: 97; II: 85; III.A: 87; III.B: 83; IV: 63; V.A: 94-95; V.B: 80	Πααχιλλεύς ¹⁵⁰⁵	1	11007
Ἀχιλλῆς	III.A: 87	Παχιλε ¹⁵⁰⁶	1	11397
Βίκτωρ	II: 88; III.A: 91; IV: 71	ΠΑΒΙΚΤΟΡ, ΠΑΒΙΚΤΩΡ	2	27636

¹⁵⁰⁰ For the reading Παγόρασιν, “The one of the purchase”, instead of Πασόρασιν, cf. WÖRZ, K. A., “SB I 2639: A *Semasia*-Note Accompanying a Mummy”, p. 376-377.

¹⁵⁰¹ In TM Nam 722 the Greek transcriptional variants deriving from *Pa-Īmn* are mixed with the anthroponyms containing the name Ἄμμων or derivatives. These two different types of names should consequently be splitted up.

¹⁵⁰² In P. Wisc. I 14, 9: Παμωνίου. The name [Π]αμώνιος, in P. Lips. I 19, 9, has been identified as a ghostname for Ἀμώνιος. Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Some Papyrological Ghostnames”, p. 215-216. The same name in P. Wisc. I 14, 13 has been corrected by HAGEDORN, D., “Bemerkungen zu einigen Wisconsin Papyri”, p. 149.

¹⁵⁰³ The names Παμόνιος and Πάμονος, with *omicron* and simplified *mu*, could derive from *Pa-Īmn*, but they are probably transcriptional variants containing the name Ἀμμώνιος/*Ἀμμώνος.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Some variants of this name are attested, especially in Coptic: ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΕ, ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΑ, ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ, ΠΑΝΑΧΩΡΗ, ... However, a name *Ἀνάχωρις is not attested in ancient Greek, neither as substantive nor as anthroponym. The verb ἀναχωρέω, “to retire, to go back”, and the substantives ἀναχώρημα, ἀναχώρησις or ἀναχωρητής, on the other hand, are attested. If, as it seems, the anthroponym Πανάχωρις and the different Coptic variants have the same root as ἀναχωρέω, this proper name would mean “The one of the retirement”.

¹⁵⁰⁵ In P. Erl. Diospolis I, 361: Πααχιλλέως.

¹⁵⁰⁶ In SB XX 14685, 19: Παχιλε



Γένης	I: 106	ΠΑΓΗΝΕ	1	27638
Διδύμη	I: 131; III.A: 124; IV: 96; V.B: 107	Παδιδύμη ¹⁵⁰⁷	1	29833
Διδύμιος	IV: 96	Παδιδύμιος	1	38154
Δίδυμος	I: 131; II: 114-115; III.A: 124; III.B: 114; IV: 96; V.A: 129; V.B: 107	Παδίδυμος ¹⁵⁰⁸	1	29833 ¹⁵⁰⁹
Ἑλένη	II: 140; III.A: 139; IV: 116; V.A: 152; V.B: 132-133	Παελένης, Πανελένης ¹⁵¹⁰	5 1	22789 + 11133
Ἑρμῆς	I: 164; II: 157; III.A: 153; III.B: 143; IV: 124-125; V.A: 163-164; V.B: 148-149	Παερμῆς ¹⁵¹¹	1	11021
Ἑρμιος	II: 158; III.A: 154; V.A: 165	Παέρμιος	2	22792
Ἑρως	I: 167; II: 160; III.A: 155-156; III.B: 145; IV: 127-128; V.A.: 171; V.B: 156	Παέρως ¹⁵¹² , Πανέρως	1 6	26635 + 22895
Θέων	I: 224; II: 225; III.A: 209; III.B: 197; IV: 168; V.A: 219; V.B: 200	Παθέων ¹⁵¹³	1	11026
Λέκτωρ	I: 284	ΠΑΛΕΚΤΩΡ	1	27644
Νεῖλος	I: 325; II: 328; III.A: 312; IV: 247; V.A: 329; V.B: 312	Πανεῖλος	8	11156
Νικῆς	I: 332; II: 332; III.A: 320; V.A: 334	Πανικῆς ¹⁵¹⁴	1	24262
Νικῆτης	I: 332; II: 332; III.A: 320; IV: 252; V.A: 334; V.B: 317	Πανικῆτης	2	24262
*Ομηος	<i>Arabic name</i>	Παόμηος ¹⁵¹⁵	1	14217
Οὐάλης	I: 355; II: 355; III.A: 346; IV: 265-266; V.A: 349-350; V.B: 333	Παούαλις ¹⁵¹⁶	7	11183
Πόλλις	I: 375-376; II: 371; III.A: 367; III.B: 350; V.A: 370-371; V.B: 357	Πάπολλις ¹⁵¹⁷	1	29624
Σάλυμις	<i>Hebrew name</i> ¹⁵¹⁸	Πασάλυμις	17	11259

¹⁵⁰⁷ In P. Iand. 6 119, 1: ἀδελφοῖς Παδιδύμη καὶ Πεκύσι.

¹⁵⁰⁸ In P. Oxy. VI 913, Ro. 5: Παδιδύμου.

¹⁵⁰⁹ In TM Nam 29833, two different names are mixed: Παδιδύμη and Παδίδυμος.

¹⁵¹⁰ In BGU XVII 2701, col. 1, 3: Πανελένην.

¹⁵¹¹ In SB XX 14843, 2: Παερμοῦ.

¹⁵¹² In *CRIPEL* IV 895, A 1: Παέρω<το>ς.

¹⁵¹³ In SB XX 15198, A 8: Παθέων.

¹⁵¹⁴ The name Πανίκ(ου) (P. Strasb. Gr. VIII 769, Ro. 14) has been included together with the two attestations of Πανικῆτης in TM Nam 24262.

¹⁵¹⁵ This name is listed in the *Namenbuch*, col. 273.

¹⁵¹⁶ This name is considered as Egyptian on the Trismegistos database, but it is actually hybrid (Egyptian-Latin), “The one of Valens”.

¹⁵¹⁷ In *CRIPEL* III 414, A 1: Παπολλέως.

¹⁵¹⁸ Cf. HONIGMAN, S., “Abraham in Egypt: Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic Names in Egypt and Judaea in Hellenistic and Early Roman Times”, p. 285, 292.

Στράτολα, Στρατόλαος, Στρατόλας	Στράτολα: Π: 406; Στρατόλαος: Ι: 414; Π: 406; ΙΙΙ.Α: 403; ΙΙΙ.Β: 385 Στρατόλας: Π: 406; ΙΙΙ.Α: 403	ΠΑΣΤΡΑΤΩΛΗ ¹⁵¹⁹	1	31056
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C. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown

Approximately 30 anthroponyms in Greek transcriptions seem to have been constructed with the pronoun *pa-* in absolute initial position, but their complete prototypes are unknown.

a) Names for which no image is available

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Πάαις ¹⁵²⁰	1	4764
Πααρρέρησις ¹⁵²¹	1	17231
Πασσίφιβις ¹⁵²²	1	22758
Παθέρμονις ¹⁵²³	1	22800
Πάμπχημις ¹⁵²⁴	5	17283
Πανάχιος ¹⁵²⁵	1	28593
Πανουειβής ¹⁵²⁶	1	22912
Πανούμινις ¹⁵²⁷	1	24281

¹⁵¹⁹ A name *Στρατόλη or *Στρατόλης is not attested, but there are some others (cf. Στράτολα, Στρατόλαος, Στρατόλας) with the same root.

¹⁵²⁰ In P. Petrie III 100 b, col. 2, 17.

¹⁵²¹ In Stud. Pal. XX 68 Ro., fr. II 4, 8.

¹⁵²² In P. Petrie III 100, A 3: Παασσιφιβιος.

¹⁵²³ P. Michael. Gr. 28, 7: Παθ[ε]ρμούιος.

¹⁵²⁴ In O. Strasb. I 569, 5: Πάμπχημις; O. Edfou III 388, 1: Πάμπχημι(ς); O. Edfou III 411, 1: Πάμπχημις; O. Edfou III 414, 1-2: Παμπχημίου; O. Edfou III 439, 1: Πάμπχημι(ς).

¹⁵²⁵ In SB VI 9601 (7), col. 7, 2: τοῦ Παναχίου.

¹⁵²⁶ P. Princ. I 1, col. 3, 13: Πανουειβής(ς).

¹⁵²⁷ In SB XIV 11656, col. 2, 33: Π[αν]ουμίγεω(ς).

Παούψαις	17	11191
Πάπειθος ¹⁵²⁸	1	29154
παρρο ¹⁵²⁹	1	31052
Πατάχημις ¹⁵³⁰	1	17348
Πάυσις	72	36983
Παψένειος, Πάψενις ¹⁵³¹	2	29539
Πενεμένωφρις ¹⁵³²	1	24698
Πέννωφρις ¹⁵³³	1	34827

The interpretation of the etymology of some names is not easy because no images of the texts are available to confirm the readings. In the anthroponyms Πάαις and Πανάχιος, only the first part as a possible rendering of *pa-* can be recognised. Πααρρέρησις might contain the transcriptions of *Hr* and *Is.t* in middle and final positions, respectively. In Παασίφιβις, the last part is clearly recognisable as rendering of *p3-hb*, “the ibis”. The letters -ασι-, however, pose a problem of interpretation. Regarding the name Παθέρμουις, the impression is that it might be a mistake of the scribe for Παθέρμουτις (< *Pa-t3-Rnn.t*, “The one of Thermuthis”), but the trema situated on the *iota* in the document does not point in that direction; this name could derive instead from *P3-di-Hr-m3y*, “He who has been given by Horos the lion”, which is attested in Demotic¹⁵³⁴.

In the name Πάμπχημις, which is attested five times, the last part is possibly a rendering of *p3-ḥm*, “the little one”, but the *μ* poses a problem of interpretation. The element *ḥm* seems also to be contained in the name Πατάχημις: if the reading of this anthroponym is right, it could derive from both **Pa-ta-ḥm*, “The one of the one of the little one” and *P3-di-ḥm*, “He who has been given by the little one”. In Πανουειβῆς, the last part might be a transcription of *Hnb*, and the name Πανούμινις might contain the

¹⁵²⁸ O. Strasb. I 554, 16.

¹⁵²⁹ In O. Mon. Phoibammon 62, 4.

¹⁵³⁰ O. Wilcken II 224, 3.

¹⁵³¹ O. Edfou III 447, 2: Παψενείου; SB I 3553, 3: Παψένιος.

¹⁵³² SB I 3931 = SB V 8368 = SB XX 14374, 1.

¹⁵³³ SB XVIII 13752, 11: Πεννώφ[ρ]ις.

¹⁵³⁴ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN, Korrekturen und Nachträge*, p. 163.

rendition of *Mn*, “Min”, at the end. In the name Πέννωφρις, the last part could render the Egyptian word *nfr*, but the prototype of this name as *Pa-nfr*, “The one of the good one”, which is attested in Demotic¹⁵³⁵, is not completely sure. The impression is that the editor might have misread the first letter: the variant Γέννωφρις, with *gamma* instead of *pi*, would be a rendering of *Wn-nfr*, “Onnophris”¹⁵³⁶. The Egyptian prototype of Παψένειος/Πάψενις seems to begin by **Pa-p3-šr-n-...*, “The one of the son ...”, but the last part is unknown. On the other hand, several interpretations are possible for Coptic παρρο¹⁵³⁷, which has been included in the Trismegistos database as a proper name. Even if it could be an anthroponym meaning “The one of the king”, the context of the text does not allow to confirm this interpretation because the previous part of the document is not preserved; the editor translates it indeed as “my king”.

Despite the lack of images in the editions and the impossibility of confirming some readings, it is possible to propose an Egyptian prototype for some names. Thus, the editor of O. Strasb. I 554, 16 has been read the name Παπειθ(ου), with dots under *alpha* and *pi*. It is possible that what the editor reads as the second *pi* is in fact a *nu*: the name Πανείθ(ου) (nominative Πανείθης) would be the rendering of *Pa-Ni.t*, “The one of Neith”¹⁵³⁸. Likewise, the name Πενεμενώφριος is found in SB XX 14374, 1: for this anthroponym, a prototype **Pa-n-Ġmn-nfr*, “The one of the good Amun”, could be proposed, but the impression is that it is a ghostname for Πετεμενώφριος (< **P3-di-Ġmn-nfr*) or even Πετεμενώφιος. In fact, the editors of C.Étiq. Mom. 334 and C.Pap. Hengstl 60 have read this name as Πετεμενώφιος, from a prototype *P3-di-Ġmn-(m)-Ġp.t*, “He who has been given by Amun is in Opet”, a well-attested anthroponym both in Demotic and Greek transcription¹⁵³⁹. Since no images are available for this text, it is not currently possible to confirm the reading.

The names Πάυσις and Παούψαις are well attested, but their prototypes are unknown. For Πάυσις, only a possible prototype starting by **Pa-* can be recognised, and Παούψαις probably begins by the

¹⁵³⁵ Cf. TM Nam 737.

¹⁵³⁶ Cf. SB III 6319, col. 1, 20: Γέν[v?]ωφρις.

¹⁵³⁷ O. Mon. Phoibammon 62, 4.

¹⁵³⁸ Cf. TM Nam 729.

¹⁵³⁹ Cf. TM Nam 831.

pronoun *pa-* and ends by *p3-Š3y*, but, as pointed out by J. Quaegebeur¹⁵⁴⁰, the interpretation of the previous part of the anthroponym is problematic.

b) Names with uncertain reading

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Πάαλμις ¹⁵⁴¹	1	17228
Πααπαντίω ¹⁵⁴²	1	28217
Πανοκνεύς ¹⁵⁴³	1	29914
Παππάμων ¹⁵⁴⁴	1	24133
Πενπατέουρις ¹⁵⁴⁵	1	34763

For the names listed in the table above, the reading is not completely sure. In the name Πάαλμις (?), no geminated *alpha* can be seen. The anthroponym read as Πααπαντίω (?), on the other hand, seems to start by Πααπα-, but the reading of the following letters is uncertain. Instead of the name Πανόκνεος (?), one would have expected Πασόκνεος (Πασοκνεύς < **Pa-Sbk-īw*, “The one of Sobek has come”), but the first stroke of the first *nu* seems clear. The fourth letter of the name, however, which has been read as *omicron* by the editor, is uncertain. The name Πενπατέουρις is badly visible: the line in which it has been written is not completely preserved. If the reading of the name by the editor is right, it could be considered as a Greek rendering of **Pa-n-p3-dī-wr(.t)*, “The one of He who has been given by the great one”. The name read as Παππάμωνος by the editor is probably a ghostname resulting from wrong

¹⁵⁴⁰ Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 228-230. According to him (p. 230), “Bien que nous puissions sans doute reconnaître dans Παουψαις le nom de Psais, l’interprétation de la première partie et par conséquent du nom entire demeure problématique”.

¹⁵⁴¹ In P. Hibeh II 281, col. 3, 15.

¹⁵⁴² In P. Lips. I 97, col. 27, 16.

¹⁵⁴³ In BGU III 834, 9: τοῦ Πανόκνεος.

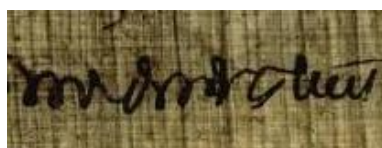
¹⁵⁴⁴ In P. Laur. II 35 Ro. 3.

¹⁵⁴⁵ In P. Brooklyn Gr. 78, 9: τὸν Πενπατέουριν.

word division: the first three letters do not seem to belong to the name Πάμωνος (“The one of Ammon”) that can be read after them.



P. Hibeh II 281, col. 3, 15: Πάαλμις (?)



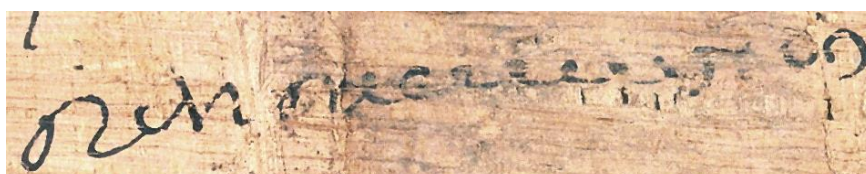
P. Lips. I 97, col. 27, 16: Πααπαντίω (?)



BGU III 834, 9: Πανόκνεος (?)



P. Brooklyn Gr. 78, 9: Πενπατέουριν (?)



P. Laur. II 35 Ro. 3: Παππάμωνος (?)

c) Names with a certain reading

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Πάλασις ¹⁵⁴⁶	1	33596
Πάανις ¹⁵⁴⁷	1	17229
Παανίων ¹⁵⁴⁸	1	38147
Παντοενβῆς ¹⁵⁴⁹	2	11174
Πάπνουις ¹⁵⁵⁰	1	24305
Πάπουθις ¹⁵⁵¹ ,	7	11219 +
Πάπουθις ¹⁵⁵² ,	1	28239 +
Παπουθ... ¹⁵⁵³	1	38262
Πασκουει ¹⁵⁵⁴	1	38284
Φαμουνίφις ¹⁵⁵⁵	3	25915

Even if the reading of the names Παάλασις and Πάανις seems clear, only their first part as transcription of **Pa-...* is recognisable. The second π in Πάπνουις is probably the rendering of the masculine article *p3*. Παανίων¹⁵⁵⁶ is considered as an Egyptian-Greek hybrid name in the Trismegistos database in the basis of the anthroponym Αύνίων (cf. TM Nam 6688), which is classified as Greek even if it is not listed in the *LGP*N. Other proper names, as Αύνῆς (TM Nam 39204) or Αύνᾶς (TM Nam 2416), seem to have the same root. If Αύνῆς/Αύνᾶς are Egyptian names, it is not clear if

¹⁵⁴⁶ In P. Amh. Gr. II 35, 23: τὸν Παάλασιν.

¹⁵⁴⁷ In P. Oxy. XVI 2058, col. 3, 46.

¹⁵⁴⁸ In SB XIV 11304, 4: Παανίονι[.

¹⁵⁴⁹ In BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. B col. 12, 175: Παντοενβῆς. For the attestation of BGU XVI 2577 Ro. fr. D col. 19, 317 no image is available.

¹⁵⁵⁰ In SB XVIII 13139, 3: τοῦ Παπν[ο]ύνεως.

¹⁵⁵¹ In O. Cairo 129, 8: Παπούθιος; P. Col. 2 1 Ro (1 a), col. 5, 4: τοῦ Παπουτ(); O. Strasb. I 641, 3: Πάπουθι(ς); O. Strasb. I 641, 9: Παπούθι(ος); O. Strasb. I 641, 11: Πάπουθι(ς); O. Strasb. I 644, 2: Πάπουθι; and O. Strasb. I 644, 9: Πάπουθι.

¹⁵⁵² In O. Petrie Mus. 432, 3: Πάπουθι in the edition. On the Trismegistos database and <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.petr.;348>, this name appears as Παπουθιω. However, the *omega* that follows the *iota* belongs probably to the next word.

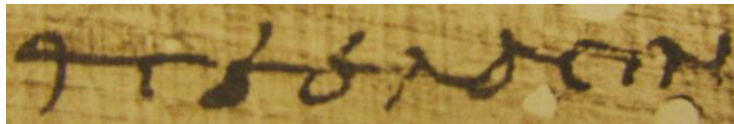
¹⁵⁵³ In P. Col. II 1 Ro. (1 a-b), col. 4, 22: Παπουθ...

¹⁵⁵⁴ In P. Mich. IV 224, col. 57, 2339.

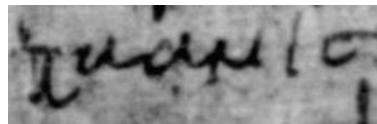
¹⁵⁵⁵ In P. Lille Gr. I 59, 66: Φαμουνίφι[ις]; P. Lille Gr. I 59, 70: Φαμουνίφι[ις]. In P. Lille Gr. I 59, 76, only the first three letters are readable: Φαμ[ου]νίφις.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Cf. BALCONI, C., “Papiri documentari dell’Università Cattolica di Milano. Frammento”, p. 119: “L’onomastica testimoniata in questo frammento ci è già nota perchè ampiamente documentata, soprattutto nell’Arsinoite, ad eccezione di Παανίων (r. 4) finora sconosciuto”.

they could have the same prototype as Ὀνής (TM Nam 354), which is the Greek rendering of Egyptian *Ḥwn*, “The young one”¹⁵⁵⁷. Since no bilingual document with a name with the root Αὐν- and its corresponding anthroponym in Demotic has been found, it is not possible to know if the anthroponym Παωνίων could derive from a prototype **Pa-ḥwn* or *P3-ḥwn*¹⁵⁵⁸. The prototype of Παντοενβῆς, on the other hand, could begin by *pa-* and end by *Ḥnb*, but the Egyptian correspondence of the middle part poses a problem.



P. Amh. Gr. II 35, 23: Παάλασιν




P. Oxy. XVI 2058, col. 3, 46: Πάανις



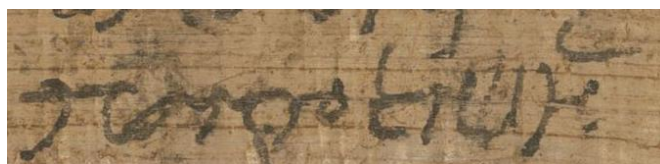
SB XVIII 13139, 3: τοῦ Παπν[ο]ύνεως



SB XIV 11304, 4: Παωνίονι[

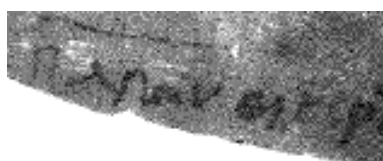
¹⁵⁵⁷ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 529, A 2 and B 1. Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 778, “Jüngling”; RANKE, H., *PN*, p. 236.5: *Ḥwn* . The interchange of ω and ο/ω is not frequent in Koine Greek (cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 234), even if in other languages it is usual (cf. Latin *aurum* > French *or*, Spanish *oro*).

¹⁵⁵⁸ Attested in Graff. Med. Habu 176, 2 and O. Narm. Dem. III 130, 5.

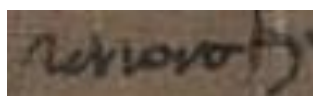


BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. B col. 12, 175: Παντοενβης⁵

The name Πάπουθις is well attested and the available images of the name confirm that the readings are correct. However, an Egyptian name transcribed in Greek as *Ποῦθις is not known. If this anthroponym starts by the pronoun *pa-*, the *pi* of *-πουθις* could represent the masculine article *p3* or belong to the root of a name *Ποῦθις¹⁵⁵⁹. The name Πουθίς¹⁵⁶⁰ is, however, attested in Greek, and so are several anthroponyms with the root Πουθ-¹⁵⁶¹. Since there are no bilingual text containing both the Greek and the Demotic versions, it is not currently possible to know if the etymology of this name is Greek or Egyptian.



O. Cairo 129, 8: Παπούθιος

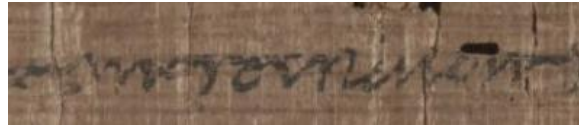


P. Col. II 1 Ro. (1 a), col. 5, 4: τοῦ Παπουτ()

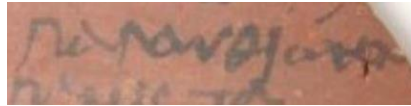
¹⁵⁵⁹ Cf. the name Πάουθις in P. Count. 6, 108 (Παρούθι(ος)) and 135 (Πάουθις); and P. Count. 17, 5 (Πάρουθις), although the root of these names is probably different. In P. Count. no etymology is proposed for these names. It is not possible to know if they started by the pronoun *pa-* or by the masculine article.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Πουθίς in *LGPN* III.B, p. 358 (Tanagra, Boiotia).

¹⁵⁶¹ Cf. Πουθίας (*LGPN* III. B, p. 358); Πουθίων (III.B, p. 359); Πουθογένεις (III.B, p. 359); Πουθόδοτος (III.B, p. 359); Πουθοδώρα (III.B, p. 359); Πουθόδωρος (III.B, p. 359); Πούθων (III.B, p. 359). The names in Πουθ- appear to be characteristic of Boiotia, since they are only attested there.

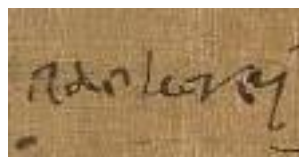


P. Col. II 1 Ro. (1 b), col. 4, 22: Παπουθ()



O. Petrie Mus. 432, 3: Πάπουθι

The anthroponym Πασκουει might derive from Egyptian **Pa-ns-gwy*, “The one of He/She who belongs to the little one”; although this interpretation is phonetically possible¹⁵⁶², it is not, however, sure, because a possible name **Ns-gwy* is not attested¹⁵⁶³. On the other hand, the name Φαμουνίοφις could correspond to *Pa-Īmn-(m)-Īp.t*, “The one of Amun is in Opet”¹⁵⁶⁴, but the vocalisation of *Īmn* is not *ou* in any proper name with this element in middle position¹⁵⁶⁵. In addition, the *iota* between the *nu* and the *omicron* poses a problem. Since the vocalisation of *Īmn* in final position is usually *ou*¹⁵⁶⁶, Φαμουνίοφις may be a ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division: the name which is probably attested here is Φαμουν (< *Pa-Īmn*, “The one of Amun”) followed by other word.



¹⁵⁶² Cf. Coptic *κογι* in all the dialects; cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 73.

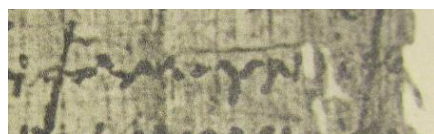
¹⁵⁶³ The female counterpart *Τάσκουις* seems to be found in P. Mich. IV 224, col. 69, 2777.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Cf. TM Nam 711.

¹⁵⁶⁵ An etymologically short vowel *ε* or *ο* appears instead. Cf. *Īmn* in middle position: attestations and geographical spread and linguistic characteristics.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Cf. *Īmn* in final position: attestations and geographical spread and linguistic characteristics.

P. Mich. IV 224, col. 57, 2339: Πασκουει



P. Lille Gr. I 59, 66: Φαμουινόφ[ιος]



P. Lille Gr. I 59, 70: Φαμουινόφ[ιος]

1.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

18 transcriptional variants with the pronoun *pa-* in absolute initial position are attested in the Fayum, 7 in Lower Egypt and 20 in Upper Egypt. The variant *Πα-/πα-*, which represents 63 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 83.59 % from Lower Egypt and 79.57 % from Upper Egypt, seems to be the most frequent in all the geographical areas, followed by the variant *Φα-/φα-*, which appears in 19.65 % of the transcriptions from the Fayum, 10.93 % from Lower Egypt and 8.48 % from Upper Egypt¹⁵⁶⁷.

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L07	L09	L10	L11	L13	L14	L16	L19	L20	L21
Π-	2														
π-															

¹⁵⁶⁷ The following names, which have been completely or partially reconstructed by the editors, have not been considered here: [Πα]ρσιρίου (P. Erl. Diospolis 1, 128); [Παθέρ]μουτις (SB VIII 10162 [612], 1); [νι καὶ Παχράτη (SB XXIV 16069, 3); Πα]αγούφιο(ς) (P. Oxy. Census AR1, 4); [Παάνου]φίς (P. Oxy. Census CR2, 428); Πα[ν]ήσεως (P. Mich. IX 527, 4); Πανήσει (PSI X 1134, 26); Πα]νήσεως (P. Tebt. II 303, 4-5); Παγ]ήσεως (P. Tebt. II 303, 5); Πάν]ησις (P. Tebt. II 303, 22); Πανήσιος (P. Mich. V 240, col. 1, 2); Πανήσεως (P. Tebt. II 292, 13); Π[ανήσιος (P. Tebt. IV 1120, col. 4, 59); [Πάνησι]ς (SB III 6319, col. 1, 5); Παγκ(αμήτιος) (O. Bodl. II 542, 2); Πανκολλαύχιος (Stud. Pal. V 96, fr. 2 1); Πανκολλαύχιος (Stud. Pal. V 96, fr. 2 3-4); [Φα]ρβατιώνος (P. Oxy. XII 1444, 29); [Φάμου]νι (BGU X 1943, 8); [Φάμου]νι (BGU X 1943, 9); Φάμου]νι (BGU X 1943, 18); [Φαράτου (O. Edfou III 361, 3); (BGU XIV 2374, 8); Φαήσιο]ς (PSI I 36 a, fr. 4 22); Φαήσιο]ς (PSI I 36 a, fr. 5 28); [Φάβιτος] (P. Tebt. III 834, 54); Φ[ανήσιος (P. L. Bat. XX 12, Ro col. ext, 17); PSI VI 603, Ro 1 ([Φάνησις]; Φ[ανή(σεως) (P. Petaus 16, 14); [Φανήσει] (P. Tebt. III 793, col. 6, 23); [Φανήσιος (P. Tebt. IV 1108, col. 5, 128); Φανήσιος] (P. Tebt. IV 1108, col. 6, 131); [Φ]άνησις (P. Petaus 108, col. 1, 27); [Φ]ανήσεως (P. Petaus 108, col. 4, 104); Φ[ανήσιος] (P. Tebt. IV 1103, col. 12, 275); Φανή]σιος (P. Tebt. IV 1115, col. 8, 159); [Φ]ανήσιος (P. Tebt. IV 1143, col. 1, 22); Φ[άνησι]ς (P. Tebt. III 734, fr. 2 21); [Φα]νήσιος (P. Tebt. III 870, fr. 2 36).

Π(α)-	1154	1		1	1					2					
π(λ)-	2														
Πα-	5363	34	77	4	48	2		2	1	1	1	33	1	2	1
πα-	13		7												
Πα(α)-	2														
Παα-															
Παι-	1														
Παν-	77														
παγ-															
παλ-															
Π(ε)-															
Πε-	23														
πε-															
Πεν-	6		1												
Πενε-	4														
Πενν-	1														
Φ(α)-	31	1					1					1			2
φ(λ)-	1														
Φα-	1675	1	7		3					1		15		1	
φα-	1														
Φαν-	158	2													
φε-															1
Total attestations	8525	39	92	5	52	2	1	2	1	4	1	49	1	3	4

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U06	U07	U08	U09	U10	U12	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
Π-	1															
π-				1												
Π(α)-	17	5	2	153	1	3	2	1	17	20	1		106	2	207	28
π(λ)-				22				2		2		9	22		1	
Πα-	446	102	47	2079	28	10	45	15	161	122		52	401	13	733	219
πα-	12	2		355	2	1	2	3	1	46		9	46			1
Πα(α)-																
Παα-				2									1			1
Παι-																
Παν-	2	1		17	1		1		4				13		6	1
παγ-										1						
παλ-				1												
Π(ε)-																
Πε-	3	2		12					2				6		1	2
πε-													2			
Πεν-				2											1	2
Πενε-																
Πενν-																
Φ(α)-	1	1		3						1			1		8	3
φ(λ)-																
Φα-	3	13		473	1					6		1	7		7	13
φα-				2									1			
Φαν-																2
φε-				1											4	
Total attestations	485	126	49	3123	33	14	50	21	185	198	1	67	606	15	968	272

1.3. Linguistic characteristics

In 77.98 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 85.93 % from Lower Egypt and 91.11 % from Upper Egypt, Egyptian *p* is represented as Π-/π-. In one Coptic attestation from Thebes¹⁵⁶⁸, it appears as double π. Egyptian *p* has been transcribed, on the other hand, as Φ-/φ- in 21.88 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 14.06 % from Lower Egypt and 8.88 % from Upper Egypt. These results do not consequently seem to be in agreement with the forms that have traditionally been considered as dialectal¹⁵⁶⁹: the pronoun *pa* does not only appear with an aspirate stop in Lower Egypt, but also in Upper Egypt and, especially, in the Fayum. In all the geographical areas, included Lower Egypt and the Fayum, the representation of *pa* with a non-aspirate stop is more frequent than the notation of this pronoun with Φ-/φ-. As pointed out by A. Mallon, in Bohairic the aspirated stops in the pronoun *pa* are frequently replaced by non-aspirated stops¹⁵⁷⁰. The rate of aspiration and non-aspiration of Egyptian *p* according to each geographical zone do not allow to affirm that aspiration is characteristic of a specific dialect: in the Delta and especially in the Fayum – the areas where Bohairic and Fayumic have traditionally been supposed to be spoken, respectively –, aspiration of *p* is higher than in Upper Egypt, but even in these zones the variant with Π-/π- appears in more than 75 % of the attestations. The use of an aspirated stop in the notation of the pronoun *pa* seems to be due, as a consequence, not to a dialectal reason, but to the confusion of both phonemes due to bilingual interference¹⁵⁷¹.

¹⁵⁶⁸ In the name ππλππνοθ, in PINTAUDI, R., SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., “Tre ostraca copti della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana”, p. 99-100, n. 3, 27. As pointed out by the editors, this name probably corresponds to {π}πλππνο<Υ>θ(ε)/-θ(ις). πλλπππνοϣτε (P. Ryl. Copt. 157, 7), which has been included in the Trismegistos database as a proper name (cf. TM Nam 749), is not an anthroponym: ϣππλλ πππνοϣτε, “in the pity of the god”.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Cf. TILL, W. C., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 29, who considers the form πλ- as characteristic of Akhmimic, Sub-Akhmimic, Sahidic and Fayumic and φλ- as typical of Bohairic. Cf. also CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 259; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 157.

¹⁵⁷⁰ MALLON, A., *Grammaire copte*, p. 43: “Les aspirées φ θ sont parfois remplacées par les fortes π τ comme dans le dialecte Sa'idique”.

¹⁵⁷¹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, p. 95: “The unconditioned interchange of aspirated and voiceless stops is caused by bilingual interference. Only in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic, spoken in the Delta area, were there aspirated stop phonemes. Even in this dialect the opposition between voiceless and aspirate occurred only in accented syllables, and the aspirates were lost in late Byzantine times”.

The vowel of the pronoun *pa* has been rendered as α/ⲁ in 85.51 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 94.14 % from Lower Egypt and 89.07 % from Upper Egypt. In 4 transcriptions, the vowel α seems to have been written with dittography and consequently the pronoun *pa* appears as Παα-¹⁵⁷². In one Coptic attestation, *pa* has apparently been represented as ⲡⲁϣ-¹⁵⁷³. On the other hand, the vocalization of the pronoun *pa* has been represented as ε/ⲉ in 34 proper names from the Fayum (0.39 % of the attestations), 2 from Lower Egypt (0.78 %) and 40 (0.64 %) from Upper Egypt. In one anthroponym¹⁵⁷⁴, *pa* seems to have been written as Παι-: although in this name αι is likely a confusion with ε, Παι- might also render the demonstrative pronoun *pzy*. In four attestations¹⁵⁷⁵, there is not vowel transcribed.

In 43 of the 76 anthroponyms of *pa* with ε/ⲉ in initial position, this is, in 56.57 % of the attestations with this vocalization, there is a front vowel – which has been represented as ε, η, ει or ι – in the next syllable of the name after the rendering of *pa*: Πέησις/Πενέησις/Πένησις/Πέννησις (< *Pa-Is.t*, “The one of Isis”), Πενείθης (< *Pa-Ni.t*, “The one of Neith”), Πεπρεμίθης (< *Pa-p3-r3-mḥt*, “The one of the northern gate”), Πεψενόσιρις (< **Pa-p3-šr-n-Wsir*, “The one of the son of Osiris”)¹⁵⁷⁶, Πέλευις (< *Pa-lhw*), Πέσημις (< *Pa-Dm3*, “The one of Djeme”), Πέτριφις (< *Pa-t3-Rpy.t*, “The one of Tryphis”), Πείβις (< *Pa-hb*, “The one of the ibis”)¹⁵⁷⁷, Πενεχώτης (< *Pa-n3-ḫt.w*, “The one of the *chet*

¹⁵⁷² In BGU III 996, col. 2, 12: Πααμήνιος; SB XII 10901, 8: Παασήμιος; P. Brem. 37, 18: Πααανούφιος (< *Pa-Ḥnpw*, “The one of Anubis”); and presumably in BGU XVI 2674, 75: Πάαρις, if this name derives from *Pa-ry.t*.

¹⁵⁷³ In the name ⲡⲁϣⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, in CRUM, W. E., BELL, H. I., *Wadi Sarga. Coptic and Greek Texts from the Excavations Undertaken by the Byzantine Research Account*, p. 144, n. 178, 4). The editors translate this name as Papnoute, which leads to think that the name has been written with a mistake in the document or there is a printing error in the edition.



¹⁵⁷⁴ In Παιθώτης (< *Pa-Dḥwty*, “The one of Thoth”) (P. Petrie III 117 g, col. 2, 37).

¹⁵⁷⁵ In the names Πνεμιεῦτι (P. Wisc. II 78, col. 1, 158) and Πνεμιεύς (P. Wisc. II 78, col. 2, 181), from the Arsinoites, both renderings of *Pa-n3-m3y.w*, “The one of the lions”; and Ππνοῦθις (P. Lond. V 1725, 18), from Syene, and ππνοϥⲧⲉ (P. KRU 28, 55), from Thebes, both transcriptions of *Pa-p3-ntr*, “The one of the god”.

¹⁵⁷⁶ In O. Edfou III 421, 1: Πεψενοσί(ριος).

¹⁵⁷⁷ In SB XXIV 16096, Ro. 9: Πείβις.

demons”)¹⁵⁷⁸, ΠΕΝΕΥΖΟΟΡ (< **Pa-nz-whr.w*, “The one of the dogs”)¹⁵⁷⁹, Φέρεμφις (< **Pa-rnp.t*, “The one of the year”), Φέγωνις (< *Pa-wn*, “The one of the light”)¹⁵⁸⁰,...

At first sight, the rendering of the vowel of *pa* as ε and not as α in these attestations seems to be due to the regressive assimilation caused by a following vowel with more phonetic strength or even stressed. However, the interchange between the pronoun *pa* and the ancient demonstrative *p3* (*n*) – from which *pa* actually derives –, cannot be excluded. In P. Lond. II, 257 Ro., col. 8, 290, two attestations of the name *Pa-n3-dbz.w*, “The one of the avenging demons”, seem to be found: in one of them, the pronoun *pa* appears to have been noted as Πε-, whereas in the other one as Πα-: Πενέγβ(αυις) Ὁρου τοῦ Παν[εγ]β(αύιος) μη(τρός); the notation of *pa* as Πε- is, according to the editor, an error of the scribe. In other attestations, such as Πένουφις (< *Pa-nfr*, “The one of the good one”), Πέρμουθις (< **Pa-Rnn.t*, “The one of Thermuthis”), Πέχνουβις (< *Pa-Hnm*, “The one of Khnum”) or Πέχωνσις (< *Pa-Hnsw*, “The one of Khonsu”), the vowel ε of the pronoun *pa* cannot be explained by phonetic assimilation, which indeed leads to think of a possible interchange between the pronoun *pa* and the ancient demonstrative or even the masculine article *p3* in some examples. In fact, aside from the names *Pa-wn* and *Pa-nfr*, the anthroponyms *P3-wn* and *P3-nfr* are also attested in Demotic: it is possible that names such as Φέγωνις and Πένουφις do not derive from the prototypes *Pa-wn* or *Pa-nfr*, but from *P3-wn*¹⁵⁸¹, “The light” and *P3-nfr*¹⁵⁸², “The good one”¹⁵⁸³. Nevertheless, the pronoun *pa* and the form of the ancient demonstrative or the article also appear to be occasionally interchangeable in Demotic. Thus, the Demotic form of the article is attested before the names of gods that usually appear without article both in Demotic and in Greek transcription (cf. *P3-Wsir*  and *Pa-Wsir* , “The one

¹⁵⁷⁸ In P. Oxy. LXI 4123, 3: Πενεχώτη. The editor points out in p. 115: “Interchange of alpha and epsilon is a common phonetic error”, and alludes to the interchange of α and ε in Koine Greek, especially in Greek transcriptions of Egyptian names; cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 278-286.


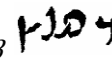

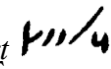
¹⁵⁷⁹ In CPR IV 35, 1: ΠΕΝΕΥΖΟΟΡ; 7: Π]ΕΝΕΥΖΟΟΡ; and 12: ΠΕΝΕΖΟΟΡ.



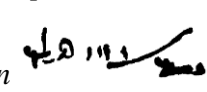


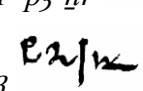
¹⁵⁸⁰ In P. Paris 9, 9: Φεγώνιος. On the other hand, in the name Πέκοιβις (< *Pa-Gbk*, “The one of Geb”) (O. Strasb. I 304, 3), there seems to be a confusion of οι and η, since the most frequent vocalization of *Gbk* occurs with η. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 262-267.


¹⁵⁸¹ Cf. TM Nam 687.

¹⁵⁸² Cf. TM Nam 935.

¹⁵⁸³ Cf. also the name *P3-Hnm* along with *Pa-Hnm*, “The one of Khnum” (TM Nam 674), or *P3-šr-(n)-p3-Hnm* aside from *P3-šr-n-pa-Hnm*, “The son of the one of Khnum” (TM Nam 10281).

of Osiris”) and in hypocoristics or abbreviated anthroponyms as *P3-n3*  /*Pa-n3*  or *P3-rf*  /*Pa-rf*  ¹⁵⁸⁴.

The occasional ambiguity between the forms of the article and the pronoun is probably reflected in their notation as *p*  ¹⁵⁸⁵ in some attestations, like in *P-Īkš* , “The Kushite/The one of the Kushite”; *P-lyn* , “The smith/The one of the smith”; *P-ll* , “The pig/The one of the pig”; *P-p3-ḥr* , “The one of the street”, or in hypocoristics or abbreviated names such as *P-w3*  ¹⁵⁸⁶.

In 246 proper names from the Fayum (2.88 % of the attestations), 3 from Lower Egypt (1.17 %) and 54 from Upper Egypt (0.86 %), there is a *v* between the pronoun situated in initial position and the following element. In the name Πέννησις ¹⁵⁸⁷ (< *Pa-Īs.t*, “The one of Isis”), it appears as double *v*. Most attestations with *v* are transcriptional variants of *Pa-Īs.t* (cf. Πάνησις, Πένησις, Φάνησις,...), but they can also derive from other prototypes such as *Pa-Īmn*, “The one of Amun” (cf. Φαναμουν), or *Pa-Ḥr-p3-ḥrd*, “Horus the child” (cf. Πεναρποχράτης). Of the 303 attestations with *v*, 39 (12.87 %) have a consonant after it: Πανκάμητις (*K3-mw.t=f*) Πανκόλλαυχις Πανκολλούθης Πανσίσοις,... The name Πέννουφις could be interpreted as deriving from the prototype *Pa-nfr*, “The one of the good one”, or *P3-nfr*, “The good one”, and the first *v* could be the preposition belonging to the previous demonstrative but also the representation of the *n* of *nfr* with dittography. In four attestations from the Fayum, there is an *ε* after the *v* (cf. Πενέησις < *Pa-Īs.t*). The Demotic variants *P-n-Īs.t*  ¹⁵⁸⁸


¹⁵⁸⁴ Images from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*: *P3-Wsir*: p. 360, n. 2; *Pa-Wsir*: p. 360, n. 4; *P3-n3*: p. 376, n. 15; *Pa-n3*: p. 376, n. 10; *P3-rf*: 394, n. 12; *Pa-rf*: p. 394, n. 2.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 366, *Pa-p3-ḥr*, n. 2.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Images from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*: *P-Īkš*: p. 160, n. 9; *P-lyn*: p. 199, n. 2; *P-ll*: p. 198, n. 1; *P-p3-ḥr*: p. 366, n. 2; *P-w3*: p. 357, n. 5.

¹⁵⁸⁷ In BGU IV 1046, col. 2, 11.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 354, n. 23. Cf. also P. Hawara 4 a, Ro. 6.

and *Pa-n-Īs.t*  ¹⁵⁸⁹ seem to show that the *v* rendered in less than 3 % of the names with the pronoun *pa* in initial position is the transcription of the Egyptian preposition *n* that was a part of the demonstrative pronoun *p(3) n* characteristic of Late Egyptian. However, the representation of intervocal *v* in more than 85 % of the attestations and in some mixed names of later creation, such as Πανελένης, “The one of Helene”, and Πανέρως, “The one of Eros”, could indicate that this *v* may have been conceived as euphonic by the speakers and, as such, mostly maintained in an intervocalic position or even added in hybrid anthroponyms dating from a later period.

2. THE PRONOUN -PA- IN MIDDLE POSITION

2.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

The Egyptian pronoun *pa* is attested in secondary initial position in more than 90 Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription. *Hr-pa-Īs.t*, “Horus, the one of Isis”, with more than 1000 attestations, was the most popular. Furthermore, the transcriptions of the names **Ta-Hr-pa-Īs.t*, “The one of Horus, the one of Isis”, and **Hr-pa-m3y*, “Horus, the one of the lion”, have approximately 50 attestations each.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*P3-‘hm-pa-‘ly-m-htp	The eagle (of) the one of Imhotep	Παχομπαιμούθης	1	23002
*P3-‘hm-pa-‘lry-hms-nfr	The eagle (of) the one of Arsenuphis	Παχομπάρνουφης	1	17402
*P3-‘hm-pa-‘3	The eagle (of) the one of the great one	Παχομπάως	1	24481
*P3-‘hm-pa-Wn-nfr	The eagle (of) the one of Onnophris	Παχομπανώνωφρις	17	11401
*P3-‘hm-pa-W3dy.t	The eagle (of) the one of Ouadjet	Παχομπαούσεις	1	17401
*P3-‘hm-pa-b3-‘nh	The eagle (of) the one of the living <i>ba</i>	Παχομπαβήνχις	2	23001
*P3-‘hm-pa-p3-‘3	The eagle (of) the one of the great one	Παχομπαπέως	1	24497

¹⁵⁸⁹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 354, n. 21.

*P3-ḥm-pa-ns-mtr	The eagle (of) the one of He/She who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Παχομπάσμηθις, Παχωμπάζμηθις	2	17403
*P3-ḥm-pa-Ḥr-wd3	The eagle (of) the one of Horos is prosperous	Παχομπαρυώθης	3	23003
*P3-ḥm-pa-swn.t ¹⁵⁹⁰	The eagle (of) the one of the feast	Παχομπάσμηθις	1	23004
P3-ḥm-(n)-pa-ḥy	The eagle (of) He who has been given by Khonsu	Παχουμπάχοις	2	8155
*P3-šr-n-pa-Ḳnpw	The son of the one of Anubis	Ψενπάνουπις	1	39013
*P3-šr-n-pa-Ḳs.t	The son of the one of Isis	Ψανπάησος	1	26195
*P3-šr-n-pa-ḥw	The son of the one of the great one	Ψενπαούς	2	13029
*P3-šr-n-pa-p3-lyn	The son of the one of the smith	Ψενσάπληνις	3	25914
P3-šr-n-pa-n3	<i>Hypocoristic</i> ¹⁵⁹¹	Ψενπανᾶς	1	10277
P3-šr-n-pa-Ḳp	The son of the one of Apis	Ψενπάαπις	1	10278
P3-šr-n-pa-Ḳnm	The son of the one of Khnum	Ψενπάχνουμις	4	10281
*P3-šr-n-pa-t3-sbt	The son of the one of the hill	Ψενπάτσεβτις	1	25928
*P3-šr-n-pa-t3-Rnn.t	The son of the one of Thermuthis	πωρηπατερμογτε	1	27727
*P3-šr-n-pa-Ḳm3	The son of the one of Djeme	Ψενπάσημις	1	39014
*P3-šr-n-Mnt-pa-lyn	The son of Montu, the smith	Ψενμοντπάπληνις ¹⁵⁹²	1	13018
*P3-šr-n-t3-rmt.t-n-pa-... (?)	The son of the woman of the one of ... (?)	Ψεντρεμπαπούησις	1	18173
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-iry	The son of the daughter of the one of the companion	Ψενσενπάηρις ¹⁵⁹³	1	25935

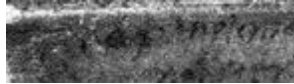
¹⁵⁹⁰ On the name *Pa-swn.t* (> Πάσηνις) (TM Nam 10437), “The one of the feast of the sixth day”, whose attestations in Greek transcription come mainly from the area of Elephantine, cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 414: “Der des Festes des sechsten Tages”. The parallel transcriptional variant with the last part of the name Παχομπάσμηθις allows to reconstruct the prototype *P3-ḥm-pa-swn.t, “The eagle (of) the one of the feast of the sixth day”. Cf. P. Brooklyn Gr. 43, 4: Πασήνις Παχομπάσμηθις. This fact leads to think that the provenance of P. Brooklyn Gr. 43 is also the area of Elephantine. Cf. P. Brooklyn Gr. 43, p. 71.

¹⁵⁹¹ Cf. the name *Pa-n3* *supra*, in the list of the pronoun *pa-* in absolute initial position.

¹⁵⁹² In O. Heid. 159, 1: Ψενμοντπαπληνιο().

¹⁵⁹³ The name Ψενσενπαή[ριος], in O. Theb. Gr. 140, 6, has been reconstructed and, as a consequence, is not completely sure. In fact, this name could also be Ψενσενπαή[σιος], genitive of Ψενσενπάησις (*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-Ḳs.t, “The son of the daughter of the one of Isis”).

*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa- Mnṯ	The son of the daughter of the one of Montu	Ψενσενπαμώνθης	2	13040
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-pa-h3.t	The son of the daughter of the one who is superior	Ψενσενπάης	1	26275
P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-pa-Is.t	The son of the daughter of Horos the one of Isis	Ψενσεναρπάησις	4	23773
*Pa-pa-iry	The one of the one of the comrade	Πεφάηρις ¹⁵⁹⁴	1	38412
*Pa-pa- w	The one of the one of the great one	Παπαούς	1	18456
*Pa-pa-Dm3	The one of the one of Djeme	Παπάσημις	2	17310
*Pa-t3-rmt.t-n-pa-Bḥt	The one of the woman of the one of Behdet	Πατρεμπαβάθης	4	11352
M3 .t-R -pa-i3w	Marres, the aged one	Μαρεφauῆς	5	441
*Ns-pa-Ḥnm	He/She belongs to the one of Khnum	Σπάχνουμις	1	30115
Ḥr-pa-Is.t	Horos, the one of Isis	Ἀρφάησις,	1118	284 +
		Ἀρφάησις ¹⁵⁹⁵ ,	1	21309 +
		Α<ρ>φάησις,	1	8909 +
		Ἀρφα[ησ]ις ¹⁵⁹⁶ ,	1	24741 +
		Ἀρπά{σ}ησις	1	35542
		Ἀρπαίης	2	18727
		Ἀρπαήσιμος	1	28137
		Ἀρπασιών	19	4415
		Ἀρπᾶσις, Ἀρφᾶσις (probably hypocoristics)	2	21310
*Ḥr-pa-lyn	Horos, the one of the smith	Ὀρπᾶς (hypocoristic)	1	22697
		Ἀρπάπληνις	1	16589

¹⁵⁹⁴ The reading Πελ[ρ]φάηρις in O. Leiden Gr. 353, 2 is correct:  Cf. the name *Pa-İry* > Φάηρις (TM Nam 682).

¹⁵⁹⁵ The name Ἀρφαησις(ς) (P. Berl. Leihg. I 8, col. 2, 30) that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.berl.leihg;1;8> is a mistake for Ἀρφαήσις(ς), which is the name that appears in the edition.

¹⁵⁹⁶ The name Ἀρφαίσις(ς), which has been read by the editor of P. Corn. 23, fr. b 9, has been identified as a ghostname for Ἀρφα[ησ]ις(ς). Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

*Hr-pa-R ^c	Horos, the one of Ra	Ἀρπαρή ¹⁵⁹⁷	2	21282
*Hr-pa-sn-sn.w (?)	Horos, the one of the two brothers (?)	Ἀρπασισενεύς (?) ¹⁵⁹⁸	1	21284
*Hr-pa-t3-wmt.t ¹⁵⁹⁹	Horos, the one of the tower (?)	Ἀρπούμοθος	1	29064
		Ἀρπατουώμης	1	29591
*Hr-pa-Twtw	Horos, the one of Totoes	Ἀρπατοθοῖς	5	6872
*Hr-pa-Dḥwty (?)	Horos, the one of Thoth	Ἀρπαθώτης (?) ¹⁶⁰⁰	1	26494
*T3-rmt.t-n-pa-p3-wr	The woman of the one of the great one	Τρεμπαπούρης ¹⁶⁰¹	3	23603
*T3-rmt.t-n-pa-mw	The woman of the one of the water	Τρεμπαμου ¹⁶⁰²	1	30749
*T3-rmt.t-n-pa-Mnṯ	The woman of the one of Montu	Τρομπαμώνης	1	26492
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm-pa-Wn-nfr	The daughter of the eagle, the one of Onnophris	Τινπαχομπαόννοφρις	1	28176
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Ḳnpw	The daughter of the one of Anubis	Σενπάνουπις	1	28163

¹⁵⁹⁷ The two attestations of this name, Ἀρπαρή¹⁵⁹⁷ and Ἀρπαρή¹⁵⁹⁷, occur in P. Mich. V 313, 3 and 18 respectively. A prototype *Hr-pa-R^c can be suggested. Cf. the name Hr-p3-R^c, “Horos-Ra” (TM Nam 295).

¹⁵⁹⁸ The reading of the name Ἀρπασισενεύς in O. Wilcken II 1183, 7 – which can be found on <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;1183> but not in the edition – is doubtful. Cf. O. Wilcken II 1183, p. 313. For a name *Ἀρπασισενεύς a prototype *Hr-pa-sn-sn.w, “Horos, the one of the two brothers”, can be suggested.

¹⁵⁹⁹ On Pa-t3-wmt.t (TM Nam 777), “The one of the tower”, cf. *supra*, in the list of the pronoun pa- in absolute initial position.

¹⁶⁰⁰ This name is attested in BGU III 860, 4: Ἀρπαθώτου. The first part of the name, however, is not visible and consequently is uncertain.

¹⁶⁰¹ This name is attested in O. Bodl. II 1922, 10: Τρεμπαπουήριος; O. Leiden Gr. 228, 4: Τρεμπαπουήριος(ς); and, with dittography of πο, in O. Wilcken II 1299, 5: Τρεμπαποπουήσιος. The name *T3-rmt.t-n-pa-p3-wr is suggested as prototype of these anthroponyms (cf. also Παπούρης < *Pa-p3-wr, “The one of the great one”, TM Nam 24641).

¹⁶⁰² The name Τρεμπαμου, badly visible, seems to be attested in O. Douch I 51, 6. In SB I 3558, 1, the name Τρεμπαμού, probably from a prototype *T3-rmt.t-n-p3-mw, “The woman of the water”, occurs. The attestation of O. Douch I 51, 6 is a form without Greek morphological ending which would correspond to a nominative. It is not possible to know if the form attested in SB I 3558, 1 is also a form without Greek morphological ending or a genitive: Τάησις Τρεμπαμου. In Coptic, the Egyptian word mw, “water”, appears as موϣ. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 126-127.

T3-šr.t-(n)-pa-iry	The daughter of the one of the companion	Σενφάηρις	20	12091
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-ġs.t	The daughter of the one of Isis	Σενπάησις, Σενφάησις, Χενπάησις ¹⁶⁰³	3	23332
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-ġtm	The daughter of the one of Atum	Χε<v>πατωμε	1	34800
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-‘w	The daughter of the one of the great one	Σενπαούς ¹⁶⁰⁴	1	12056
T3-šr.t-n-pa-wr	The daughter of the one of the great one	Σενπάηρις ¹⁶⁰⁵	2	1086
T3-šr.t-(n)-pa-wrše	The daughter of the one of the <i>ouresh</i> demons	Σενπανγόρσ(αις) ¹⁶⁰⁶	1	13658
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Wsir	The daughter of the one of Osiris	Τσενπαύσιρις ¹⁶⁰⁷	1	18791
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-byk	The daughter of the one of the falcon	Σενπάβηκις	1	18798
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-p3-r3-mħt	The daughter of the one of the northern gate	Σενπαπρέμειθος, Σενπαπρεμίθης	6	12058
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-m3y	The daughter of the one of the lion	Σενπαμιῆς	1	24778
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Mw.t	The son of the one of Mut	Σενπέμουτις ¹⁶⁰⁸	1	24634
T3-šr.(t)-(n)-pa-Mn	The daughter of the one of Min	Σενφάμινις	12	19410
T3-šr.t-n-pa-Mnḫ	The daughter of the one of Montu	Σενπαμώνθης	44	12053
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-n3-nṯr.w	The daughter of the one of the gods	Σενπανινουθ	1	35378
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-n3-ħt.w	The daughter of the one of the chet demons	Σενπανεχάτης	4	12055
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-n3-sn.w	The daughter of the one of the brothers	Σενπανεσνεύς	4	12054

¹⁶⁰³ In TM Nam 23332, the names Σένπασις/Σενπάσεις have been included as renderings of *T3-šr.t-n-pa-ġs.t. However, they probably belong to *T3-šr.t-n-pa-Sy, “The daughter of He who has been given by Osiris” (hypocoristic). Both names should consequently be splitted up.

¹⁶⁰⁴ This name is attested in O. Heid. 58, 5: Σενπαούτος. On the other hand, in TM Nam 12056, the name Σενπάως, attested in P. Mich. XV 705, 7, has been included as rendering of the Egyptian *T3-šr.t-n-pa-‘w. However, the Egyptian prototype of this name is probably *T3-šr.t-n-pa-ħr, “The daughter of the one of the face”, and both names should be splitted up. Cf. the name Πάως (> Pa-ħr) (TM Nam 743).

¹⁶⁰⁵ Cf. Σενπάηρις (< T3-šr.t-n-pa-wr) vs. Σενπόηρις (< T3-šr.t-p3-wr) in TM Nam 1086. Both anthroponyms are attested in Demotic (T3-šr.t-n-pa-wr in TM Nam 13657).

¹⁶⁰⁶ In P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 51: Σενπανγορσ(άιος).

¹⁶⁰⁷ In P. Pheretnuis, col. 4, 92: Τσ(εν)πανσίριο(ς).

¹⁶⁰⁸ Cf. SB I 812, Ro. col. 1, 1: Σενπαχούμιος Σενπεμούτ(ιος).

*T3-šr.t-n-pa-ns-mtr	The daughter of the one who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Σενπάζμηθις	1	18088
T3-šr.t-n-pa-hy	The daughter of... (<i>meaning unknown</i>) ¹⁶⁰⁹	Σένπαις, Σένφαις, Σήψαις ¹⁶¹⁰	3	1082
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-hr	The daughter of the one of the face	Σενπάως	1	12056
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Hnsw	The daughter of the one of Khonsu	Σενπάχωνσις	1	18830
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Hnm	The daughter of the one of Khnum	Θινπάχνουμις, Σενπάχνουμις	24	12067
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-swn.t	The daughter of the one of the feast	Θινπάσηνις, Θινβάσηνις	1 1	16912 + 27114
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Šw	The daughter of the one of Shu	Θενπάσως, Θενφάσως	2 1	21888 + 21895
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Gbk	The daughter of the one of Geb	Θενπάκηβικις	7	16882
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-t3	The daughter of the one of (the) land	Σινπάθως ¹⁶¹¹ , Σενπάτως	1 1	24509 + 36046
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-t3.wy	The daughter of the one of both lands	Σενπατοῦς	2	18389
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Tn	The daughter of the one of Tynis	Θενπάτυνις	2	21889
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Dwn	The daughter of the one of Thonis	Θιννπάθωνις	1	16909
T3-šr.t-(n)-pa-Dm3	The daughter of the one of Djeme	Σενπάσημις	7	12061
*T3-šr.t-n-pa-Dhwtj	The daughter of the one of Thoth	Σενπαθώτης ¹⁶¹²	2	12050
T3-šr.t-n-Hr-pa-Is.t	The daughter of Horos, the one of Isis	Σεναρπάησις, Σε<v>αρπάησις ¹⁶¹³	8 1	13802 + 30108

¹⁶⁰⁹ Cf. the name *Pa-hy supra*, in the list of the pronoun *pa-* in absolute initial position.

¹⁶¹⁰ In *CRIPPEL* 4, 699, A 2: Σήψαιτος. This name has been considered as a rendition of *T3-šr.t-n-pa-hy* in the Trismegistos database, since, in the apparatus of the edition, the editor points out that the name that should be read here is Σένφαιτος. However, considering that Egyptian *p* is never transcribed as *ψ* unless it is followed by a sibilant, it is possible that the last part of the name is a transcription of *šy*: this name could be the rendition of *T3-šr.t-n-p3-šy*, “The daughter of Shai”, with omission of the middle nasal before *ψ* and interchange of *ε* and *η*. Nevertheless, the lack of a picture of the text does not allow to check the reading and confirm this interpretation.

¹⁶¹¹ The reading of this names does not seem to be clear: in P. Tebt. III 834, 22 the editor reads Σ[ι]παθῶτος, and in P. Lond. I CIX b, 57, the reading Σωπάτωρ has been corrected into Σενπάτωτο(ς) on <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lond;1;109B#to-app-app86>, but no image of the document is available.

¹⁶¹² Both attestations of the name Σενπαθώτης are reconstructed: [Σε]νπαθώτης in P. Oxy. Census, 230 (AR16c), and [Σεν]παθώτης in P. Oxy. Census, 441 (CR2).

¹⁶¹³ In I. Akôris 95, 1: Σεαρπάησις:  ΣΕΑΡΠΑΗΣΙΣ.

Ta-p3-m3y/ *Ta-pa-m3y (?)	The one of the one of the lion	Ταφάμοις ¹⁶¹⁴ Τάπαμις ¹⁶¹⁵	1 1	20694 29681
*Ta-pa-Imn	The one of the one of Amun	Ταφάμουινς	1	18986
*Ta-pa-Is.t	The one of the one of Isis	Ταφάησις, Ταπάησις, Ταπέησις, Ταπαήσεις	4	35984
*Ta-pa-ʿw	The one of the one of the great one	Ταπαοῦς	3	19555
*Ta-pa-Wsir	The one of the one of Osiris	Ταπάσιρις, Ταπαύσιρις	2	19609
*Ta-pa-n3-byk.w	The one of the one of the falcons	Ταφάνβηχις ¹⁶¹⁶	1	35985
*Ta-pa-ḥr	The one of the one of the face	Ταπάωις (?), Ταπάως ¹⁶¹⁷	2	23494
*Ta-pa-Hnm	The one of the one of Khnum	Ταπάχνουμις	1	12405
*Ta-pa-Ḥr	The one of the one of Phoenicia	Ταπάχιρις ¹⁶¹⁸	2	18794
*Ta-pa-t3-m3y.t/ *Ta-p3-di-m3y (?)	The one of the one of the lion/ The one of He who has been given by the lion (?)	Ταπάτμουις ¹⁶¹⁹	2	25792
*Ta-Ḥr-pa-Is.t	The one of Horos, son of Isis	Τααρπάησις	57	5995
		Ταάρφασις ¹⁶²⁰	1	23453

B. Hybrid names in Greek transcription

¹⁶¹⁴ The equivalence between *Ta-p3-m3y* and *Ταφάμοις* established on the Trismegistos database is not clear. In fact, the name *Ταφάμοις* is attested in P. Oxy. XII 1463, 7-8: Ἀμόιτος μητρὸς Ταφαμόιτος, where a name Ἄμοις appears. Egyptian *m3y*, “lion”, appears in Coptic as *ΜΟΥΙ*, without *α* before *μ*. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 109; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 160. For *χαμοι* in Coptic, cf. DELATTRE, A., PILETTE, P., VANTHIEGUEM, N., “Papyrus coptes de la Pierpont Morgan Library I. Cinq documents du monastère de Baouît”, p. 51.

¹⁶¹⁵ In O. Strasb. 1 549, 7: Ταπάμεως. Cf. *supra* the comments for the Greek renderings of **Ḥr-pa-m3y*.

¹⁶¹⁶ In P. Lond. I p. 151-157 no. 109 b, 122, Τάφαω Βήχιος has been corrected into Ταφανβήχιος on <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lond;1:109B#to-app-app158>, but no image of the document is available.

¹⁶¹⁷ In P. Brem. 23, 10: Ταπαώιτος; and O. Wilcken II 696, 2: Ταπάως.

¹⁶¹⁸ In P. Lond. II 257 Ro., col. 5, 172 and 174: Πάχιρις.

¹⁶¹⁹ In P. Lond. II 258 Ro., col. 8, 186: Πατμοῦις Πα]τμο[ύι]τος τοῦ Πατμο(ύιτος) μη(τρὸς) Ταπατμο(ύιτος), and col. 9, 234: [Τα]πατμοῦιτο(ς)

¹⁶²⁰ In P. Lond. II 258 Ro, col. 7, 163: Τααρφάσι(ος).

The anthroponyms Παχομπαέρμων¹⁶²¹ (< *P₃- ḥm-pa-ʾΕρμων¹⁶²², “The eagle (of) the one of Hermon”), Παχομπάμων¹⁶²³ (probably from a prototype containing the name of the god Ἄμμων and not Ἄμουν: *P₃- ḥm-pa-ʾΑμμων, “The eagle (of) the one of Ammon”), and the 6 attestations of the name Ταπάμμων/Ταπάμων¹⁶²⁴ (*Ta-pa-ʾΑμμων, “The one of the one of Ammon”) are the only hybrid Greek-Egyptian name attested containing the masculine pronoun -pa- in secondary initial position.

C. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown

Some names probably contain the pronoun -pa- in secondary initial position, but their complete Egyptian prototypes are unknown:

Most frequent Greek transcription	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἀρπέσουχος ¹⁶²⁵	1	4420
Ἄρπισις ¹⁶²⁶	1	37242
Μενρουπάχνουμις ¹⁶²⁷	1	30720
Παμπάχοις ¹⁶²⁸	1	17282
Πενφάηρις ¹⁶²⁹	1	26713
Σενπάαυτος ¹⁶³⁰	1	29041
Τρεμπαπούησις ¹⁶³¹	5	26663
Ψεντρεμπαπούησις ¹⁶³²	1	18173

¹⁶²¹ TM Nam 18978. This name appears in O. Wilcken II 38, 1, dated from 91-91 AD.

¹⁶²² The proper name Ἐρμων is listed in *LGPN* I, p. 166-167; II, p. 159-160; III.A, p. 155; III.B, p. 144-145; IV, p. 127; V.A, p. 171; V.B. p. 154-155.

¹⁶²³ TM Nam 24130. In O. Edfou III 449, 2: Παχομπάμωνο(ς), dated from 164 AD.

¹⁶²⁴ TM Nam 18986. The name Ἄμμων is listed in *LGPN* I, p. 32; IV, p. 21; V.B, p. 23. The anthroponym Ταφάμουις, which has also been included in TM Nam 18986, corresponds to the Greek rendering of Egyptian *Ta-pa-Ḥmn, “The one of the one of Amun” and is a different name. On the other hand, the anthroponym T₃-(n.t)-p₃-(n)-Ḥmn seems to be attested in hieroglyphic. Cf. RANKE, H., *PN* II, p. 325.19.

¹⁶²⁵ In P. Cairo Zen. II 59218, Vo. col. 2, 49: ὁ τοῦ Ἀρπεσοῦχ[ου].

¹⁶²⁶ BGU IV 1197, 5: Ἀρπίσιος.

¹⁶²⁷ In I. Koptos à Kosseir 74, 1-2.

¹⁶²⁸ In O. Ont. Mus. II 287, col. 2, 16.

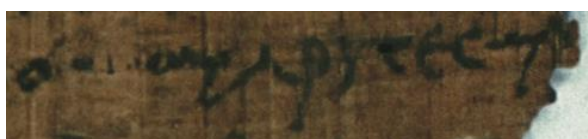
¹⁶²⁹ In O. Strasb. I 473, 2: Πενφάηρε[ως].

¹⁶³⁰ In P. Lond. I 125 Ro., col. 3, 41: Σενπααυ(του).

¹⁶³¹ In Cf. Τρε[μ]παπούησις (P. Lond. I 109 b, 18), Τρεμπαπουήσιο(ς) (O. Bodl. II 1325, 3), Τρεμπ(απουήσιο)ς (O. Bodl. II 1640, 5), Τρεμπαπουή(σιο)ς (O. Theb. 123, 2-3) and Τρεμπαπουήσιος (O. Theb. Gr. 112, 2).

¹⁶³² In O. Bodl. II 1898, 2: Ψεντρεμπαπούη(σις).

The name Ἀρπέσουχος, whose reading seems right, might derive from a prototype **Hr-pa-Sbk*, “Horos, the one of Sobek”, but this name is not attested elsewhere in Demotic or Greek. The reading of the anthroponym Ἀρπίσιος is not completely sure, since it has been edited with dots under -πίσιος. It could derive from *Hr-pa-Īs.t*, “Horos, the one of Isis”, or *Hr-sz-Īs.t*, but the lack of an image of the text in the edition does not allow to confirm any reading.



P. Cairo Zen. II 59218, Vo. col. 2, 49: ὁ τοῦ Ἀρπεσούχ[ου]

In I. Koptos à Kosseir 74, 1-2, the name Μενρουπάχνουμις. As the editor points out¹⁶³³, the last part, -πάχνουμις, is the rendering of *pa-Hnm*, “the one of Khum”, but the initial part of the anthroponym is unknown. On the other hand, the last part of the name Παμπάχοις, whose reading seems correct, might represent Egyptian *-pa-hy*, but the *mu* between the first *alpha* and the second *pi* poses a problem of interpretation.



O. Ont. Mus. II 287, col. 2, 16

The last part of the name Πενφαήρε[ως could represent *-pa-iry*, “... the one of the companion”, but the Egyptian equivalent of the beginning of the anthroponym is unknown¹⁶³⁴. In the name Σενπαου(του), the first part of the anthroponym might correspond to Egyptian **Tz-šr.t-n-pa-...*, “The

¹⁶³³ Cf. I. Koptos à Kosseir, p. 140: “Le nom Μενρουπαχνοῦμις est formé du théophore Παχνοῦμις « Celui de Chnoum » et de l’élément Μενρου- qu’on trouve, par exemple, dans le nom Μενρουχῆμ”.

¹⁶³⁴ Could this anthroponym be a ghostname for Πετεφαήρε[ως (< **Pz-di-pa-iry*), “He who has been given by the one of the companion”?

daughter of the one of ...”, but the last part of the name, which seems abbreviated, remains dark. The beginning of the name Τρεμπαπούης, on the other hand, probably transcribes Egyptian **T3-rmt.t-n-pa-...*, “The woman of the one of ...”, but the prototype of -πούης is unknown. This same name can be recognised in the anthroponym Ψεντρεμπαπούης, whose first part renders Egyptian **P3-šr-n-t3-rmt.t-n-pa-...*, “The son of the woman of the one of ...”. No images are currently available to check the readings of these names.

2.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

There are 7 different transcriptions of the pronoun *pa* in secondary initial position attested in the Fayum, 2 in Lower Egypt and 8 in Upper Egypt. The renderings -πα-/ -πα- and -φα- are the best attested in all the geographical areas: -πα-/ -πα- represents 24.38 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 90.62 % from Lower Egypt and 89.27 % from Upper Egypt, and -φα- occurs in 73.93 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 9.37 % from Lower Egypt and 6.42 % from Upper Egypt¹⁶³⁵.

	00	L00	L01	L04
-βα-	1			
-π(α)-	7			
-πα-	189	6	13	10
-πα-				
-παπα-				
-πε-	1			
-φ(α)-	3			
-φα-	573		3	
-φε-	1			
Total attestations	775	6	16	10

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U06	U07	U08	U09	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
-βα-	1														
-π(α)-	6	1		3					4			2	1	4	
-πα-	163	19	3	147	2	1	2	7	23	6	5	36		102	23
-πα-				1								1			
-παπα-													1		
-πε-									1						1
-φ(α)-															
-φα-	1			22					12						4
-φε-															

¹⁶³⁵ The names [Ταπάμμων] (SB VIII 9833, 3) and [Ἀρπάη]σι (BGU IV 1170 (1), II 30), which have been totally or partially reconstructed by the editors, have not been included here.

Total attestations	171	20	3	173	2	1	2	7	40	6	5	39	2	106	28
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2.3. Linguistic characteristics

In 25.41 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 90.62 % from Lower Egypt and 93.23 % from Upper Egypt, Egyptian *p* is represented as π , and as ϕ in 74.45 % of the anthroponyms from the Fayum, 9.37 % from Lower Egypt and 6.43 % from Upper Egypt. Even if Egyptian *p* appears transcribed as aspirated and non-aspirated in all the geographical zones, it is in the Fayum where the rate of aspiration is higher. In the name Ἀρπα{πα}<ή>σειτος¹⁶³⁶, in SB XX 14426, 6, the pronoun *pa* has been written with dittography. In Lower Egypt, where the aspirated Coptic form $\phi\alpha$ has traditionally been considered as the characteristic of the Bohairic dialect, more than 90 % of the attestations have been written without any representation of aspiration. This confirms that the rendering of the pronoun *pa* with aspiration or non-aspiration is not due to any dialectal reason, but probably to Greek-Egyptian bilingual interference, which, according to the transcriptional variants of the pronoun *pa* in secondary initial position, appears to be more frequent in the Fayum than in any other region of Egypt. In two attestations – Θεμβά[κ]ηβκις (< **T3-šr.t-n-pa-Gbk*, “The daughter of the one of Geb”)¹⁶³⁷ and Θινβάσηνις (< **T3-šr.t-pa-swn.t*, “The daughter of the one of the feast of the sixth day”)¹⁶³⁸ –, Egyptian *p* has been represented as β .



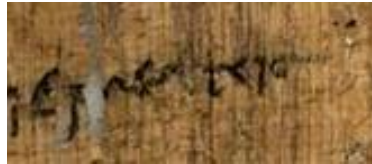
P. Tebt. II 291, 28: Θεμβά[κ]ηβκις

¹⁶³⁶ In SB XX 14426, 6.

¹⁶³⁷ In P. Tebt. II 291, 28.

¹⁶³⁸ In O. Bodl. II 806, 3, from the area of Elephantine.

The vocalization of the pronoun *pa* has been rendered as *α* in all the attestations except in four (0.28 %) – two from the Fayum and two from Upper Egypt –, which have been written with *ε*: Ἀρπεήσιος (P. Mich. II 127, 23), Ἀρφεή(σιος) (P. Mich. II 125, 23) and Ἐρπέησις (P. Köln Gr. V 225, 1) – all of them renderings of *Hr-pa-Īs.t* –, along with Σενπεμούτ(ιος) (SB I 812, Ro col. 1, 1), which probably derives from the prototype **T3-šr.t-n-pa-Mw.t*, “The daughter of the one of Mut”. Except in the latter name mentioned, in these anthroponyms the pronoun *pa* is followed by the syllable *-ησ-*, which was probably stressed. The regressive assimilation might explain the representation of the vowel of *pa* as *ε* and not as *α* as in most attestations, but other hypothesis, such as the confusion of the masculine article *p3* and the pronoun *pa*, should also be considered.



P. Köln Gr. V 225, 1: Ἐρπέησις

3. THE PRONOUN *TA-* IN INITIAL POSITION

1.1. Attestations


A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

More than 200 Egyptian anthroponyms starting by the feminine pronoun *Ta-* are attested in Greek transcription, of which *Ta-Īs.t*, “The one of Isis”, with more than 1400 attestations in transcription, and *Ta-Sbk*, “The one of Sobek”, with more than 500, were the most popular.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*Ta-...	<i>Incomplete and abbreviated names</i>	Ταορ(...) ¹⁶³⁹	2	6064
		Ταμονν(...) ¹⁶⁴⁰	1	30325
		Ταπεθ(...) ¹⁶⁴¹	1	30326
		Ταψο(...) ¹⁶⁴²	1	30332
Ta-ḳḳ(.t)	The one of the panther	Τάβως	19	6006
*Ta-ḳlly	The one of the vineyard	Ταελολοῦς ¹⁶⁴³	17	6010
Ta-Īy-m-ḥtp	The one of Imhotep	Ταιμούθης	15	1247
*Ta-iwiw ¹⁶⁴⁴	The one of the dog	Ταιηοῦς	5	27145

¹⁶³⁹ The prototype of these incomplete names could be *Ta-Hr...*, but also *Ta-Wrš-...* In TM Nam 6064, on the other hand, there are some attestations of the name Ταορ (< *Ta-Hr*, “The one of Horos”) that are complete. These two different names – one complete and the other one incomplete – that are contained in TM Nam 6064 should consequently be splitted up.

¹⁶⁴⁰ The prototype of this abbreviated name, which is attested in P. Princ. I 8, col. 10, 13, could start by **Ta-Īmn-...*, “The one of Amun...”; or be **Ta-mn-n=s*, “She whom they brought ashore”. Cf. VITTMANN, G., “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion. Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names”, p. 95.

¹⁶⁴¹ In P. Col. II 1 Ro (1 b), col. 6, 3: Ταπεθ() .

¹⁶⁴² In BGU IX 1891, col. 19, 580: Ταψο().

¹⁶⁴³ In TM Nam 6010 at least two different names seem to be mixed: Ταελολοῦς, from a prototype **Ta-ḳlly*, “The one of the vineyard” (cf. Coptic ελοοε and many other variants in VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 41; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 54-55) and Τλελοῦς, from **Tḳ-llw*, “The little girl” (cf. Coptic λελοϣ and other forms in VYCICHL, W., *ibidem*, p. 97-98; CRUM, W. E., *ibidem*, p. 141). The variant Ταελλοῦς could belong to **Ta-ḳlly* as the *epsilon* between *alpha* and the first *lambda* seems to point; the vocalization with *iota* is possible as rendering of *ḳlly*. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *ibidem*, p. 41. Nevertheless, the renderings of *ḳlly*, “vineyard”, *llw*, “child”, and *lʿl*, “shrewmouse”, are easily misleading. Cf. VITTMANN, G., “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion. Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names”, p. 97-101.

¹⁶⁴⁴ On *iwiw*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Ī, p. 54-55. This term is not included in the part “onomatopoeias with reduplication” in DE VARTAVAN, C., *Vocalized Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian*, p. 21-22.

*Ta-īw=f-‘nh	The one of He will live	Ταάφυγγις	26	12333
Ta-Īmn	The one of Amun	Ταμουνία	1	25629
		Θαμούνιον	12	25170
		Θάμουνις, Τάμυνις ¹⁶⁴⁵	96 2	1262 + 36809
Ta-Īmn-īw	The one of Amun has come	Τααμεννεύς	15	1252
Ta-Īmn-(m)-Īp.t	The one of Amun is in Opet	Ταμέναπις, Ταμέννωπις, Ταμένωπις	3	1253
*Ta-Īmn-nfr	The one of the good Amun	Ταμένναφρις, Ταμόννωφρις	2	6049
*Ta-Īmn-Īkš	The one of Amun the Kushite	Ταμενέκυσις ¹⁶⁴⁶	1	17911
*Ta-Īmn-rwš	The one of Amun takes care	Ταμένρωσις	6	23477
*Ta-Īmn-ḥtp	The one of Amun is satisfied ¹⁶⁴⁷	Τααμενώθης	1	26586
*Ta-Īmn-ḥm	The one of Amun the younger	Ταμόνχημις ¹⁶⁴⁸	1	18801
Ta-Īnpw	The one of Anubis	Θανουβίων, Ταανουβίων	2 3	21850 + 24172
		Τανουβιαίνα	1	25609
		Τανουβίτη ¹⁶⁴⁹	2	24897
		Τάνουπις	47	1278
		Τανούφιον ¹⁶⁵⁰	1	26424
*Ta-Īn-ḥr.t	The one of Onuris	Τάνουρις	19	1279

¹⁶⁴⁵ Both attestations of Τάμυνις occur in the inscription I. Delta, p. 705 n. 638 from Naukratis, dated from the 6th/5th century BC: Γοργίας φιλεῖ [Τά]μυνιν | καὶ Τάμυνις Γοργίαν φιλεῖ].

¹⁶⁴⁶ In P. Alex. Giss. 35, col. 1, 5, this name appears abbreviated: Ταμενέκ(υσις).

¹⁶⁴⁷ The name Τααμεννωσώθης (TM Nam 26586) (PSI IX 1039, 44) should be read as Τααμεννώθης/. Cf. the anthroponym *Ta-Īmn-ḥtp and the image of the Greek attestation in the list of attestations of “Īmn in middle position”; <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/psi;9;1039>.

¹⁶⁴⁸ In *CRIPEL* III 321, A 2: Ταμονχήμιος. In Coptic, ḥm appears as ⲙⲏⲙ (Sahidic, Bohairic): *Hr-p3-ḥm* > Ἀρχημις (cf. TM Nam 287). Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 563-564; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 262. We do not agree with VYCICHL, W., p. 81: “Un ancien adjectif *kēm survit dans le nom de Ἀρχῖμις « Horus le noir » (avec ι pour η), comp. κημη f. la « (terre) noire », c’est-à-dire l’Égypte”; we think that the name given by VYCICHL, W., has *Hr-p3-ḥm* as prototype.



¹⁶⁴⁹ Attested in P. Iand. IV 65, 3: Τανουβιτες; and P. Princ. I 8, col. 3, 24: Τανουβίτ(ης).

¹⁶⁵⁰ This name, attested in SB XIV 11385, Ro. 4, could also be interpreted as deriving from the prototype *Ta-nfr*, “The one of the good one” (cf. TM Nam 1276).

*Ta-Ỉry-Ỉms-nfr	The one of Arsenuphis	Ταρσένουφης	1	32896
Ta-Ỉr.t-Ỉr-r.r=w	The one of The eye of Horos is against them	Τανάραυς	23	12386
Ta-Ỉs.t ¹⁶⁵¹	The one of Isis	Θαήσα ¹⁶⁵²	2	24072
		Θαήσιον, Ταήσιον	18	14019
		Θάησις	1471	1237
*Ta-Ỉs.t-wr.t	The one of the great Isis	Τεσουήρις ¹⁶⁵³	2	17834
*Ta-ym	The one of the lake	Ταιωμία ¹⁶⁵⁴	1	24076
Ta-‘w	The one of the great one	Ταούς	33	1288
Ta-‘nh ¹⁶⁵⁵	The one of the living/ The one of life	Τάνυχς	8	5402
*Ta-‘nh-rn=f	The one of May his name live/ The one of His name lives	Τααγχόριμφς	5	5991
*Ta-‘nh=s	The one of May she live/ The one of She lives	Ταάγχωσις ¹⁶⁵⁶	2	39968
*Ta-llw	The one of the child	Ταλιλοῦς ¹⁶⁵⁷	1	24238
Ta-‘l(w)	The one of the child	Ταλοῦς ¹⁶⁵⁸	37	1208
Ta-‘Ỉm	The one of the eagle	Τάχουμς	31	1234
Ta-w3	Meaning unknown ¹⁶⁵⁹	Θάυης	108	1215
*Ta-Wp-w3.wt	The one of Upuaut	Ταύφωις	7	12460

¹⁶⁵¹ Cf. also *infra* the name *Ta-n-Ỉs.t.

¹⁶⁵² In SB VI 9428, 7: μη(τρός) Θαήσας; P. Ryl. Gr. IV 662, Ro. 22: Αὐρηλία Θαήσα; and Vo. 1: Θαήσα.

¹⁶⁵³ Cf. the name Ỉs.t-wr.t and its Greek transcriptional variants (TM Nam 190).

¹⁶⁵⁴ In SB XVIII 13583, 5: Ταιωμίας. Cf. PASQUALI, S., “Le Πιμμεϊῶμς de Coptos et « la route de la mer (Rouge) », p. 388-389.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1168: “Die des Lebenden”.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Attested in BGU IX 1891, col. 1, 16: Τααγχ[ώ]σ[εως]; and BGU IX 1891, col. 18, 528: Τααγχώσεως.

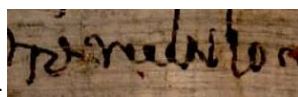
¹⁶⁵⁷ In SB I 819, 2: Ταλιλοῦτος. *Llw* can appear in Coptic as λιοϣ. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 97-98.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter ‘, p. 112-113; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1053; VITTMANN, G., “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion. Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names”, p. 97.

¹⁶⁵⁹ This anthroponym is a possible unidentified hypocoristic. Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 84. Cf. also its masculine counterpart *Pa-w3* (TM Nam 785) and its Grrek transcriptions.

Ta-wn	The one of the light	Ταύωνις ¹⁶⁶⁰	1	1241
*Ta-Hnb	The one of Heneb	Ταγόμβης, Ταέμβης	12 11	1240 + 5977
Ta-Wn-nfr	The one of Onnophris	Ταόννωφρις,	271	1282
*Ta-wnš	The one of the wolf	Τάγωνσις ¹⁶⁶¹	2	27207
Ta-wrš	The one of the guardian	Ταορσεύς	113	6066
		Ταορσε(...) (abbreviated names)	3	26932
*Ta-Wrš-nfr	The one of the good guardian	Ταορσένουφις	325	1284
*Ta-wrš-Ḥp (?)	The one of the guardian of Apis (?)	Ταορσέαιπις (?) ¹⁶⁶²	1	6065
Ta-wr.t	The one of the great one	Ταούηρις, Θαούηρις	3 1	39195 + 21858
		Ταυσιρή ¹⁶⁶³	1	24904
Ta-Wsir	The one of Osiris	Ταύσιρις	78	1286
		Ταυσορεύς ¹⁶⁶⁴	5	19619
Ta-Wsir-Ḥp	The one of Osiris-Apis	Ταυσόραπις	36	1312
Ta-Wsr-ḥ'.t	The one of the strong one is superior (?)	Ταόσητος ¹⁶⁶⁵	1	32095

¹⁶⁶⁰ Attested in P. Oxy. XXXVI 2770, 8: Ταύωνιος 358.



. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1170;

¹⁶⁶¹ In P. Mich. V 241, 8: Ταγώνσιος; and 16: Ταγώνσι(ος). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 235: ΟΓΩΝΩ (Sahidic, Bohairic, Fayumic, Achmimic), “Loup, chacal”.



¹⁶⁶² Presumably attested in P. Petaus 9, 4: Ταορσ[ε]αίπειος. This anthroponym, whose etymology is uncertain, might be a ghostname.

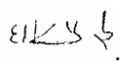
¹⁶⁶³ In P. Harris II 218, 3: Αὐρηλίας Ταυσιρή. Cf. P. Harris II 218, p. 129: “There is some uncertainty about the reading. If the naem is correctly transcribed, it is presumably from an unattested nominative Ταυσιρή. Should we nevertheless suppose a miswriting of the common Ταυσίριος, nominative Ταυσῖρις?”.

¹⁶⁶⁴ We do not agree with the prototype *Ta-Wsir-wr, “The one of Osiris the great” for those names proposed on the Trismegistos database. In fact, the ending -εὺς/-ήους generally transcribes the Egyptian verb *iw*, “to come”, in final position. In addition, in these attestations, the *r* of *wr* is not represented in Greek characters.

¹⁶⁶⁵ On the equivalence of the Demotic name and the Greek transcription, cf. the bilingual text in *Short Texts* II, 746, A 2-3 and B 3. The term ḥ'.t seems to be equivalent to ḥ(.t). Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p. 4-5, 57. This anthroponym might also be considered as Ta-Wsr-(m)-ḥ'.t, “The one of the strong one is in front”. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 285: ΖΗΤ (Sahidic, Bohairic): “partie avant, debut, le meilleur”.

Ta-wd3(.t)	The one of the Oudjat eye	Ταούαθις ¹⁶⁶⁶	13	13844
Ta-b3-‘nh	The one of the living <i>ba</i>	Ταβίηγχις, Ταπίηγχις	2	12413
Ta-B3st.t	The one of Bastet	Θαυβαροῦς	7	21857
		Θαυβᾶς	23	5424
		Θαυβάστιον	1	25548
		Θαύβαστις	97	1280
Ta-by	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁶⁶⁷	Θάβις	23	1155
Ta-byk	The one of the falcon	Ταβηχ ¹⁶⁶⁸	1	1228
*Ta-bl(.t)	The one of the blind one	Θαβελλῆς, Ταβελλῆς, Τάβελλις	3	6000
Ta-Bs	The one of Bes	Ταβῆς	36	12335
		Ταβησάμμων	2	19091
		Ταβησᾶς	2	27511
		Τάβησις	16	40033
Ta-p3-3b3	The one of the panther	Ταπέβως, Ταπεέβως	2	19554
*Ta-p3-3lly (?)	The one of the vineyard (?)	Ταπέλαλις ¹⁶⁶⁹	7	25744
Ta-p3-ihy	The one of the jubilation	Τάποις ¹⁶⁷⁰	3	1294
*Ta-p3-Ỉṣwr	The one of the Syrian	Ταπέσουρις	5	19499
*Ta-p3-Ỉkš	The one of the Kushite	Ταπέκυσις,	48	1290 +
			1	19478

¹⁶⁶⁶ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in Hieratic and Greek in *Short Texts* II, p. 486-487, n. 856: A 2: *Ta-wt.t*; B 2: Ταυάθιος;

LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1172: .

¹⁶⁶⁷ The name *Ta-by*, like its masculine counterpart *Pa-by* (TM Nam 671), is probably a hypocoristic. Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 76.

¹⁶⁶⁸ In TOMLIN, R. S. O., “‘Remain Like Stones, Unmoving, Un-running’: Another Greek Spell Against Competitors in a Foot-race”, p. 161, l. 2.

¹⁶⁶⁹ The etymology of these forms is not clear. Except the name of P. Princ. I 8, col. 1, 1 (Ταπελάλ(εως)), from the Fayum, all the other attestations come from Upper Egypt (U09: Sohag; and U04: Hermonthis). The text of *CRIPPEL* II 163, in which the anthroponym Ταπελάλιος occurs in A 1 is bilingual, but unfortunately the Demotic part is unpublished. It is not impossible that these forms render Egyptian **Ta-p3-3lly*, since the masculine term *3lly* appears in Ackmimic as ελδδλε and in Fayumic as δλδδλι. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 41; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 54-55. The word ‘l’, “shrewmouse”, does not seem to be represented, since *iota* appears as vocalization of all the forms. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *ibidem*, p. 8; CRUM, W. E., *ibidem*, p. 6: δλιχ (Sahidic, Bohairic), δλιχ (Bohairic).

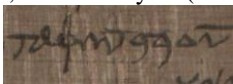
¹⁶⁷⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1176: “Die des Jubels”. On the meaning of *ihy*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Ỉ, p. 204-205.

		Ταπέκυσις ¹⁶⁷¹		
Ta-p3y-nṯr	The one of this one of the god	Ταπίνουτις ¹⁶⁷²	2	7740
Ta-p3-ym	The one of the lake	Ταπίωμις	102	6077
*Ta-p3y-ḥsy	The one of this one of the blessed one	Ταπιεσιῆς ¹⁶⁷³	1	23498
*Ta-p3y-š3y	The one of this one of Shai	Ταπίσοις ¹⁶⁷⁴	1	12415
*Ta-p3y-Tn	This one of Tunis	Ταπίτουνις ¹⁶⁷⁵	6	7741
*Ta-p3-wlm ¹⁶⁷⁶	The one of the greatest of seers	Ταφόλημις	4	6016
Ta-p3-wr	The one of the great one	Ταπούηρις, Τάπουρις	10 1	1281 + 18026
*Ta-p3-byk	The one of this one of the falcon	Ταφιβιχίς ¹⁶⁷⁷	3	12463
Ta-p3-m3y/ *Ta-pa-m3y (?)	The one of the lion/ The one of the one of the lion (?)	Ταφάμοις ¹⁶⁷⁸	1	20694
Ta-p3-nb-(t3)-Tn	The one of the lord of Tunis	Ταπνέβτουνις	42	1292
*Ta-p3-nṯr	The one of the god	ΤΑΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ ¹⁶⁷⁹	1	31206
*Ta-p3-Rʿ	The one of Ra	Θαφρηῆς ¹⁶⁸⁰	1	21865
Ta-p3-hb	The one of the ibis	Τάφιβις	7	12464

¹⁶⁷¹ The name Ταπέκυσις, read by the editor in P. Erl. 44, col. 3, 27, has been identified as a ghostname for Ταπέκυσις. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “New Ghotnames from Papyrological Documents”, forthcoming.

¹⁶⁷² In O. Ont. Mus. II 287, col. 3, 19, from Tentyris (U06): Ταπινούτε(ως); P. Col. II 1 Ro. (1 a-b), col. 2, 5, from

Theadelphia (Fayum): Ταπινούτεω(ς)



¹⁶⁷³ In P. Tebt. II 488 descr.: Ταπιεσιῆς.

¹⁶⁷⁴ P. Oxy. LXVII 4586, 13-14: Ταπισόιτος.

¹⁶⁷⁵ All the attestations in Greek transcription of this name are from the Fayum; here πῖ presumably renders the demonstrative *p3y* and not the article.

¹⁶⁷⁶ The term *wlm/wrm* refers to a title of the high priests of Heliopolis: “greatest of seers”. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter W, p. 119-120.

¹⁶⁷⁷ The transcriptional variants in TM Nam 12463 have probably as prototype **Ta-p3-byk* and not *Ta-p3y-byk*, since they all have been written in the Delta, where Bohairic was spoken. Greek -φι- consequently represents the masculine article and not *p3y*. Cf. MALLON, A., *Grammaire copte*, p. 26-27.

¹⁶⁷⁸ The equivalence between *Ta-p3-m3y* and Ταφάμοις established on the Trismegistos database is not clear. In fact, the name Ταφάμοις is attested in P. Oxy. XII 1463, 7-8: Ἀμόιτος μητρός Ταφαμόιτος, where a name Ἄμοις occurs. Egyptian *m3y*, “lion”, appears in Coptic as *MOYI*, without *Δ* before *Μ*. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 109. On the name *ΔΑΜΟΙ* in Coptic, cf. DELATTRE, A., PILETTE, P., VANTHIEGUEM, N., “Papyrus coptes de la Pierpont Morgan Library I. Cinq documents du monastère de Baouït”, p. 51.

¹⁶⁷⁹ In O. Crum ST 145, 8: ΤΑΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

¹⁶⁸⁰ In P. Hibeh II 267, 2: Θαφρηῆς.

Ta-p3-ḥr-nfr	The one of the beautiful face	Ταφένουφις ¹⁶⁸¹ , Ταφένουφις ¹⁶⁸² , Ταφένουφις ¹⁶⁸³	14 1 2	23528 + 28255 + 18867
Ta-(p3)-ḥsy	The one of the blessed one	Ταφάσσεις	33	1291
*Ta-p3-ḥtr	The one of the twin	Ταφατρής ¹⁶⁸⁴	1	18729
Ta-p3-ḥr	The one of the street	Τάπχειρις ¹⁶⁸⁵	1	1289
*Ta-p3-sn-sn.w	The one of the two brothers	Ταψοσνεύς	3	25832
Ta-p3-Š3y	The one of Shai	Τάψαις	129	1296
Ta-p3-š'.t	The one of the sand (?)	Τάψως ¹⁶⁸⁶	6	6150
*Ta-p3-šr-n-İmn	The one of the son of Amun	Ταψενάμουινς	1	18829
*Ta-p3-šr-n-B3st.t	The one of the son of Bastet	Ταψενόβασθις	1	25930
*Ta-p3-grr	The one of the frog	Ταπόκρουρις	7	19486
*Ta-p3-ṯhy	The one of the drunkenness	Τάπτιχις ¹⁶⁸⁷	1	12417
*Ta-p3-di-...	The one who has been given by ... (abbreviated name)	Ταπετεσκ() ¹⁶⁸⁸	1	30345
*Ta-p3-di-İmn	The one of He who has been given by Amun	Θαπετέμουινς	7	16868
*Ta-p3-di-Is.t	The one of He who has been given by Isis	Ταπετέσις	1	38748

¹⁶⁸¹ On the equivalence of the Greek and the Demotic forms, cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 600 A 2 and B 3.

¹⁶⁸² In *CRIPEL* V 1178, A 2-3: Ταφενούφις. The name Ταφενούφις that appears in TM Nam 28255 and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/t.mom.louvre;:1178> should be corrected into Ταφένουφις, which is the name that appears in the edition.

¹⁶⁸³ In *CRIPEL* V 1156, A 3: Ταφενούφις; and B 3: Ταφενούφις. The name Ταφενούφις that appears in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/t.mom.louvre;:1156> is consequently incorrect and should be corrected.

¹⁶⁸⁴ In P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 6, 21: Ταφατρή(ους).

¹⁶⁸⁵ In P. Count. 31, 43, where no etymology is proposed. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1182: “Die von der Straße”; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p. 16-17, 62. The Coptic equivalent, ⲕⲓⲣⲉⲓⲣ (Sahidic, Sub-Achmimic)/ ⲕⲓⲣ (Bohairic), seems to fit with the Greek transcription -χειρ-. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 307; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 696-697.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 669, A 2-3, B 1. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1184: “Die des Sandes (?)”. Cf. also QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 207-208. In Coptic, š' appears as ⲩⲱ (Sahidic, Bohairic); cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 255.

¹⁶⁸⁷ In P. Oxy. Census, 192 (AR15): Ταπτιχιο(ς). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 225: ⲧⲁⲉ (Sahidic), “bien boire, s’enivrer, être ivre”.

¹⁶⁸⁸ In P. Lond. II 258 Ro., col. 9, 231. The prototype of this name might be *Ta-p3-di-Sbk*.

*Ta-p3-di=w	The one of He who has been given by them	Ταπεθεύς	611	7727
*Ta-p3-di-wr(.t)	The one of He who has been given by the great one	Ταπέτουρις ¹⁶⁸⁹	1	18050
Ta-p3-di-Wsir	The one of He who has been given by Osiris	Ταπέτσιρις	128	12408
*Ta-p3-di-m3y	The one of He who has been given by the lion	Ταπάτμουις	2	25792
*Ta-p3-di-nsw-t3.wy	The one of He who has been given by the king of both lands	Ταπετεστοῦς ¹⁶⁹⁰	1	18878
*Ta-p3-di-Rnn.t	The one of He who has been given by Thermuthis	Ταπετέρμουθις	3	7726
*Ta-p3-di-Hr	The one of He who has been given by Horos	Ταπετέρυρις	3	12407
*Ta-p3-di-Ḥnsw	The one of He who has been given by Khonsu	Ταπετεχῶν	1	19149
Ta-p3-di-Sbk	The one of He who has been given by Sobek	Ταπετεσου() ¹⁶⁹¹ (abbreviated name)	1	30356
		Ταπετέσουχος	75	7731
		Ταπτσώουκις ¹⁶⁹²	1	18790
*Ta-pa-Ḥmn	The one of the one of Amun	Ταφάμουινς ¹⁶⁹³	1	18986
*Ta-pa-Is.t	The one of the one of Isis	Ταφάησις, Ταπάησις ¹⁶⁹⁴ , Ταπαήσεις	3	35984
*Ta-pa-ʿw	The one of the one of the great one	Ταπαοῦς	3	19555

¹⁶⁸⁹ In P. Harris I 72, 19: Ταπέτουρις.

¹⁶⁹⁰ In P. Lond. II, 257 Ro., col. 3, 102: Ταπετεστο(ῦτος). Cf., for instance, the name *P3-di-Ḥmn-nsw-t3.wy* > Πατεμοστοῦς/Πετεμοστοῦς (TM Nam 864), “He who has been given by Amun, king of the two lands”.

¹⁶⁹¹ In BGU IX 1891, col. 16, 473: Ταπετεσου().

¹⁶⁹² The attestation of P. Mich. IV 223, Ro. col. 3, 9: Ταπτσω(ούκιος) is abbreviated and, consequently, not completely sure.

¹⁶⁹³ In TM Nam 18986, two different names, Ταφάμουινς, derived from the Egyptian *Ḥmn*, and Ταπάμμων, from Ἰμμων, appear together. They should consequently be separated and considered as two different anthroponyms.

¹⁶⁹⁴ The attestation of O. Ont. Mus. II 254, 11: Τανάησις(ις) is surely a ghostname for Ταπάησις(ις), but it is not currently possible to confirm this reading. On the plate available in the edition this name is badly visible.

*Ta-pa-Wsir	The one of the one of Osiris	Ταπάσιρις, Ταπαύσιρις	2	19609
*Ta-pa-n3-byk.w	The one of the one of the falcons	Ταφάνβηχις ¹⁶⁹⁵	1	35985
*Ta-pa-ḥr	The one of the one of the face	Ταπάωις, Ταπάωζ ¹⁶⁹⁶	2	23494
*Ta-pa-Ḥnm	The one of the one of Khnum	Ταπάχνουμις	1	12405
*Ta-pa-Ḥr	The one of the one of Phoenicia	Ταπάχιρις ¹⁶⁹⁷	2	18794
*Ta-pr-Wsir ¹⁶⁹⁸	The one of the house of Osiris (Bousiris)	Ταπόσιρις	7	18849
		Ταποσειριᾶς	3	29762
*Ta-m3y	The one of the lion	Θάμοις ¹⁶⁹⁹ , Τάμις (?) ¹⁷⁰⁰	2 + 14	23989 + 13857 (?)
Ta-m3y-ḥs	The one of the fierce looking lion	Ταμεύς	17	1258
Ta-M3'.t-R'	The one of Marres	Ταμάρεις, Ταμαρρηῖς	2 79	18843 + 6038
*Ta-M3'.t-R'-iw	The one of Marres has come	Ταμαρεύς ¹⁷⁰¹	5	7690
Ta-Mw.t	The one of Mut	Ταμούθη	1	24890
		Τάμουθις	10	1264
Ta-Mn	The one of Min	ΤΑΜΙΝΑ Ταμίνα	3	29768

¹⁶⁹⁵ In P. Lond. I, 109 b, 122: Ταφανβήχιος.


¹⁶⁹⁶ Cf. the name Πάωζ < Pa-ḥr (TM Nam 743), “The one of the face”.

¹⁶⁹⁷ In P. Lond. II, 257 Ro., col. 5, 172 and 175: Ταπαχ(ίριος) and Ταπαχίριο(ς) respectively. Cf. the name Pa-Ḥr > Παχιρις (TM Nam 676); LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 410: “Der von Syrien”.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 32; VANDORPE, K., *Egyptische geografische elementen in griekse transcriptie*, p. 67-68.

¹⁶⁹⁹ The name Θαμαίδος (P. Lond. I 113 (8 c), 7) included in TM Nam 23989 does not seem to belong to the prototype *Ta-m3y, and the name Θα[μουίδος] (P. Oxy. XXXVI 2764, 5) is reconstructed and not really attested. Both should be deleted from TM Nam 23989.

¹⁷⁰⁰ The Egyptian term (*i*)my, “cat”, appears in Coptic as εμοϥ (Sahidic, Bohairic), αμοϥ (Sahidic), and m3y, “lion”, as μοϥι in all the dialects, but the forms μιη, μιε, μυε, μοϥιη are also attested. The etymology of both terms is onomatopoeic. If the name Τάμις represents the pronoun ta- plus a name of animal, m3y would fit better than (*i*)my. On the other hand, in

TM Nam 13857, two different names are possibly mixed: the Demotic name Ta-my , which is listed in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1185, without translation, seems to have the foreign determinative and represent a meroitic name.

¹⁷⁰¹ It is not possible to know if the name Ταμαρεύς is the transcription of Ta-M3'.t-R' with a Greek morphological ending -εύς, or a rendering of *Ta-M3'.t-R'-iw, “The one of Marres has come”. Since the wau seems to be reflected in all the attestations and the name M3'.t-R'-iw is attested (cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 579), it has been included as rendering of *Ta-M3'.t-R'-iw.

		Θάμινις, Τέμινις ¹⁷⁰²	56 1	1257 + 38788
*Ta-mn-n=s (?)	She whom they brought ashore	Ταμοννῆς ¹⁷⁰³	1	26795
Ta-mnh	The one of the youngster	Ταμένως ¹⁷⁰⁴	8	1254
Ta-Mr-Wr	The one of Mnevis	Τάμνηγις, Ταμνηούεις	2	1259
*Ta-mrš	The one of the red ¹⁷⁰⁵	Τάμερσις	2	23478
Ta-Msdr(.w)	The one of the ear(s)	Ταμύσθα ¹⁷⁰⁶	337	6050
Ta-Msdr-sdm	The one of Earing ears	Ταμεσθάσυτμις ¹⁷⁰⁷	16	1255
Ta-mtr	The one who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Ταμητ	1	13861
Ta-n3	She who has been given by Amun is in Opet (hypocoristic) ¹⁷⁰⁸	Τανᾶς, ΤΑΝΔΑ	4	1267

¹⁷⁰² In P. Herm. Landl. 2, col. 21, 445: Τέμινις . It is not sure if this transcription represents *T3-Mn* or *Ta-Mn*. Cf. also the writing *T3-Mn.t* for this name in *Short Texts* II 827, A 4. Even if this text is bilingual, unfortunately it does not contain a Greek rendering for this name.

¹⁷⁰³ This name seems to be attested in P. Harris I 72, 15: Ταμοννῆτος. Its prototype is not sure: the names Ἀμοννῆς and Ἀμεννῆς are considered as renderings of *Īmn-īw* in the Trismegistos database (cf. TM Nam 23), even if the Egyptian *wau* of the verb *īw* is not reflected in them; if this etymology is right, the name Ταμοννῆς could render *Ta-Īmn-īw*, “The one of Amun has come”, which is attested in both Demotic and Greek writings (cf. TM Nam 1252). However, since no *wau* is represented, its belonging to the prototype **Ta-mn-n=s* seems more plausible. Cf. the masculine counterpart *Pa-mn-n=s* > Παμοννᾶς/Παμόννασις (TM Nam 719). Cf. VITTMANN, G., “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion. Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names”, p. 95.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1187: “Die des (göttlichen) Jünglings”.

¹⁷⁰⁵ On the equivalence of *mrš* and Μέρσις, cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 121; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 602; JOHNSON, J. H., *CDD*, Letter M, p. 160-161. Cf. also TM Nam 4149.

¹⁷⁰⁶ The anthroponym Μυσθᾶς, which is listed in *LGPN* IV, p. 245 and related to Ἀκουσίλαος has an Egyptian etymology: the name Ταμύσθα/Ταμύσθης is Egyptian. Cf. WAGNER, G., QUAEGBEUR, J., “Une dédicace grecque au dieu égyptien Mestasytmis de la part de son synode (Fayoum – époque romaine)”, p. 47-48: “Il n’est pas invraisemblable de croire que le nom Μεσθασῶς ne soit qu’un diminutive de notre nom (...), et Μεσθᾶς ou Μεστᾶς n’est probablement lui-même qu’un diminutive de Μεσθασῶς (...). Μύσθης a dû être considéré comme une variante de Μεσθᾶς si on en juge par quelques noms doubles dans lesquels on a reconnu le sens d’« oreilles » ou d’« écouter » déjà présent dans Μεστα-σύτμις et Μεσθᾶς. Ἀκουσίλαος ὁ καὶ Μύσθης et Ἀκουσὼ ἡ καὶ Ταμύσθα sont particulièrement significatifs à cet égard (...) Outre les noms doubles, certaines filiations sont également remarquables: Μυσθᾶς fils d’Ἀκουσίλαος et Ἀκοῦς fils de Μύσθης (...). Μύσθης a donc bien été considéré comme une variante de Μεσθᾶς”. Cf. also YOYOTTE, J., “Une étude sur l’anthroponymie gréco-égyptienne du nome prosôpote”, p. 130.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Cf. the Coptic words for “ear”: ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲭⲉ (Sahidic), ⲙⲁⲟⲩⲭ (Bohairic), ⲙⲉⲉⲭⲉ (Achmimic, Fayumic), ⲙⲉⲭ= (Fayumic), ⲙⲉⲟⲩⲧ= (Old Coptic) (cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 132; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 212-213); and for the verb “to hear”: ⲙⲱⲧⲙ (Sahidic, Sub-Achmimic, Fayumic) (cf. VYCICHL, W., *ibidem*, p. 199; CRUM, W. E., *ibidem*, p. 363-364).

¹⁷⁰⁸ Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 84. Cf. the masculine counterpart *Pa-n3* (TM Nam 725).

*Ta-n3-wnš.w	The one of the wolves	Θανουανσι ¹⁷⁰⁹	3	37597
*Ta-n3-byk.w	The one of the falcons	Θανίβηχis, Θανίβixis	2	16865
Ta-n3-m3y.w	The one of the lions	Τανομγεύς	139	6054
Ta-n3-nṯr.w	The one of the gods	Τανέντηρις, Τανίνουθix	8 6	1212 + 18123
Ta-n3-hb.w	The one of the ibises	Τάναιβix, Τάνιβix	6 1	1266 + 12394
*Ta-n3-ḥsy.w	The one of the blessed ones	Τανεσιḥis	2	23483
Ta-n3-ḥt.w	The one of the chet demons	Τανέχωτις	45	1268
		Τανεχωτάριον	2	26419
*Ta-n3-ḥrd.w	The one of the children	Τανέχρατις	1	1270
*Ta-n3-sn.w	The one of the brothers	Τανεσνεύς ¹⁷¹⁰ , Τάνσνως	79 3	6056 + 23486
*Ta-n3-k3.w-mw.t=f	The one of the bulls of his mother	Τανκάμητις	5	17961
Ta-n3-ḏb3.w	The one of the avenging demons	Τανετβεύς	32	1273
*Ta-n-Īs.t	The one of Isis	Θάνησις, Τάνησις	2	6059
Ta-Ni.t	The one of Neith	Τάνιθix ¹⁷¹¹	1	1271
Ta-Nw3.t	The one of Tentyris	Τανοῦς ¹⁷¹²	3	12396
*Ta-nb-knhy	The one of the lord of the chapel	Τανέβκηνix ¹⁷¹³	17	23482
Ta-nfr	The one of the good one	Τανεφρ(...) (Abbreviated name)	1	30335
		Τάνεφρις	4	25586
		Τανέφρων	2	34005
		Τάνουφις	36	1276

¹⁷⁰⁹ In P. Mich. IV 223 Ro. col. 63, 1905: Θανουανσι; P. Mich. IV 224, col. 95, 3802: Θανουανσι; col. 103, 4090: Θανουανσι. The prototype of this name could be *Ta-n3-wnš.w: wnš appears in Achmimic as ⲟϣⲁⲛⲟⲩ (cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 235; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 485).

¹⁷¹⁰ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Greco-Egyptian Double Names as a Feature of a Bi-Cultural Society: The Case Ψοσνεύς ὁ καὶ Τριάδελφος”, p. 270.

¹⁷¹¹ In P. Count. 6, 314: Τάνιθix. Cf. P. Count, p. 218: “addendum onomasticis. If the reading is sound, the name may correspond to *Ta-Nyt*. The goddess Neith was venerated especially in the Fayum”. Cf. also QUAEGEBEUR, J., CLARYSSE, W., VAN MAELE, B., “Athena, Neith and Thoeis in Greek Documents”, p. 222-224.

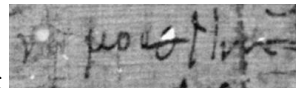
¹⁷¹² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1194; VANDORPE, K., *Egyptische geographische elementen in griekse transcriptie*, p. 19-20. Cf. also RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 357.25.

¹⁷¹³ In Coptic *knhy*, “chapel”, appears as ⲕⲛⲉ (Sahidic), ⲕⲉⲛⲓ (Bohairic). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 84; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 113.

Ta-Nfr-imy	The one of the one good of character	Τανέφρεμμυς	142	7701
*Ta-Nfr-ḥr	The one of the one beautiful of face	Ταφέρως	2	12462
*Ta-nḥt-Is.t	The one of Isis is strong	Τανεχθένησις ¹⁷¹⁴ , Τανέχθησις	2	19419
*Ta-nḥt=f-r.r=w	The one of He is strong against them	Τανεκφέρως ¹⁷¹⁵	11	12389
*Ta-nḥt-nb=f	The one of His master is strong	Τανεχθένιβις	1	12391
*Ta-ns-Bs	The one of He/She who belongs to Bes	Ταζβῆς	3	23463
*Ta-ntr	The one of the god	Τάνουτις	1	28249
*Ta-Rpy.t	The one of Tryphis	Τάριπις	5	18241
*Ta-rnp.t	The one of the year	Τάρεμφις	8	1298
Ta-Rnn.t	The one of Thermuthis	Ταρμουθίη ¹⁷¹⁶	1	24903
		Τάρμουθις	31	1376
Ta-r.r=w ¹⁷¹⁷	The one who is against them	Τάρανς,	12	6092 + 12421 (?)
		Ταρεοῦς (?), Ταρεῦς (?)	4	
Ta-rꜥ	The one of Harpokrates (<i>hypocoristic</i> ¹⁷¹⁸)	Τάρατις	1	12419
Ta-hb	The one of the ibis	Θάιβις	46	1246
*Ta-hry=w	The one of They are satisfied	Ταεριεύς	5	13923
*Ta-hqr	The one of Arabia ¹⁷¹⁹	Τααγόρεις ¹⁷²⁰	3	13872
Ta-ḥꜣ.t	The one of the superior one ¹⁷²¹	Ταῆς	40	1236

¹⁷¹⁴ In P. Ryl. Gr. III 535, col. 2 descr.: Τανεχθέν[ησις]. This name might be a ghostname for Τανεχθέη[σις], but there is not an image of the text available to confirm this reading. In P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr., in fact, the name Τανέχθησις is attested.

¹⁷¹⁵ Cf. the name *Nḥt=f-r.r=w* > Νεκφέρως in TM Nam 524.



¹⁷¹⁶ In P. Oxy. LXX 1989 (p. 139-140), 10: μητρὸς Ταρμουθίης

¹⁷¹⁷ Cf. TM Nam 1351.

¹⁷¹⁸ Cf. GLANVILLE, S. R. K., *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum* I, p. 55; QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 75-77, 81-83. Cf. also the masculine counterpart Pa-rꜥ (TM Nam 752).

¹⁷¹⁹ Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Hakor, an Egyptian Nobleman and his Family”, p. 235-243 and especially 238; JOHNSON, J. H., *CDD*, Letter H, p. 97-99.

¹⁷²⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1201.

¹⁷²¹ On the translation of this name, cf. *supra*, the name *Pa-ḥꜣ.t* – the masculine counterpart – in “The pronoun *pa-* in initial absolute position”.

Ta-ḥy	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁷²²	Τάις	15	1249
Ta-Ḥ'py	The one of Hapy	Τάωπις	14	1283
Ta-Ḥw.t-Ḥr	The one of Hathor	Τααθυρ	1	1242
Ta-Ḥp	The one of Apis	Τάαπις, Τάαιπις	20 10	1226 + 5989
Ta-ḥm-nṯr.t	The one of the prophet priest	Τααντ ¹⁷²³	1	13874
Ta-ḥn=w	The one they trust ¹⁷²⁴	Τανεύς	11	1274
Ta-ḥr	The one of the face	Τάωζ	53	1285
Ta-Ḥr	The one of Horos	Ταορ ¹⁷²⁵	5	6064
		Θαύρειον ¹⁷²⁶	1	29550
		Θαυρήζ (?) ¹⁷²⁷	1	24780
		Τάνρις	337	1243
		Ταωρίων, Ταωρ<ι>ων (?) ¹⁷²⁸	35 1	19203 + 38771
*Ta-Ḥr-...	The one of Horos... (incomplete and abbreviated names)	Τααρβ() ¹⁷²⁹	1	35398
		Τααρπ...	5	38712
*Ta-Ḥr-iw	The one of Horos has come	Τααρεύς	1	12325
*Ta-Ḥr-wdḏ	The one of Horos is prosperous	Τααρέωτις, Τααρύωζ	11 7	12331 + 24184
*Ta-Ḥr-wdḏ.t	The one of Horos of the Oudjat eye	Ταορούαθις ¹⁷³⁰	1	26584
*Ta-Ḥr-byk	The one of Horos the falcon	Ταάρβειχις	1	24693

¹⁷²² Cf. the masculine counterpart *Pa-ḥy* (TM Nam 698). On the possible etymology and meaning of this name, cf. the name *Pa-ḥy* in the list of Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription, “The pronoun *pa-* in absolute initial position”.

¹⁷²³ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts II*, n. 878, A 2, B 1.

¹⁷²⁴ Cf. the Coptic equivalent *ⲉⲛⲁ*= (Sahidic) and *ⲉⲛⲉ*= (Achmimic, Sub-Achmimic and Fayumic), “will, desire, be willing”. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 690; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 303. In LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1204, the translation “Die, welche sie (der Gottheit) anvertraut haben” is given. The transcription *Τανεύς* is the only variant attested in Greek characters; all its attestations come from the Fayum, Thebes and Sohag (U09) and its ending in *-εύς* and not in *-αυς* reflect dialectal features of Fayumic (in the attestations from the Fayum) and Achmimic and Sub-Achmimic (in the attestations from Thebes and Sohag).

¹⁷²⁵ Cf. *supra*, **Ta*-... (incomplete names).

¹⁷²⁶ In P. Princ. III 123, col. 2, 23: *Θαυρείο(υ)*.

¹⁷²⁷ The name *Θαυρήτος*, attested in SB XVIII 13583, 4, could represent Egyptian *Ta-Ḥr* and have the morphological ending *-ῆς*.

¹⁷²⁸ In P. Mich. IV 223, Ro. col. 102, 3063: *Τ]αώρων*.

¹⁷²⁹ In P. Princ. I 10, col. 4, 8: *Τααρβ()*. Probably abbreviation of *Ταάρβηκις* (< **Ta-Ḥr-byk*, “The one of Horos the falcon”) or *Τααρβαίθηζ/-ιθων* (> **Ta-Ḥr-Bḥt*, “The one of Horos of Behdet”).

¹⁷³⁰ In SB XIV 11266, col. 2, 34: *Ταορουάθι<ο>ς*.

*Ta-Ḥr-Bḥt	The one of Horos of Behdet	Τααρβαίθης	3	12324
*Ta-Ḥr-p3-Ḳš	The one of Horos, the Kushite	Τααρπάκυσίς	5	12329
*Ta-Ḥr-p3-wnš	The one of Horos the wolf	Ταορπούωνσις ¹⁷³¹	1	34740
*Ta-Ḥr-p3-ḥrd	The one of Horos the child	Τααρφοκρᾶς (hypocoristic)	1	19243
Ta-Ḥr-pa-Is.t	The one of Horos, the one of Isis	Τααρπάησις	57	5995
		Τάαρφασις (probably hypocoristic)	1	23453
Ta-Ḥr-Pyt	The one of Horos the Libyan	Τααρπαγάθης	37	12328
Ta-Ḥr-m3y-ḥs	The one of Horos, the fierce looking lion	Τααρμίνσις	65	12326
		Τααρμιεύς	1	26737
*Ta-Ḥr-m-3ḥ.t	The one of Horos is in the horizon	Τάαρμαχίς	1	18815
*Ta-Ḥr-m-ḥb	The one of Horos is in feast	Τάαρμαις	2	18058
*Ta-Ḥr-ms	The one of Horos has been born	Τάαρμεσις ¹⁷³²	1	18024
Ta-Ḥr-Mtn	The one of Horos of Medenit	Τααρμώθης ¹⁷³³	24	1227
*Ta-Ḥr-nfr	The one of Horos the good	Θάρνουφις ¹⁷³⁴	1	1218
*Ta-Ḥr-nʿšḫ	The one of Horos is strength/ The one of Horos is protector	Τααρόννησις ¹⁷³⁵	2	17872

¹⁷³¹ In P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 8, 42: Ταορπούωνσιν. The name is badly visible because of the ink wear; this is possibly a ghostname for Τααρπούωνσιν (nominative Τααρπούωνσις).

¹⁷³² The name Τάαρμησις included in TM Nam 18024 is indeed a reconstruction and not a real attestation: P. Leipz. 17 Ro. col. 2, 7: Τααρ[μή]σις.

¹⁷³³ Cf. On the names composed with *Ḥr-Mtn*, cf. THISSEN, H. J., “Noch einmal zu «Harmotes»”, p. 224-225; CLARYSSE, W., “Philadelphieia and the Memphites in the Zenon Archive”, p. 118-119; QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Harmotes”, cols. 997-998. Cf. also MARTIN, C. J., “A Demotic Land Lease from Philadelphia: P. BM 10560”, p. 168; YOYOTTE, J., “Un souhait de bonne année en faveur du prince Nechao”, p. 144; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter M, p. 274; TM Geo 11266.

¹⁷³⁴ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 432 descr., fr. 3: Θάρνουφ(ις). This name has been included in TM Nam 1218 and considered as a transcription of *Ta-Ḥr-nfr*, “The one of the beautiful face”, in the Trismegistos database. We do not agree with this classification: the Egyptian word for *ḥr*, “face”, appears as 20 in Sahidic and Boharic and as 2Δ in Fayumic, and Egyptian *r* is not represented in most Coptic forms. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 286; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 646. The name represented here is, therefore, **Ta-Ḥr-nfr*, “The one of Horos the good”. The name *Ḥr-nfr* > Ἄρνουφις is attested both in Demotic and in Greek transcription (cf. TM Nam 280).

¹⁷³⁵ In P. Brux. Gr. I 5, 18 (Τααρωνήσιος) and 29 (Τααρόννησις). For a discussion on the etymology of this name, cf. “*Is.t* in final position. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown”.

*Ta-Hr-s3-Is.t	The one of Horos, son of Isis	Τααρσιᾶς (hypocoristic)	1	19225
*Ta-Hr-sdm	The one of Horos, who listens	Θάρσυτις, Ταάρσυτις	4	18073
*Ta-Hr-tš	The one of Horos-Mars/The one of Horos the red ¹⁷³⁶	Ταάρτυσις	5	19483
*Ta-Hr-Dwn	The one of Horos-Thonis	Ταάρθωνις	4	23449
Ta-Hr-Dḥwty	The one of Horos-Thoth	Ταάρθωτις	5	5997
*Ta-Hk3	The one of Heka	Ταακῆς	11	5990
*Ta-hy	The one of Khonsu (hypocoristic ¹⁷³⁷)	Τάχοις, Τάχωις ¹⁷³⁸	11 1	12466 + 17749
*Ta-Hmnw	The one of Hermopolis	Τάχμουινις ¹⁷³⁹	1	39459
Ta-Hnsw	The one of Khonsu	Τάχωνσις, Τέχωνσις ¹⁷⁴⁰	11 1	1233 + 18840
		ΤΑΧΩΝ ¹⁷⁴¹	1	27473
Ta-Hnm	The one of Khnum	Τάχνουβις	22	1231
Ta-hrd	The one of the child	Τάχρατις	8	1235
*Ta-s3-wr	The one of the great son	Τασίγηρις ¹⁷⁴²	1	23512
*Ta-s3-Hp ¹⁷⁴³	The one of the son of Apis	Τασίαιπις	32	12439
*Ta-s3-gwy	The one of the little son	Τασίκουινις ¹⁷⁴⁴	1	36049
Ta-Sy	She who has been given by Osiris	Θάσις	183	1306

¹⁷³⁶ Cf. WINNICKI, J. K., “Hartysis und Ares (planet Mars) als Personennamen im griechisch-römischen Ägypten”, p. 321-325; NEUGEBAUER, O., PARKER, R. A., *Egyptian Astronomical Texts III. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*, p. 179.

¹⁷³⁷ Cf. DEVAUCHELLE, D., “À propos du nom *Pn-hj*”, p. 141-142.


¹⁷³⁸ In O. Douch I 20, 5: Τάχωις.

¹⁷³⁹ In PSI III 233 12: Ταχμούνεως.

¹⁷⁴⁰ In P. Harris I 72, 5: Τεχώνσιος.

¹⁷⁴¹ In CPR XII 31, 4: ΤΑΧΩΝ. On this name, cf. HASITZKA, M., “Frauennamen in der Spätantike”, p. 80.


¹⁷⁴² In P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 4, 11: Τασίγηρις.

¹⁷⁴³ On the name *S3-Hp* , “Son of Apis”, cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 283.21.

¹⁷⁴⁴ In BGU II 560, col. 1, 18: Τασικούιτ[ος].

	(<i>hypocoristic</i> ¹⁷⁴⁵)			
Ta-Sy-(n?)-iwn	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁷⁴⁶	Τασίνγωνις	10	1305
*Ta-Sbk-...	The one of Sobek... (<i>incomplete names</i>)	Τασουχ(...)	18	6102
Ta-Sbk	The one of Sobek	Τασουχάριον	519	6103
		Τασουχᾶς	11	6102 ¹⁷⁴⁷
		Τάσουχις ¹⁷⁴⁸	1	18107
		Τασούχιον	5	26416
		Τασώουκις	70	1308
*Ta-Sbk-iw	The one of Sobek has come	Τασοκεύς ¹⁷⁴⁹	1	26520
Ta-Sbk-mn	The one of Sobek is enduring	Τασόκμηνις	18	6098
*Ta-Sbk-m-ḥ3.t	The one of Sobek is in front	Τασόκμητις ¹⁷⁵⁰	1	6099
Ta-Sbk-Ḥ py	The one of Sobek-Hapy	Τασοκόνωπις	12	13881
		Τασόκονις ¹⁷⁵¹ (<i>abbreviated name?</i>)	1	7756
Ta-Sm3-t3.wy	The one of the union of both lands	Τασεμθύς	16	1304
*Ta-sn.w	The one of (the) brothers	Τασνεῆς, Τασνεοῦς	2	7754

¹⁷⁴⁵ Cf. DE MEULENAERE, H., “Anthroponymes Égyptiens de Basse Époque”, p. 213-216; QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Aspects de l’onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques”, p. 79. Cf. the masculine counterpart *Pa-Sy* (TM Nam 760).

¹⁷⁴⁶ LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1331: . The Demotic reading of the last part of the name is not clear. All the attestations of the name *Ta-Sy-iwn* in Demotic and in Greek transcription come from the Fayum. Egyptian *Ḳwnw*, “Heliopolis”, appears as ων in Coptic (cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 249), but, as pointed out by CLARYSSE, W., “The Financial Problems of the Beer-Seller Ameneus”, p. 16, for the masculine counterpart *Pa-Sy-iwn* (TM Nam 762), the last part of the name could represent a local divinity.

¹⁷⁴⁷ In TM Nam 6102 two different names are mixed and they should be splitted up: the incomplete *Τασουχ(...)* and *Τασουχᾶς*.


¹⁷⁴⁸ The name Τέσουχις, in P. Tebt. III 1065 descr., fr. 1, 19, has been identified as a ghostname for Τάσουχις. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

¹⁷⁴⁹ In P. Lond. II 254 Vo., col. 3, 53: Τασόκεως.

¹⁷⁵⁰ In P. Petaus 14, 5: Τασοκμήτιος. Cf. the name Σόκμητις (< *Sbk-m-ḥ3.t*) (TM Nam 5808).

¹⁷⁵¹ In BGU IX 1891, 378: Τασοκόνεω(ς).

Ta-sn.(w)t	The one of the two (brothers)	Τάσνωζ ¹⁷⁵²	17	13883
*Ta-sn.t	The one of the sister (?)	ΤΑCΩΝΕ (?) ¹⁷⁵³	1	27774
Ta-s.t	The one of the place (?)	Θασῆς ¹⁷⁵⁴ , Θα{η}ση<ς> ¹⁷⁵⁵	200 1	6097 + 35437
Ta-Sty	The one of Satis	Τάστις ¹⁷⁵⁶	2	6106
*Ta-Sth	The one of Seth	Τάσηθις ¹⁷⁵⁷	2	25959
*Ta-sdm	The one who hears	Τάστμις	1	25918
Ta-Š(3)y	The one of Shai	Τάσαις	16	12445
Ta-Šw	The one of Shu	Θάσως	79	1307
*Ta-špšy(.t)	The one of the noble one	Τάσεψις ¹⁷⁵⁸	1	25922
*Ta-(n)-Qlwd	The one of Kollauthis	Τακολαυθ(...) (abbreviated name), Τανκόλλαυθις, Τακόλλαυθις	1 1 1	6029 + 17948 + 38724
*Ta-Kldw3	The one of Kolluthos	Τακόλλουθος	7	12366
*Ta-gwy(.t)	The one of the little one	Τάκουις	5	12367
Ta-Gbk	The one of Geb	Τάκοιβις, Τάκοιμις (?) ¹⁷⁵⁹	8 2	1250 + 6028

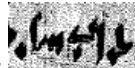
¹⁷⁵² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1212: “Die der Beiden”. Cf. also the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 684 A 3: *Ta-Sn.t* , and B 1-2: Τασνῶτος. In *Short Texts* II 759, B 5, the name Τασνῶτος also appears; cf. *Short Texts* II, p. 386: “Τασνῶς presents itself as such a strong reduction of the corresponding demotic name *T3-šr.t-n-P3-sn-snw* that it is probably to be considered as a misunderstanding of the latter”. In the same text, the Demotic name *P3-šr-T3-šr.t-n-P3-sn-snw* is represented in Greek as Ψενσενψανσῶτος (cf. A 3 and B 3-4).

¹⁷⁵³ In O. Brit. Mus. Copt. I, p. 66 pl. 50, 2, 3: ΠΩΙΝΤΑCΩΝΕ. Owing to the fragmentary state of the ostrakon, it is not possible to know whether or not ΤΑCΩΝΕ is a proper name, or if ΠΩΙΝΤΑCΩΝΕ should be translated as: “The son of my sister”, or even as a single name: “The son of the one of the sister”. Egyptian sn.t, “sister”, appears as CΩΝΕ in Coptic. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 190.

¹⁷⁵⁴ On the equivalence of Demotic *Ta-s.t* (TM Nam 1222) and Greek names Θασῆς/Τασῆς, cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1209, and the biligual texts P. Dime III, 2; 12; 18; 20; 38. Cf. also OSING, J., *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, p. 408; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter S, p. 4-5; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 182; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 316.


¹⁷⁵⁵ Attested in the bilingual text P. Dime III 20, GH 8: Θα{ή}ση<ς>.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Cf. P. Count. 19, 32: Τάστις. Cf. P. Count, p. 311: “The name is rare, but is attested in *SB* I 995 for Elephantine”. Cf.

the bilingual text P. Eleph. Dem. 12, Demotic part, 2: *Ta-Sty* ; Greek part, 3: Ταστιτι. Cf. also JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter S, p. 499. The meaning of the names of P. Eleph. Dem. 12 seems clear thanks to the Demotic form, which appears to end by a divine determinative. On the discussion of other similar Greek transcriptions, cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 194-196.

¹⁷⁵⁷ *Stḥ* appears as CHT in Old Coptic. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 198.

¹⁷⁵⁸ In P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 144: Ṭ[α]σέψι(ος).

¹⁷⁵⁹ In P. Köln Gr. I 50, col. 2, 24: Τακοίμιος ; and P. Strasb. Gr. II 89, Ro. 8: Τακοίμιος. In the Trismegistos database the masculine counterpart Πάκοιμις is considered as transcription of *Pa-Gbk*, “The one of Geb”

*Ta-gm/ Ta-Kmy ¹⁷⁶⁰	The one of the <i>gm</i> bull/ The one of Egypt ¹⁷⁶¹	Τακαμη ¹⁷⁶²	1	12359
		Τάκημης ¹⁷⁶³	1	34225
*Ta-glw	The one of the trust ¹⁷⁶⁴	Τακλεοῦς	1	13891
Ta-t3.wy	The one of both lands	Θατοῦς, Τατοῦς, Τατωοῦς	5	1311 +
			1	18444
*Ta-t3y=f-rs(.t)	The one of his guard ¹⁷⁶⁵	Τατεφέρσως	4	26749
*Ta-t3-msy- 3.t	The one of the Great of births	Τατμέσως ¹⁷⁶⁶	1	29157
*Ta-t3-nfr-ḥr	The one of the one of the beautiful face	Τατεφέρως ¹⁷⁶⁷	2	25862

(TM Nam 700). The equivalence between Πάκομις and *Pa-Gbk* and Τάκομις and *Ta-Gbk* is not sure; however, it is not impossible, since, for example, the transcriptions of the name *Hnm* appear as both -χνουμ- and -χνουβ- (cf., e. g. TM Nam 674 for the renderings of *Pa-Hnm*), with alternance of *beta* and *mu* as representations of Egyptian *m*. Nevertheless, the names Πάκομις and Τάκομις can also be respectively considered as renderings of *Pa-Kmy* > Πάκημης (TM Nam 701) and *Ta-Kmy* (TM Nam 13889) > Τάκημης (TM Nam 34225), “The one of Egypt”, with the itacistic interchange of η and οι. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 262-267.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Cf. TM Nam 13889.

¹⁷⁶¹ It is not possible to know if the Greek forms render Egyptian **Ta-gm* or *Ta-Kmy*. The term *gm* seems to appear in Coptic as Ⲅⲁⲙ (Sahidic), with *alpha* (cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 340; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 815), and *Km.t/Kmy*, “Egypt”, as ⲕⲏⲙⲉ (Sahidic), ⲕⲏⲙⲓ (Bohairic), with *eta*, but the adjective *km*, “black”, also is written with *alpha*: ⲕⲁⲙⲉ/ⲕⲁⲙⲏ (Sahidic), ⲕⲁⲙⲉ/ⲕⲁⲙⲏ (Bohairic). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *ibidem*, p. 81; CRUM, W. E., *ibidem*, p. 109-110. Nevertheless, all these terms seem to share a common etymology and refer to the black color of the entities they allude to. Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 419; WINNICKI, J. K., “Völkernamen als Personennamen im spätpharaonischen und griechisch-römischen Ägypten”, p. 174.

¹⁷⁶² Presumably in P. Lond. IV 1432, 96: Τακαμη [.

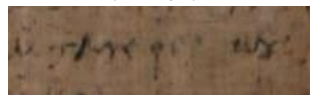
¹⁷⁶³ The reading of the name]άκημιν is reconstructed and, as a result, not completely sure. In fact, in SEIDER, R., *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* III.1, p. 391, the reconstruction Τ]άκημιν is found, and in P. Grenf. I 11, 22, the name Π]άκημιν has been presupposed. Since this name is feminine (cf.]άκημιν τὴν μετήρα), the reconstruction found in SEIDER, R. is presumably right.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter G, p. 56-59; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 337. Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1216: “Die, die sie (der Gottheit) anvertraut haben”.

¹⁷⁶⁵ On the equivalence of Τεφέρσως and *T3y=f-rs(.t)*, cf. WEGNER, W., “Eine demotische Abrechnung und ein demotischer Brief aus Tebtynis (P. Hamburg D 45 und 46)”, p. 170. The Demotic word *rs(.t)*, “to be awake, to watch, to be careful” – also used as a noun, “watch, guard” – appears in Coptic as ϣⲉⲓⲥ (Sahidic) and ϣⲱⲓⲥ/ϣⲱⲥ (Bohairic). This is, indeed, the vocalisation reflected on the Greek transcriptions of the name. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 172; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 300-301. On the other hand, *T3y=f-rs(.t)-wḏ3*, “His awakening is sound”, is attested as an epithet of Osiris. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter R, p. 62-64.

¹⁷⁶⁶ The nominative of Τατμέσώτου (SB I 3994) is Τατμέσως. The reconstruction Τατμέσωτος of TM Nam 29157 should consequently be corrected.

¹⁷⁶⁷ In P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 8, 1: Τατεφέρωτο(ς); and P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 8, 17: Τατεφέρωτο(ς).



. Cf. the name *T3-nfr-ḥr* (TM Nam 1272) and its different transcriptional variants (e. g. Τεφέρως). Since a Greek rendering **Φέρως for Egyptian *Nfr-ḥr*, “Beautiful face”, is not attested, the prototype of Τατεφέρως seems to be **Ta-t3-nfr-ḥr* and not **T3-di-nfr-ḥr*.

Ta-t3-Rpy.t	The one of Tryphis	Τάτριφις	51	1221
		Τατριφοῦς ¹⁷⁶⁸	4	25717
Ta-t3-Rnn.t	The one of Thermuthis	Ταθέρμουθις	2	17972
		Τατερμούθης	1	13892
		Ταρμούθιον	1	29910
Ta-(t3)-ḥtr(.t)	The one of the twin	Θααθρῆς, Τααθρῆς	3 5	1309 + 18719
		Τααθρηοῦς	2	19617
Ta-t3-ḥlp3.t	The one of the navel	Τατχολπε ¹⁷⁶⁹	1	13894
*Ta-t3-sbt	The one of the hill	Τάτσεβθις ¹⁷⁷⁰	5	23522
*Ta-t3-šr.t-n-Ītm	The one of the daughter of Atum	Ταθενάτυμις	1	24300
*Ta-t3-šr.t-n-ta-Ḥr-wd3	The one of the daughter of the one Horos is prosperous	Τασενταρούωθις ¹⁷⁷¹	1	39448
Ta-tip3.t	<i>Meaning uncertain</i> ¹⁷⁷²	Τάτιπις	17	18089
*Ta-Twtw	The one of Totoes	Τατιθοῖς	9	12451
*Ta-ṯhy	The one of drunkenness	Τάτιχις	5	6120
*Ta-t3y-dy	The one of the bearer of the hairlock	Τασισόεις, Τασίσοις	7	27153
*Ta-Dwn	The one of Thonis	Τάθωνις	2	18795
		Ταθωνᾶς, Ταθωνᾶς	1 2	19676 + 24013
Ta-Ḍm3	The one of Djeme	Τάσημις	27	1303
Ta-Ḍḥwty	The one of Thoth	Θατωτάριον	1	35759

¹⁷⁶⁸ Cf. the bilingual text in *Short Texts* II, p. 107-110, n. 437, B 2, 7-8, 14-15: Τατριφοῦτος, as rendering of A 1-2: Ta-t3-Rpy{t3-Rp}.t. In B 17 the name Τατροφοῦ, probably with a wrong spelling of the same name, appears.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1218: “Die des Nabels”.

¹⁷⁷⁰ The feminine term *sbt*, “hill”, appears in Coptic as ⲥⲓⲃⲧ (Sahidic, Achimimic, Fayumic). The word for “wall”, *sbt*, has the same etymology, but it is a masculine word and the vocalization is different: ⲥⲟⲃⲧ (Sahidic, Bohairic). Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 184-185; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 322-323. On the change ι > ε in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 251-256, 261-262.

¹⁷⁷¹ In I. Akôris 58, 1-2: Τασεντ Ἀρούωθις. This name should be considered as a single name: Τασενταρούωθις.

¹⁷⁷² Cf. SPIEGELBERG, W., *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der roemischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 51, who alludes to the prototype T3-di-hb, “She who has been given by the ibis”. However, the alphabetical writing of the name in Demotic and the determinative of foreign name seem to point that the etymology is not probably Egyptian.

		Τάθωτις	75	1310
Ta-ḡtm	The one of the heap ¹⁷⁷³	Τάσατμις	1	1301
*Ta-ḡd-ḡr(-i w=f/s-nḡ)	The one of the face says: (“He/She will live”) (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	Τατέως, Ταχέως ¹⁷⁷⁴	2 2	25688 + 25681

B. Hybrid names in Greek transcription


Aproximately 70 anthroponyms have been composed with the feminine pronoun *Ta-* plus a Greek or Latin name¹⁷⁷⁵. Of these, the names Ταυήμερος, Θαισάριον and Ταμάρων, with more than 100 attestations each, are the best attested:

Base name	LGNP (volume: page)	Hybrid name	Attestations	TM Nam
Αγαθίων	I: 2; II: 3; III.A: 3, III.B: 2, V.A: 2; V.B: 3.	Ταγάτιον, Τεαγάθιον	2	7763
Ἀγάπη	II: 6; III.A: 6; IV: 4; V.B: 4	ΤΑΝΑΓΑΠΗ	1	31166
*Ἀκουτιᾶς	---	Ταακουτιᾶς ¹⁷⁷⁶	1	38710

¹⁷⁷³ On the equivalence of *Ta-ḡtm* and Τάσατμις and the etymology of the Egyptian name, cf. VITTMANN, G., “Drei thebanische Urkunden aus dem Jahre 175 v. Chr. (Papyri Louvre E 3440 A + B und Berlin P 3112)”, p. 132. Cf. also ČERNÝ, J., *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, p. 321: χατμε, “heap”; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 332: χατμε (Sahidic), χετμε (Achimimic), from Egyptian *ḡtm.t*, “tas”. The rendering Τάσατμις, written in a document from Hermonthis (U04) and dated from 113 BC, seems however to reflect the Sahidic variant and not the Achmimic one as it would correspond to a document from the área of Thebes, where Achmimic was spoken. Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 245-262, and, especially, p. 260; VERGOTE, J., “Les dialectes dans le domaine égyptien”, p. 243.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Cf. the masculine counterpart Πατέως (TM Nam 10955).

¹⁷⁷⁵ ΤΑΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ/ΤΑΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ (TM Nam 12381) has been considered as a hybrid name composed by *Ta-* + ***Mougis* in the Trismegistos database. These forms are only attested in Kellis: P. Kellis Copt. 19, 46: ΑΤΑΜΟ ΤΑΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ; 47, 26: ΝΤΜΟ [ΤΑ]ΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ; 21, 7-8: ΑΤΑΜΟ ΤΑΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ; 22, 4: ΤΑΜΕΥ ΤΑΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ; 25, 67: ΑΤΑΜΟ ΤΑΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ; 28, 31: ΑΤΑΜΟ ΤΑΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ. It seems to be always preceded by ΤΑΜΟ, “my mother”, which leads to think that what precedes ΓΕΝΙΑ/ΙΕΝΙΑ is also ΤΑΜΟ, “my mother”. Probably ΤΑΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ/ΤΑΜΟΥΓΕΝΙΑ, “My mother Genia”, was conceived as a single name and thus the first part of the name grammaticalized, or ΤΑΜΟ was written twice in the attestations. The real name of this woman seems to be ΓΕΝΙΑ, from a Greek root Γεν- that can also be found in the name Γένης (cf. LGPN I, p. 106).

¹⁷⁷⁶ The reading of this name, attested in P. Mich. IV 224, col. 38, 1642, is correct: . Even if an anthroponym *Ἀκουτίας is not attested in Greek, the proper names Ἀκουσίας (LGPN III.B: 20), Ἀκούτας (LGPN IV: 13) and Ἀκοῦτος (LGPN II: 18, III.B: 20-21, IV: 13), with the same root, are attested. Cf. also Ἀκοῦτις in TM Nam 6544.

Ἀλεξᾶς	I: 26; II: 20; III.A: 25; III.B: 22; IV: 17; V.A: 20; V.B: 19	Τααλεξᾶς	2	16550
Ἄμμων	I: 32; IV: 21; V.B: 23	Ταβησάμμων	2	19091
		Ταπάμμων	6	18986
Ἄμμωνᾶς	I: 32	Ταμμωνᾶς	2	19286
Ἀμμώνιος	I: 32; II: 25-26; III.A: 33; III.B: 28; IV: 21; V.A: 27; V.B: 23	Τααμμώνιος	3	17742
Ἀμμώνις	I: 32; IV: 21	Τααμμώνις,	2	17742
		Ταμώνις ¹⁷⁷⁷	3	30120
Ἄμμωνοῦς ¹⁷⁷⁸	---	Ταμονοῦς, Ταμωνοῦς ¹⁷⁷⁹	2	18891
Ἀναστασία	I: 38; II: 29; III.A: 36; V.A: 30; V.B: 25	Ταναστασία ΤΑΝΑΣΤΑ, Ταναστᾶ ¹⁷⁸⁰	4	27272
Ἀπόλλων	I: 52; IV: 36; V.A: 46	Τααπόλλων	2	23448
Ἀπολλωνίδης	I: 53; II: 44-45; III.A: 50-51; III.B: 48; IV: 36-37; V.A: 47-48; V.B: 40-41	Τααπολλωνίδης Τωπολλωνίδης	2	26496
Ἀπολλῶς/-ῶς	Ἀπολλῶς: I: 56; III.A: 52; V.A: 56; V.B: 47 Ἀπολλῶς: IV: 39; V.B: 47	Τααπολλῶς/-ῶς	15	12323
Ἄρχων	I: 89-90; II: 72; III.A: 78; III.B: 72-73; IV: 53; V.A: 78 ; V.B: 71	ΤΑΡΧΩΝ	1	27773
Ἀσκληᾶς	I: 90; III.A: 80; IV: 54; V.A: 79-80; V.B: 72	Τασκληᾶς	1	30268
*Ἀσκληατάριον ¹⁷⁸¹	---	Τασκληατάριον	1	26422
Ἀχιλλεύς	I: 97; II: 85; III.A: 87; III.B: 83; IV: 63; V.A: 94-95; V.B: 80	Τααχιλλεύς	1	26530
Βίκτωρ	II: 88; III.A: 91; IV: 71	Ταβίκτωρ	1	26634
Διογᾶς	IV: 98; V.A: 130; V.B: 108	Ταδιογᾶς	3	12346

¹⁷⁷⁷ On simplification of geminated consonants in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 154-165.

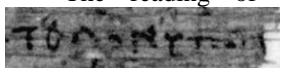

¹⁷⁷⁸ The proper name Ἀμμωνοῦς is not listed in the *LGN*, but it is well attested in many documents from several areas of Egypt. Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=1982>.


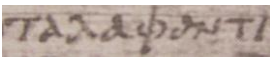

¹⁷⁷⁹ The etymology of these anthroponyms is not completely clear, and they actually appear classified as Egyptian on the Trismegistos database. They could be considered renderings of Egyptian *Ta-Īmn*, “The one of Amun”, with interchange of ου and ω/o (cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 208-216; 275-277), but, since the name Ἀμμωνοῦς is attested, we rather think that they are indeed hybrid names constructed with the Egyptian pronoun *ta-* plus the name Ἀμμωνοῦς with simplification of μ. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *ibidem*, p. 154-165, and especially 154-155: “Single consonants are very frequently doubled in writing and contiguous identical consonants very frequently represented by a single letter through the Roman and Byzantine periods, as elsewhere in the Koine. This indicates the identification in speech of single and double consonants”.

¹⁷⁸⁰ The name Ταναστᾶ seems to be a hypocoristic of Ἀναστασία and it is not attested as such in *LGN*.

¹⁷⁸¹ The proper name *Ἀσκληατάριον is not attested in Greek, but some others with the same root, such as Ἀσκληᾶς, are.

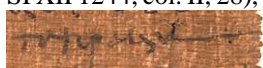
Διονῦς	II: 121; III.A: 128; IV: 101; V.A: 136; V.B: 114	Τασιονῦς (?) ¹⁷⁸²	2	25636
Δώρα	I: 144; III.B: 128	Ταδώρα, ΤΑΔΩΡΕ	6	12347
Ἐκτωρ	II: 139; III.A: 139; IV: 116; V.A: 152; V.B: 132	Ταέκτορις	2	24352
Ἐλεφαντίς	II; V.A	ΤΑΛΑΦΑΝΤΙ ¹⁷⁸³	3	18194
Ἐπίμαχος	I: 158; II: 151; III.A: 148; III.B: 138; IV: 121; V.A: 160; V.B: 141	Ταεπίμαχος, Ταιεπίμαχος	3	27227
Ἐρμᾶς	I: 163; II: 156; III.A: 152; III.B: 143; IV: 124; V.A: 163; V.B: 147	Ταερμᾶς, Τααρμᾶς	1 1	34256 + 30531
Ἐρμείας/ Ἐρμίας	Ἐρμείας: I: 164; II: 156-157; III.A: 152; III.B: 143; IV: 124; V.A: 163; V.B, p. 148 Ἐρμίας: II: 157-158; III.A: 153; III.B: 143-144; IV: 125; V.A: 164-165; V.B: 149-150	Ταερμίας	1	23460
Ἐρως	I: 167; II: 160; III.A: 155-156; III.B: 145; IV: 127-128; V.A: 171; V.B: 156	Ταέρως, Ταήρως ¹⁷⁸⁴	2 1	23461 + 24186
Εὐήμερος	I: 174-175; II: 168; III.A: 164; III.B: 154; IV: 131; V.A: 176; V.B: 161	Ταευήμερος	107	23462
*Ζωῖλᾶς	---	Ταζωῖλᾶς ¹⁷⁸⁵	1	24517
Ἡρακλείδης	I: 203; II: 204-205; III.A: 195; III.B: 182; IV: 154-155; V.A: 200-203; V.B: 185	Ταηρακλείδης	2	12350
Ἡρακλῆς	I: 205; II: 206-207; III.A: 196; III.B: 183; IV: 156; V.A: 204; V.B: 187	Ταηρακλῆς ¹⁷⁸⁶	1	6021

¹⁷⁸² The reading of the anthroponym Τασιονῦς, presumably attested in P. Fouad 30, 2: Τασιόνυτος  and 5: Τασ[ιό]νυτος , is not completely sure. A name *Σιονῦς is not attested in Greek; if the reading is correct, it is possibly an error of the scribe for *Ταδιονῦς. Both the names Διονῦς and Διονῦς (LGPN I: 136; III.B: 119; V.A: 136) are attested.

¹⁷⁸³ In P. Kellis Copt. 19, 64 ; P. Kellis Copt. 25, 71: ; P. Kellis Copt. 28, 33: . The first *alpha* of the name is due to the contraction with the *a* of the pronoun *ta-*, and the second one has probably been caused by assimilation with the other two *alphas* of the anthroponym.

¹⁷⁸⁴ This anthroponym, attested in P. Achmim 7, col. 2, 105 (Ταηρῶτος), probably contains the name Ἐρως: a proper name *Ἡρως is not attested in Greek. On the interchange of ε and η in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 242-249; CLARYSSE, W., "Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek", p. 197.

¹⁷⁸⁵ The name *Ζωῖλᾶς seems to be a hypocoristic of Ζωίλα in -ᾶς. Even if *Ζωῖλᾶς does not seem to be attested, Ζωίλα is well listed in LGPN (I, p. 195, II, p. 194, III.A, p. 188, III.B, p. 176, IV, p. 145, V.B, p. 178). On the Greek names in -ᾶς, cf. CLARYSSE, W., "Greek Accents on Egyptian Names", p. 182: "The Greek examples are usually hypocoristics (...) and (later) names of occupations". Cf. also MASSON, O., "Quelques noms de métier grecs en -ᾶς et les noms propres correspondants", p. 1-19; GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* II, p. 16-21.


¹⁷⁸⁶ The editor of SB XIV 11932 (= PSI XII 1244, col. II, 28), Ro. col. 2, 39, has read the name Ταηρακλεύς and presupposed an ending -εὔτος: Ταηρακλε(ῦτος) . In PSI XII 1244, col. II, 28, however, this name has been

Ἡρων	I: 207; II: 208; III.A: 197; III.B: 184; IV: 159; V.A: 207; V.B: 189	Ταήρων	1	18957
*Θηβαία	---	Ταθηβαία ¹⁷⁸⁷	1	24093
Ἰέραξ	I: 231; II: 232; III.A: 216; III.B: 205; IV: 172; V.A: 222; V.B: 209	Ταϊέραξ	1	12356
Ἰσάριον	---	Θαισάριον	178	5391
Ἰσᾶς/Εἰσᾶς	I: 238; II: 239; III.A: 224; IV: 177; V.A: 231; V.B: 218	Θαισᾶς, Θαισᾶς ¹⁷⁸⁸ , Ταισᾶς ¹⁷⁸⁹	17 + 1 + 1	6023 + 24072 + 19236
Ἰσοῦς	---	Θαισοῦς	63	9466
Κάλλιππος	I: 247-248; II: 250-251; III.A: 233; III.B: 221; IV: 183; V.A: 238; V.B: 225	Τακάλλιππος	1	26359
*Κέραμις ¹⁷⁹⁰	---	Τακέραμις	1	12361
Κολλᾶς ¹⁷⁹¹	I: 268	Τακολλᾶς ¹⁷⁹²	2	6030
Λογγίνα	III.B: 261; IV: 211; V.A: 269; V.B: 263	Ταλλογγίνα	1	26539
*Λογγινίς ¹⁷⁹³	---	Ταλλογγινίς	1	27098
Μάριον	I: 298	Ταμάρειον	1	24139
Μαρίων	I: 298; V.A: 281; V.B: 272	Ταμαρίων	1	24139
Μάρων	I: 299; II: 298-299; III.A: 288; III.B: 270; IV: 223; V.A: 284; V.B: 274	Ταμάρων	104	6042
*Μερούλλα, *Μερούλλη	---	Ταμερύλλα, Ταμερύλλη ¹⁷⁹⁴	2	27132
Ουαλέρις	IV: 265; V.A: 349; V.B: 333	Ταουαλέρης	1	26264

edited as Τηρακλῆ, without any morphological ending presupposed by the editor. Since a name *Ἡρακλεῦς is not attested in Greek, we should probably read here a name Τηρακλῆς with an abbreviated morphological ending instead (Τηρακῆ).

¹⁷⁸⁷ Θηβαία, “The Theban”, is attested as adjective but not as proper name in Greek. Nevertheless, the anthroponyms Θηβαίς (*LGNP* I, p. 224; III.A, p. 210; IV: 168) and Θηβαῖος (*LGNP* I, p. 224; II, p. 225; V.B, p. 200), with the same root, are well attested.

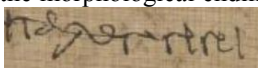
¹⁷⁸⁸ Two different names are included in TM Nam 24072: Θαῖσα and Θαισᾶς; cf. SB VI 9428, 7: Θαισᾶτο(ς).

¹⁷⁸⁹ Presumably in P. Graux 2 17, 14: Ταῖσᾶτο[ς] .

¹⁷⁹⁰ An anthroponym *Κέραμις is not attested in Greek, but Κέραμος (*LGNP* III.A, p. 240) and Κεράμων (*LGNP* II, p. 257), with the same root, are.

¹⁷⁹¹ Cf. also TM Nam 17026.

¹⁷⁹² In BGU IX 1891, col. 2, 43: Τακολλᾶτ(ος); BGU IX 1891, col. 18, 550: Τακολλᾶτος.

¹⁷⁹³ A proper name *Λογγινίς, with the morphological ending -ίς, is not attested in Greek. The editor of SB I 5166, 8, has read, on the other hand, Ταλλογγίνα , but no *alpha* can be seen after the *nu*: the name written here is Ταλλογγινί. The names given on <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;5166> and in the Trismegistos database (Ταλογ’γινί[α]) do not correspond, as a consequence, with the anthroponym appearing in the edition. In addition, the proposition Ταλογ’γινί[α] cannot be right because after the last *iota* there is a blank space in the papyrus and not a lacuna.

¹⁷⁹⁴ The anthroponyms *Μερούλλα and *Μερούλλη are not attested in Greek. The only proper name attested that seems to have the same root is Μερούλας (*LGNP* V.A, p. 301), in the area of Pontos (Heracleia). On the other hand, in BGU I 301, 2-3, the attestation Ἀντωνία Ἀμερύλλη occurs. This attestation leads to think that this name probably did not start by *mu*, but by *alpha*, but no name *Αμε/, are composed by the feminine pronoun *Ta-* and this unattested name.

Παλλαδία	V.A: 353	Ταπαλλαδία	1	25627
Πασίων	I: 364-365; II: 362; III.A: 355; III.B: 338; IV: 275; V.A: 360; V.B: 346	Ταπασίων	90	25668
*Πατριν/ *Πατρίνη ¹⁷⁹⁵	---	Ταπατριν, Ταπατρίνη	1 1	12402 + 27975
Πατρίς	III.A: 356; III.B: 339; V.A: 360	Ταπατρίς	2	30159
Πία, Πῖα	Πία: V.A: 366; V.B: 351 Πῖα: IV: 279	Ταπία/ Ταπῖα	38	6076
Πλουτᾶς	I: 374; II: 369; V.A: 368; V.B: 355	Ταπλουτᾶς	1	19239
Ποσης/ Πόσις	Ποσης: I: 383; II: 377-378; V.A: 377; V.B: 362 Πόσις: III.A: 373; IV: 288; V.A: 377; V.B: 362	Ταπόσεις	1	25781
Ποτάμων	I: 383; II: 378; III.A: 373; III.B: 358; IV: 288; V.A: 377-378; V.B: 362	Ταποτάμων	2	23501
Πρᾶξις/ Πραξίς	Πρᾶξις: I: 385; V.B: 363 Πραξίς: III.B: 361	Ταπρᾶξις/ Ταπραξίς	4	25739
*Πτόλλις ¹⁷⁹⁶	---	Ταπτόλλις	5	18224
*Πτολλοῦς ¹⁷⁹⁷	---	Ταπτολλοῦς	1	25708
Σαβῖνα	I: 400; II: 392; III.A: 386; III.B: 372; IV: 302; V.A: 395; V.B: 376	Τασαβεῖνα	1	38754
Σαραπῖς/ Σαράπις	Σαραπῖς: III.A: 389 Σαράπις: V.A: 397	Τασάραπις	1	12436
Σαραπίων	I: 401; II: 393; III.A: 389; III.B: 374; IV: 304; V.A: 397-398; V.B: 378	Τασαραπίων	4	23510
Σαταβοῦς ¹⁷⁹⁸	<i>Aramaic name</i>	Τασαταβοῦς	2	7750
Σερῆνος	I: 404; II: 396; V.A: 402-403; V.B: 382	Τασερῆνος	1	26365
Σιλβάνη	IV: 310	Τασιλβανε, Τασιλβάνεις ¹⁷⁹⁹	2	18211
Στέφανους (<i>sic</i>)	V.B: 389	Ταστεφανοῦς	1	25707
Στράτων	I: 414-415; II: 407-408; III.A: 404-405; III.B: 386; IV: 318-319; V.A: 413; V.B: 391	Ταστράτων	8	19084
Φίλη	I: 460; II: 447; IV: 343; V.A: 447; V.B: 425	Ταφίλη	1	18260

¹⁷⁹⁵ A proper name *Πατρίνη is not attested in Greek, but some others with the same root, such as Πατρίς or Πατρίνας (LGPN III.B, p. 339) are.

¹⁷⁹⁶ The anthroponyms *Πτόλλις and *Πτολλοῦς are not attested in Greek, but others that seem to have the same root can be found. Cf. Πτολλαρίων (LGPN III.A: 380), Πτολλᾶς (LGPN I: 391; IV: 294), Πτολλίων (LGPN V.B: 368).

¹⁷⁹⁷ Cf. previous note.

¹⁷⁹⁸ This anthroponym is also attested in hieroglyphic writing (cf. RANKE, H. (ed.), *PN* II, p. 259.16) and in Demotic (cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 882-883). Cf. also SCHENTULEIT, M., “Satabus aus Soknopaiu Nesos: Aus dem Leben eines Priesters am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit”, p. 102; ZAUZICH, K. T., “Der Schreiber der Weissagung des Lammes”, p. 127-130.

¹⁷⁹⁹ A name *Σιλβανίς is not attested in Greek, but others with the same root, such as Σιλβανός (LGPN I: 405; III.A: 394; IV: 310), can be found.

Φίλων	I: 472; II: 461-463; III.A: 462-463; III.B: 432-434; IV: 349-350; V.A: 454-455; V.B: 431-432	Ταφίλων	2	23529
Χαιρίνος	II: 472	Ταχαιρείνος	1	29430
Ὠφέλας/ Ὠφελᾶς	Ὠφέλας: III.A: 482 Ὠφελᾶς: III.B: 446	Ταωφέλας/ Ταωφελᾶς	1	19289

C. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown

Some seems in Greek transcription seem to start by the pronoun *Ta-*, but a part or the rest of their prototypes are unknown. These names are listed in the tables below:

a) Names for which no image is available

Name	Attestations	TM Nam
Θαψενεύς ¹⁸⁰⁰	1	32979
Τάαμις ¹⁸⁰¹	1	17791
Τάάρασις ¹⁸⁰²	1	5993
Ταέτυρις ¹⁸⁰³	1	12349
Ταμάσαις ¹⁸⁰⁴	1	6040
Ταπεωσόκμηις ¹⁸⁰⁵	1	26709
Τάπλιβις ¹⁸⁰⁶	1	19605
Ταπμους ¹⁸⁰⁷	1	6078
Τάσκουις ¹⁸⁰⁸	1	38758

¹⁸⁰⁰ In O. Edfou III 470, 7: Θαψενεύτι. Cf. the name Ψενεύ(τος) in O. Edfou III 441, 2.

¹⁸⁰¹ O. Bodl. II 1285, 5: Ταάμιο(ς).

¹⁸⁰² P. Petrie III 68 a, 4: Τααράσιος.

¹⁸⁰³ SB XX 14471, 1= P. Trophitis 2, 1: Ταετῆριος.

¹⁸⁰⁴ P. Petaus 59, col. 4, 79-80: Ταμασάιτος.

¹⁸⁰⁵ P. Lond. II p. 28-36 no. 258 Ro., col. 8, 194: τοῦ Πετεσοῦχ(ου) μη(τρὸς) Ταπεωσοκμή(νεως).

¹⁸⁰⁶ *CRIPEL* II 255, A 2: Ταπλίβιος.

¹⁸⁰⁷ P. Count. 26, col. 11, 203.

¹⁸⁰⁸ P. Mich. IV 224, col. 69, 2777.

Ταψοντμαῦς ¹⁸⁰⁹	1	25589
Τάψωτις ¹⁸¹⁰	1	34339

The names listed in the table above probably start by the feminine pronoun *ta-*, but their complete prototypes are unknown. In some of them, however, other Egyptian elements can be recognised. Thus, the prototypes of the names Θαψενεύς and – less likely – Ταψόντμαυς could start by **Ta-p3-šr-n-...*, “The one of the son of ...”: the name Ψενεῦ(τος)¹⁸¹¹, from **P3-šr-n-...*, seems in fact to be attested in the same geographical area as Θαψενεύς. The proper name Ταάρασις, on the other hand, may start by **Ta-Hr-...*, “The one of Horos...”, but the Egyptian element represented in the last part is unknown¹⁸¹². The element *Hr* seems also to be transcribed at the end of the name Ταετύριος, which has been edited with dots under the first *tau* and the sequence -ετυρ-. This name may begin by *Ta-*, end by *Hr* and reflect an unknown Egyptian element in the middle, but, since the reading of the middle part seems uncertain according to the dots under the letters, it is likely a ghostname for Τατεύριος (nominative Τάτευρις), from a prototype *T3-di-Hr*, “She who has been given by Horos”, which is attested both in Demotic and Greek transcription¹⁸¹³. The lack of an image of the text in the edition does not allow, however, to confirm this reading.

Another possible ghostname is Ταπεωσοκμή(νεως), which has been edited with dots under the *pi* and the *omega*. The impression is that the anthroponym represented here is Ταπετεσοκμήνις, which would be a transcription of **Ta-p3-di-Sbk-mn*, “The one of He who has been given by Sobek is enduring”¹⁸¹⁴. Again, owing to the lack of image in the edition, it is not possible to confirm this reading.

¹⁸⁰⁹ SB XIV 11266, col. 2, 28: Ταψόντμαντος.

¹⁸¹⁰ P. Hamb. I 60, 16: Τάψω[τι]ν. According to the *apparatus criticus*, this name should be read as Ταψώπιος.

¹⁸¹¹ Cf. Ψενεῦ(τος) in O. Edfou III 441, 2.

¹⁸¹² It is not possible to know if here the ending -ασις is representing the name of *Īs.t*. The anthroponym *Hr-(s3)-Īs.t*, “Horos (son of) Isis”, seems to be attested in Demotic. Cf., for example, P. Bürgsch. 14, 1 (TM Nam 31545).

¹⁸¹³ Cf. TM Nam 6207 + 6208.

¹⁸¹⁴ Cf. the names *Ta-p3-di-Sbk* (TM Nam 7731), “The one of He who has been given by Sobek”, and *Ta-Sbk-mn* (TM Nam 6098), “The one of Sobek is enduring”, attested both in Demotic and Greek transcription.

It is uncertain if the names Ταμάσαις and Τάψωτις render $\check{S}zy$ ¹⁸¹⁵ in final position. The form of the name Τάψωτις is not sure because it has been partially reconstructed: Τάψω[τι]ν; it is not impossible, however, that this anthroponym represents the Egyptian name *Ta-p3-š'.t*, “The one of the sand (?)”¹⁸¹⁶.

For the name Τάσκουις¹⁸¹⁷ – attested in P. Mich. IV 224, col. 69, 2777 –, a prototype **Ta-ns-gwy*, “The one of He/She who belongs to the little one”, can be proposed, like for its masculine counterpart Πασκουει, attested in the same text (col. 57, 2339)¹⁸¹⁸. This prototype is however uncertain, because a name **Ns-gwy* is not attested in Demotic or in Greek transcription. For the names Τάαμις, Τάπλιβις and Ταπμωυς, only the possible representation of the pronoun *ta-* at the beginning is recognisable. The *pi* in Ταπμωυς probably represents the masculine article *p3*. It is not possible to know, however, if Τάπλιβις contains the word *hb*, “ibis”, in final position, or if Τάαμις is a rendering of **Ta-m3y*, “The one of the lion”¹⁸¹⁹, with dittography of *alpha*.

b) Names for which an image is available

Name	Attestations	TM Nam
Τααγρελλσα ¹⁸²⁰	1	28001
Ταάρανθις ¹⁸²¹	1	5994
Τάαρες ¹⁸²²	1	33994
Τάβρεσις ¹⁸²³	2	6004

¹⁸¹⁵ For Ταμάσαις, cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 233.

¹⁸¹⁶ Cf. *supra*, the name *Ta-p3-š'.t* in the list of Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription. Cf. also QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 207.

¹⁸¹⁷ P. Mich. IV 224, col. 69, 2777.

¹⁸¹⁸ Cf. The pronoun *Pa-* in absolute initial position, Names with a prototype unknown. For the name Πασκουει, an image is available.

¹⁸¹⁹ Cf. the name **Ta-m3y* > Τάμις (TM Nam 13857) in the list of attestations of the pronoun *ta-* in initial position.

¹⁸²⁰ P. Oxy. II 250, Ro. 15: Τααγρελλσα Ἀπέλλ[ατος].

¹⁸²¹ P. Col. II 1 Ro. (2), col. 5, 14: Τααράυθιος.

¹⁸²² O. Petrie Mus. 449, 1.

¹⁸²³ P. Petaus 66, col. 2, 26: Ταβρέσεως. The same name seems to appear incomplete in P. Petaus 71, col. 2, 26: [Ταβρέσ]εως.

Ταβυεύς ¹⁸²⁴	3	6005
Ταένουτις ¹⁸²⁵	1	6011
Ταθαρής ¹⁸²⁶	1	26703
Ταμάλαις ¹⁸²⁷	2	34808
Τανγόραυς ¹⁸²⁸	1	7707
Τάπνουβχις ¹⁸²⁹	1	23499
Τασαβής ¹⁸³⁰	1	23509

In the proper names Τααγρελλσα, Τάβρεσις, Ταβυεύς, Ταμάλαις, Τανγόραυς and Τάπνουβχις, only the beginning Τα- can be recognised as a possible transcription of Egyptian *Ta-*. In the anthroponym Τάπνουβχις, the π probably renders the masculine article *p3*.



P. Oxy. II 250, Ro. 15: Τααγρελλσα Ἀπέλλ[ατος]



P. Petaus 66, col. 2, 26: Ταβρέσεως (?)

¹⁸²⁴ P. Col. V 1 Vo. (3), col. 4, 82: Ταβύεω(ς); P. Col. V 1 Vo. (3), col. 5, 101: Ταβύεω(ς); P. Col. V 1 Vo. (3), col. 7, 142: Ταβύεω(ς).

¹⁸²⁵ In P. Amh. Gr. II 51, col. 2, 26: Ταενούτιος.

¹⁸²⁶ BGU XIII 2278, 6: Ταθαρήτος.

¹⁸²⁷ In SB I 5166, 6: Ταμαλλάιτι and SB I 5166, 8: Ταμαλάιτι. The double *lambda* read by the editor in the name of the line 6 is uncertain.

¹⁸²⁸ SB XIV 11694, 1: Τανγόραυς. Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, S. P., “Inscriptions on Linen Mummy-Wrappings”, p. 49.

¹⁸²⁹ P. Brux. Gr. I 20, 3: Ταπνούβχιος.

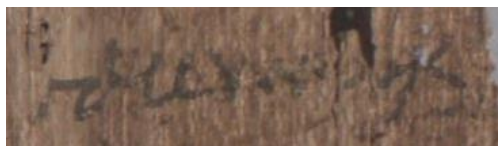
¹⁸³⁰ In P. Oxy. VIII 1121, Vo. 33: Τασαβής.



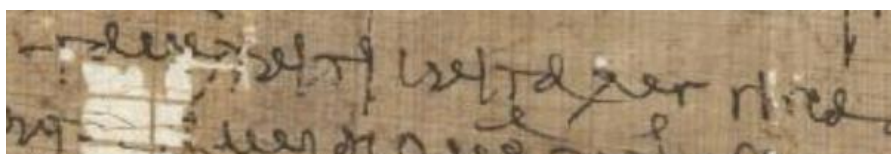
P. Col. V 1 Vo. (3), col. 4, 82: Ταβύεω(ς)



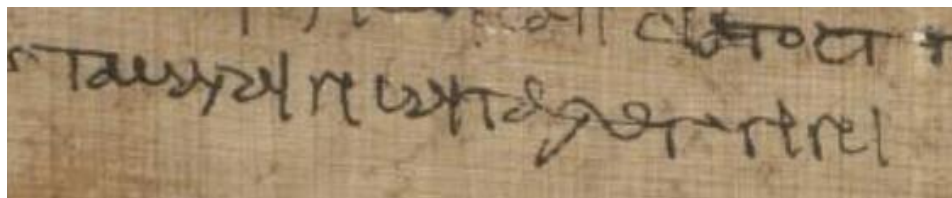
P. Col. V 1 Vo. (3), col. 5, 101: Ταβύεως



P. Col. V 1 Vo. (3), col. 7, 142: Ταβύεως



SB I 5166, 6: Ταμαλλάτι (?) καὶ Ταλλογ'γίνα



SB I 5166, 8: Ταμαλάτι καὶ Ταλογ'γινί[α] (?)

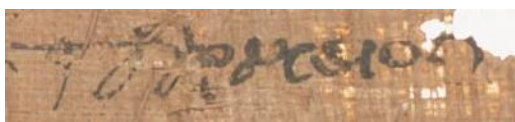


SB XIV 11694, 1: Τανγόραυς



P. Brux. Gr. I 20, 3: Ταπνούβχιος

The name Ταράυθις may begin by **Ta-Hr*..., “The one of Horos ...”; *-(α)υθ-*, on the other hand, might represent *wḏz* at the end (cf. **Ta-Hr-wḏz*, “The one of Horos is prosperous”¹⁸³¹), although the vocalization of *wḏz* is usually rendered as ω¹⁸³². If its reading is correct, the anthroponym Ταρες could be the transcription of *Ta-Hr*, “The one of Horos”, or – most likely – represent a hybrid name with a Greek second element Ἄρης¹⁸³³, “The one of Ares”, since most transcriptions of Egyptian *Hr* in final position appear as *-υρ-* (cf. *Ta-Hr* > Ταυρις¹⁸³⁴).



P. Col. II 1 Ro. (2), col. 5, 14: Ταράυθιος



O. Petrie Mus. 449, 1: Ταρες (?)

¹⁸³¹ Cf. Τααρέωτις, Τααρώωτις, Ταρέωτις, Ταρύωτις,... (TM Nam 12331 + 24184).

¹⁸³² Cf. previous note.

¹⁸³³ Cf. *LGPN* I, p. 58; II, p. 50; III.A, p. 54; V.A, p. 59; V.B, p. 50.

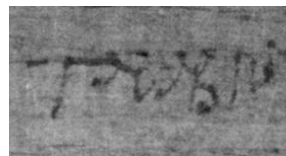
¹⁸³⁴ TM Nam 1243.

The reading of the name Ταθαρήτος is, on the other hand, uncertain. Only the last four letters (-ρητος) seem to be sure. The first letter has been read by the editor as a *tau*, but a *psi* should also be considered. Since the previous letters to -ρητος are uncertain, it is not possible to know whether or not the last part of the name represents the Greek anthroponym Ἄρης,



BGU XIII 2278, 6: Ταθαρήτος

The reading of the anthroponym Τασαβῆς seems to be sure. This proper name may be composed by the pronoun *ta-* and the Egyptian word for “wise” (cf. Coptic *ⲥⲁⲃⲉ/ⲥⲁⲃⲉ*¹⁸³⁵: “wise”): “The one of the wise one”¹⁸³⁶. The lack of bilingual documents do not allow, however, to confirm the etymology.



P. Oxy. VIII 1121, Vo. 33: Τασαβῆς



P. Amh. Gr. II 51, col. 2, 26: Ταενοῦτιος

¹⁸³⁵ Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 319.

¹⁸³⁶ Cf. the name Σαβῆς/ *ⲥⲁⲃⲉ* (P. Kellis Copt. 17, 21) (TM Nam 7549).

The name Ταενοῦτιος, in which only the beginning as rendering of the pronoun *ta-* seems certainly recognisable, poses a problem of interpretation. As it can be seen on the plate in the edition, the reading of an *epsilon* between the *alpha* and the *nu* is not completely sure – it is not clear in the picture if the horizontal stroke between what the editor has read as an *epsilon* and the *nu* is part of an *epsilon* or a fibre of the papyrus –, and a *sigma* might be read instead: Τασνούτιος¹⁸³⁷. In P. Gr. Louvre inv. 10593¹⁸³⁸, a document dated from 101 BC from Pathyris, the feminine name Τσνοῦτος is on the other hand attested in genitive as rendering of *T3-snw*. The coincidence in the provenance and the period with P. Amh. Gr. II 51 – a document from Pathyris dated from 88 BC –, leads to think that both names could have a similar etymology, if not the same: Τασνοῦτος could render Egyptian **Ta-snw*. The anthroponym Πασνοῦς (genitive Πασνοῦτος) – the masculine counterpart – is attested in some documents from the area of Elephantine¹⁸³⁹. However, the name of P. Amh. Gr. II 51, col. 2, 26 seems to follow a different stem declension: its morphological ending -ιος in genitive seems to indicate that the nominative of the name would be *Τασνουτις and not *Τασνους. It is not possible to know whether -τιος could be an ending of genitive in this name or if other Egyptian prototype – such as **Ta-ns-ntr*, “The one of He/She who belongs to the god”¹⁸⁴⁰ – should be proposed for this name.

1.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

Of all the variants attested as transcriptions of the pronoun *Ta-* in absolute initial position, Θa- and Τα-/τα- – without or with phonetic contraction with the next element – are the best attested in all the geographical areas¹⁸⁴¹:

¹⁸³⁷ In SB I 2078, the name Τασναυτιος (?), with an interrogation sign, has been read. The image available online is too small to be checked, and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;2078> this anthroponym appears as Τασναύτιος. Should this name be also read as Τασνουτιος?

¹⁸³⁸ Cf. CLARYSSE, W., WINNICKI, J. K., “Letter of Philammon, P. Gr. Louvre inv. 10593”, in VAN’T DACK, E., CLARYSSE, W., COHEN, G., QUAEGBEUR, J., WINNICKI, J. K. (eds.), *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 B.C. A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a “War of Sceptres”*, p. 78-79. Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1085.

¹⁸³⁹ Cf. TM Nam 11280. This name is attested in P. Münch. 1 16, 12: Πάσνουτος; presumably in O. Eleph. DAIK 183, 2: Πάσν(ουτος); and in I. Philae II, n. 190, 1 and 199, 2: Πάσνους. In I. Philae II, p. 250, the editor wrongly proposes an etymology composed by the masculine pronoun *pa-* and the Egyptian name *Sn-snw*, “The two brothers”. In fact, no Greek transcriptional variant of the name *Sn-snw* appears as **Σνους. Cf. TM Nam 1029.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Even though the name **Ta-ns-ntr* is not attested in Demotic, some other names containing *ns-ntr*, such *Ns-ntr.t-tn*, “He/She belongs to this goddess” (cf. TM Nam 170). Cf. also RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 177.24.

¹⁸⁴¹ The following names have partially or totally been reconstructed by editors and have not been considered here: [Θ]ανοῦβιος (UPZ I 114 II, 19), [Θ]άνουβιν (UPZ I 114 II, 27), [Θα]μούνιον (P. Oxy. II 251, 38), [Θ]αμούν[ι]ος (P. Oxy.

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L05	L08	L09	L10	L11	L12	L16	L18	L20	L21
Δα-	1														
Θ(α)-	124	4	9	3	5							2			
Θα-	1559	7	25	12	16			1	2	3		12		5	
Τ(α)-	123		12			2				1		6			
τ(α)-															
Τα-	4467	49	33	7	21		1				1	31	2	3	1
τα-	2														
Ταα-															
Τε- (?)	5														
Τ(ω)-						1									
Τω-															
Total attestations	6281	60	79	22	42	3	1	1	2	4	1	51	2	8	1

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U06	U07	U08	U09	U10	U12	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20	U22
Δα-																
Θ(α)-				19		4		2				1		18	6	
Θα-	3	1		75			1	37	4		7	47	2	201	44	
Τ(α)-	5	6	1	34		3		49	16		4	29		76	17	
τ(α)-				2								1				
Τα-	52	1	3	211	1	3	15	220	22	1	39	64	11	386	56	1
τα-	3	1		12		1			1			4				
Ταα-														1		
Τε- (?)		1		1								1				
Τ(ω)-																
Τω-								1								
Total attestations	63	10	4	354	1	11	16	309	43	1	50	147	13	682	123	1

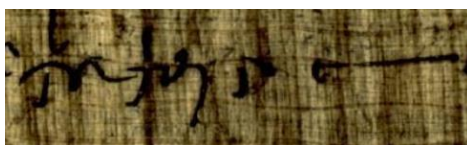
1.3. Linguistic characteristics

Egyptian *t* is represented as τ in 73.18 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 61.73 % from Lower Egypt and 74.17 % from Upper Egypt, whereas it is rendered as θ in 26.79 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 38.26 % from Lower Egypt and 25.82 % from Upper Egypt. The transcription of *t* with or without aspiration does not seem to be due to any dialectal reason: Egyptian *t* appears mostly as τ in all the geographical areas, and the variants with θ are likewise attested in all the zones. The rate of transcriptions with θ in the Fayum and in Upper Egypt (25-27 %) does not seem to be very different from the number of renderings with aspirations from the Fayum (approximately 38 %), considering that the number of attestations from Lower Egypt (277) is considerably lower and the percentage

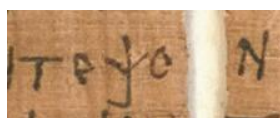
II 275, 2), [Θαμούνιον] (SB X 10236, 1), [Θ]αμουνίωι (SB X 10236, 20), [Θάμουνις] (SB X 10238, 1), [Θάμουνις] (SB X 10238, 21), [Θαισαρίω] (P. Mich. VIII 492, Vo. 26), [Θ]αισοῦτος (P. Oxy. III 500, 26), [Ταοῦς] (UPZ I 20, col. 1, 2 - 3), [Τά]μουνιν (I. Delta 638, 2), [Τα]απρύσιος (P. Brux. Gr. I 3, 13).

obtained for that area is consequently less precise. Only in one attestation from the Fayum – the name Δαυῆτι¹⁸⁴² (nominative Δαυῆς < *Ta-w3*) –, *t* seems to have been represented as δ¹⁸⁴³.

In at least 99.88 % of the attestations, the vocalization of the pronoun *ta-* appears as α/λ – including names with a phonetic contraction with the following element¹⁸⁴⁴ –, In one attestation, *alpha* has been written with dittography¹⁸⁴⁵, presumably because of a mistake of the scribe. In Τὼπολλωνίδεω¹⁸⁴⁶ – with contraction with the *alpha* of the following name –, the vowel of *ta-* has apparently been rendered as ω.



P. Lips. 1 97, col. 15, 8: Τέψαιτος



P. Fay. 126, Ro 10: Τέψοι

¹⁸⁴² In P. Graux II 17, 17.

¹⁸⁴³ On the interchange of dentals in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 80-83.


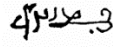
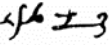
¹⁸⁴⁴ This α is maintained not only when the following element starts by an α in transcription (cf. Θάμουνις < *Ta-Īmn*, Θάνουβις < *Ta-Īnpw*, Τάχουμις < *Ta- ħm*,...), but also when it begins by other vowel (cf. Θάύβαστις < *Ta-B3st.t*, Ταύσιρις < *Ta-Wsir*).

¹⁸⁴⁵ In SB XX 14587, 14: Τ{α}αμμωγίου. On the other hand, in SB VI 9370, col. 2, 10, the name Ταωννὼ(φρεως) and not Τααωννὼ(φρεως) as it can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/hgv/14164/>, occurs. Likewise, in the Trismegistos database the variant Ταάνουφις has been considered as a rendering of *Ta-nfr*, “The one of the good one” (TM Nam 1276), presumably with geminated *alpha*. However, this variant probably represents the name *Ta-Īnpw* (TM Nam 1278) and no geminated *alpha*, but a lack of vowel contraction, should consequently be presupposed.

¹⁸⁴⁶ In I. Delta II 33, 3-5. Cf. p. 763: “Je suis le tombeau de Métrodoros, fils d’Apollonidès, de Milet”.

In 5 attestations from the Fayum (Τευῆς¹⁸⁴⁷ and Τευῆν¹⁸⁴⁸ from *Ta-w3*, Τεαγαθίου¹⁸⁴⁹ < **Ta-ἀγαθός* (?), Τεχώνσιος¹⁸⁵⁰ < *Ta-Hnsw* (?), Τέψο[ι]ν¹⁸⁵¹ < *Ta-p3-Š3y* (?)) and 3 from Upper Egypt (Τησε¹⁸⁵² < *Ta-Īs.t* (?), Τέψαιτος¹⁸⁵³ < *Ta-p3-Š3y* (?), Τευῆτ(ος)¹⁸⁵⁴ < *Ta-w3* (?)), the vowel of the pronoun *ta-* seems to have been transcribed as ε¹⁸⁵⁵.

Since these names are not attested in bilingual texts, it is not possible to know if Τε- renders here the feminine pronoun *ta-* or the article *t3*. J. Quaegebeur considered that Τε- in the name Τέψοις could not represent the article, but the demonstrative *t3y*, “this one of ...”¹⁸⁵⁶. This hypothesis seems correct especially when after Τε- the name of a divinity is found (cf. Τησε, Τεχώνσιος, Τέψο[ι]ν, Τέψαιτος).

However, the Demotic form of the feminine article *t3* is attested before names of divinities, and in some cases even the feminine *.t* is added at the end of the name: *T3-Īmn* ¹⁸⁵⁷, *T3-Īs.t* ¹⁸⁵⁸, *T3-Wsir.t* ¹⁸⁵⁹. In other attestations, *t3* has been written before the masculine

¹⁸⁴⁷ In P. Lond. V 1652, 13: Τευῆς.

¹⁸⁴⁸ In P. Mich. V 238 Ro., col. 2, 106: Τευῆν.

¹⁸⁴⁹ In P. Lond. III 1170 Ro., col. 17, 694: Τεαγαθίου.

¹⁸⁵⁰ In P. Harris I 72, 5: Τεχώνσιος.

¹⁸⁵¹ In P. Fay. 126, Ro. 10: Τέψο[ι]ν.

¹⁸⁵² In P. Bodl. I 45, 5: Τησε.

¹⁸⁵³ In P. Lips. I 97, col. 15, 8: Τέψαιτος.

¹⁸⁵⁴ In P. Strasb. Gr. I 27, col. 1, 31: Πευῆτ(ος) μητ(ρὸς) Τευῆτ(ος).

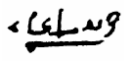
¹⁸⁵⁵ The name Τεῖβις (TM Nam 30121), in I. Akôris 48, 1, probably represents the name *T3-hb.t*, “The female ibis”, which is attested in Demotic. Cf. TM Nam 1374. On the other hand, the name Τεαλοῦτος (nominative Τεαλοῦς) (cf. TM Nam 1208) is a transcription of *T3-‘lw.t*, “The child”, as it can be seen in the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 793, A 4, B 2-3. In TM Nam 1208, both names, with the pronoun *ta-* (cf. *Ta-lw*, “The one of the child”) and with the feminine article *t3* and their transcriptions, are mixed. The anthroponym Τέσονχις, in P. Tebt. III 1065 descr., fr. 1, 19, has been identified as a ghostname for Τάσονχις (< *Ta-Sbk*, “The one of Sobek”). Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu Shaï dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 204-205: “En copte, πε-/τε- est une forme très réduite de l’article demonstrative et par conséquent une variante de πι-/τι-. Le préfixe Τε- qui se présente dans le nom Τεψοις ne peut d’ailleurs constituer l’article. La valeur possessive de Πε-/Τε- se manifeste dans plusieurs exemples où on retrouve l’alternance α/ε ou ι/ε dans les préfixes”.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1163, *Ta-Īmn*, n. 18.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1167, *Ta-Īs.t*, n. 20.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Images from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1172, *Ta-Wsir.t*, n. 5 and 6, respectively.

article p3, and a final .*t* appears to indicate the feminine character of the name: *T3-p3-byk.t* ¹⁸⁶⁰. As S. P. Vleeming has pointed out, the only function of this final .*t* is to mark the femininity of the anthroponym¹⁸⁶¹. The writing of *t3* where the pronoun *ta* would be expected in Demotic texts has also been noted by S. P. Vleeming, who considers the possibility that the use of *t3* instead of *ta* was conceived as colloquial:

“It is possible that the scribes confused *T3-* and *Ta-*, and thus wrote e. g. *T3-Mn* for *Ta-Mn* (...). However, this only applies to those cases where the second part of the name can also take *Ta-*, of our examples only *T3-Bs*: here it is possible that the scribe did confuse the two, but, as the reading *T3-Bs* seems to be reflected in the Greek Τ-βῆσ-ις, the name may be taken at face value. Then there is the problematic type of names which have a feminine and a masculine form, e.g. *T-bek* and *T-hatre* opposite *P-bek* and *P-hatre*. *Ḳrḏ* / *Ḳrḏ3*, *Kolluj* / *Kolluje* makes it clear that the names under discussion here are basically refeminizations of the feminine part in this opposition. One wonders whether they may be understood as colloquialisms, and whether the Egyptians still considered the shorter as the more correct forms. New texts may one day answer such questions”¹⁸⁶².

Owing to the lack of bilingual documents in which the equivalence of *T3-* and Τε- is attested in this type of names, it is not currently possible to know if Greek Τε- represents the demonstrative *t3y* or the – apparently incorrect – feminine article as it appears in some Demotic names.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1174-1175, *Ta-byk*, n. 9.

¹⁸⁶¹ Cf. VLEEMING, S. P., *Short Texts* II, p. 912: “The .*t* possibly corresponds to a short vowel marking the feminine word ending (...). Several names, however, show the addition of the .*t* ending where it is strictly speaking incorrect and, as in those names the .*t* was never heard in that position, it therefore has the sole function of marking the femininity of the name and its bearer as a sort of hyper-correcting writing”. Cf. also *ibidem*, p. 911-918, 939.

¹⁸⁶² VLEEMING, S. P., *Short Texts* II, p. 939.

4. THE PRONOUN -TA- IN MIDDLE POSITION


4.1. Attestations



A. Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription




More than 40 anthroponyms in Greek rendering contain the feminine pronoun *-ta-* in secondary initial position. Of them, *P3-šr-n-ta-Īs.t*, with more than 100 attestations in transcription, is the best attested.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*P3-šr-n-t3-wgš.t	<i>Meaning uncertain</i> ¹⁸⁶³	Ψεντούαξις	3	30145
*P3-šr-n-ta-iw=f-nh	The son of the one of He will live	Ψεντάπουνχίς	1	34294
P3-šr-n-ta-Īmn	The son of the one of Amun	Ψενθαμουν, Ψενθάμουνις	2 10	33967 + 995
*P3-šr-n-ta-mn-n=s	The son of She whom they brought ashore ¹⁸⁶⁴	Ψενταμόννησις	1	28159
*P3-šr-n-ta-Īmn-rwš	The son of the one of Amun takes care	Ψενταμένρωσις	2	17860
*P3-šr-n-ta-Īn-hr.t	The son of the one of Onuris	Ψεντάνουρις	1	25932

¹⁸⁶³ The meaning of *wgš* is unknown. On the equivalence of this term with Greek -ουξις/-ούαξις, cf. GRIFFITH, F. L., *Les temples immergés de la Nubie. Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus I*, p. 39, n. 4; VALLOGIA, M., “Le papyrus Lausanne n° 3391”, p. 289-290. The name *T3-wgš.t* (TM Nam 1438) is well attested in Egyptian; in hieroglyphic writing it is written in several different ways. Cf. MEKIS, T., “L’équipement funéraire de la prêtresse thébaine

Nestaneteretten”, p. 49 (n. 1: “La stèle”, l. 6 of the third register): ; p. 54-55 (n. 2: “La statuette de Ptah-Sokar-

Osiris”) and 58 (n. 3 “Le cartonnage”): ; p. 55 (n. 2: “La statuette de Ptah-Sokar-Osiris”): ; p.

63 (n. 4: “L’hypocéphale”): . Cf. also p. 67 (n. 5: “Le Livre des Morts”), in which two other graphic variants,  and , are mentioned. MEKIS, T., in “L’équipement funéraire de la prêtresse thébaine

Nestaneteretten”, p. 42, note 5, following RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 371.7 and II, p. 327. 29, establishes a correspondence of this Egyptian name, in which the interchange of *g* and *k* can be observed in the hieroglyph writing, with Greek Τέκυσίς (< *T3-Īgš.t*): this Egyptian name would mean, as a consequence, “The Kushite”. However, the Greek transcriptions of *T3-Īgš.t* (cf. TM Nam 1427) seem to be quite different from -ουξις/-ούαξις, and in them the vocalization of the word appears between *g* and *š*; there are consequently no contraction of *g* and *š* as in *wgš*. DE CENIVAL, F., in *Le mythe de l’œil du soleil*, p. 94 (10,18), points out that the meaning of *wkš* is unknown and mentions the possible relation of this term with *wgs*: “Un rapprochement avec *wgs* (...) “couper, metre en pièce” est assez hasardeux, puisque ce mot devient en copte ΟΥΩΔC (“diminuer” (...)) mais le sens conviendrait”. We agree with VALLOGIA, M., “Le papyrus Lausanne no 3391”, p. 289: “S’il apparaît clairement que l’égalité *T3-īgšt* = Τέκυσίς est maintenant démontrée, il n’en va pas de même pour le rapprochement *T3-wgš* avec *T3-īkšt/T3-īgšt*. Au contraire, la différenciation de ces anthroponymes doit être conservée”.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Cf. VITTMANN, G., “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion. Observations on Some Demotic Personal Names”, p. 95. Cf. also the name *Pa-mn-n=s* in the list of attestations of “The pronoun *pa-* in absolute initial position”.

P3-šr-(n)-ta-Īn-ḥ3.t-r.r=w	The son of the one of Inaros	Ψεντανάραυς	23	10336
P3-šr-n-ta-Īs.t	The son of the one of Isis	Ψενθάησις	112	39406
P3-šr-n-ta-Īs.t-ḥw3	The son of the one of the generous Isis (?) ¹⁸⁶⁵	Ψεντασεύς, Ψεντασεύς	6 3	25634 + 10337
P3-šr-n-ta-‘w	The son of the one of the great one	Ψενταοῦς	1	13050
*P3-šr-n-ta-B3st.t	The son of the one of Bastet	Ψενταύβαστις	6	996
*P3-šr-n-ta-byk	The daughter of the one of (the) falcon	Ψεντάβηκις	1	18095
*P3-šr-n-ta-Bs	The son of the one of Bes	Ψενταβῆς, Ψεντάβησις, Ψωνταβῆς ¹⁸⁶⁶	1 2	26671 + 13047
P3-šr-n-ta-p3-ym	The son of the one of the lake	Ψενταπίαμις, Ψενταπίαμις	10 1	13051 + 39023
*P3-šr-n-ta-p3-‘l‘l	The son of the one of the shrewmouse	Ψενταπέλαλις	4	19403
*P3-šr-n-ta-p3-nfr	The son of the one of the good one	Ψενταφενούφιος ¹⁸⁶⁷	2	23787
*P3-šr-n-ta-p3-Š3y	The son of the one of Shai	Ψενταψάεις, Ψεντάψαις, Ψεντάψως	2 1	18100 + 25853
*P3-šr-n-ta-m3y	The son of the one of (the) lion	Ψενταμιεύς	5	25641
*P3-šr-n-ta-m3y-ḥs	The son of the one of (the) fierce looking lion	Ψενταμίωσις	1	25754
*P3-šr-n-ta-Mn	The son of the one of Min	Ψενθάμινις	5	17732
*P3-šr-n-ta-mtr	The son of the one of the sacred emblem of Khnum	Ψενταμητ ¹⁸⁶⁸	1	35388

¹⁸⁶⁵ Cf. the bilingual mummy labels *Short Texts* II 698, 725 and 743. On the equivalence of the name Ψεντασεύς and other Greek transcriptional variants with P3-šr-n-ta-Īs.t-ḥw3, cf. SPIEGELBERG, W., *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 62, who points out that the term ḥw3 appears in Coptic as ϣϣϣ. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 317: ϣϣϣ is the Bohairic and ϣϣ the Sahidic word for “profit, advantage”. In LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 270, no translation of Īs.t-ḥw3 is given. Considering the meaning of ḥw3 (cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p.62-66), it would be possible to propose the meaning “The son of the one of the generous Isis” or “The son of the one of the profitable Isis”.

¹⁸⁶⁶ In *CRIPPEL* IV 976, 1: {ψ}Ψονταβῆς, with dittography of ψ.

¹⁸⁶⁷ In *CRIPPEL* II 110, A 1 and 178, A 1: Ψενταφενούφιος. This anthroponym could be a ghostname for *Ψενταψένουφιος (<*P3-šr-n-ta-p3-šr-n-nfr, “The son of the one of the son of the beautiful one”), but no image of the document is available to check the reading.

¹⁸⁶⁸ The reading of this name, attested in C.Étiq. Mom. 1618 (= SB XII 10830), is not completely sure. Thus, in C.Étiq. Mom. 1618, the anthroponym Ψενταμητ, which would correspond to Egyptian *P3-šr-n-ta-mtr (cf. the name *Ta-mtr* in TM Nam 13861), has been read, whereas in SB XII 10830 the following text has been read: Ψενταμ (δραχμαί) τ. If this document is a mummy label, the reading of C.Étiq. Mom. 1618 seems more plausible, but, given the lack of an image of the document in the editions, it is not possible to establish the right reading.

*P3-šr-n-ta-n3-ḥt.w	The son of the one of the chet demons	Ψεντανεχάτης, Ψεντανεχώτης	2	13049
*P3-šr-n-ta-ns-Bs	The son of the one of He/She who belongs to Bes	Ψενταζβῆς	5	23784
*P3-šr-n-ta-rnp.t	The son of the one of (the) year	Ψενταρέμφοις	1	25880
*P3-šr-n-ta-hb	The son of the one of (the) ibis	Ψένθαιβις	2	18052
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḥp	The son of the one of Apis	Ψεντεαπικ ¹⁸⁶⁹	1	31140
P3-šr-n-ta-ḥn.w	<i>Meaning uncertain</i> ¹⁸⁷⁰	Φεντανεύς ¹⁸⁷¹	1	34013
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḥr	The son of the one of Horos	Ψενθάουρις, Ψιντάουρις	1 3	17699 + 25899
*P3-šr-n-ta-ḥr	The son of the one of the face	Ψεντάως	2	25598
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḥr-p3-Šy	The son of the one of Horos-Shai	Ψεντάρψαις	1	25760
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḥnm	The son of the one of Khnum	Ψεντάχνουμις ¹⁸⁷²	1	30144
P3-šr-(n)-ta-Sy	The son of the one of Osiris (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	Ψινθάσεις, Ψένθασις, Ψενδάσι	2 1 1	17920 + 18062 + 10343
*P3-šr-n-ta-sn.(w)t	The son of the one of (the) sister(s)	Ψεντάσνως	1	25592
*P3-šr-n-ta-t3-Rpy.t	The son of the one of Triphis	Ψεντάτριφις	39	7512
*P3-šr-n-ta-Twtw	The son of the one of Totoes	Ψοντατιθοῆς	1	18738
*P3-šr-n-ta-Ḍm3	The son of the one of Djeme	Ψεντάσημις	6	13052
*Pa-ta-ḥr	The one of the one of the face	Πατάως	4	11303
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-šr-(n)-ta-Mn	The daughter of the son of the one of Min	Σενψενθάμινις ¹⁸⁷³	2	28245

¹⁸⁶⁹ In P. Ryl. Copt. 273, 7.

¹⁸⁷⁰ The equivalence between the Demotic name *P3-šr-n-ta-ḥn.w* and the Greek rendering Ψεντανεύς is pointed out in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 271. The exact meaning of *ḥn* is unknown. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Ḥ, p. 151.

¹⁸⁷¹ The abbreviated name Φεντανευ() attested in UPZ II 180 a, col. 11, 2, is possibly a ghostname for Ψεντανεύς.

¹⁸⁷² In I. Deir el-Bahari Łajtar 94, 1: Ψεντάχνουμις.

¹⁸⁷³ The attestation of *CRIPPEL* IV 863, A 2-3 is Σενψενθαμίσιος (nominative Σενψενθάμινις) and not Σενψενθάμινιος as it appears on Trismegistos. This reading should consequently be corrected in the database.

*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-ta-mtr	The daughter of the son of (the) sacred emblem of Khnum	Σενψεντάμητις ¹⁸⁷⁴	1	39407
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-(n)-ta-p3-Š(3)y(.t)	The daughter of the son of the one of Shai	Σενψεντάψαις, Σενψοντάψαις	2 1	13676 + 24313
T3-šr.t-(n)-p3-šr-(n)-ta-t3-Rpy(.t)	The daughter of the son of Triphis	Σενψεντάτριφις	4	17703
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-İmn	The daughter of the one of Amun	Σεντάμουνις	1	1089
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-B3st.t	The daughter of the one of Bastet	Τσενθαύβασθις	1	28253
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-Bs	The daughter of the one of Bes	Σενταβεζ ¹⁸⁷⁵	1	26026
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-ħr	The daughter of the one of the face	Σεντάως	1	34157
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-sn.(w)t	The daughter of the one of (the) sister(s)	Σεντάσνως	1	23351
*T3-šr.t-n-ta-Dr=w	<i>Meaning uncertain</i> ¹⁸⁷⁶	Σεντατηρου	1	31690
*T3-di-p3-šr-n-ta-İs.t	She who has been given by the son of the one of Isis	Τατεψενθάσις	1	23519

B. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown

The names Νωσθάσις¹⁸⁷⁷, Ψενθυντάσημις¹⁸⁷⁸ and Ψενταπόντως¹⁸⁷⁹ have probably been constructed with the pronoun *ta* in secondary initial position, but their Egyptian prototypes are not

¹⁸⁷⁴ Cf. WAGNER, G., “Étiquettes de momies grecques de l’IFAO”, p. 49-50 no. 34, A2: Σενψεν[τά]μητος (partially reconstructed); B2: Σενψ[εν]τάμηρος (nominative Σενψεντάμητις).

¹⁸⁷⁵ In SB I 3882, 1: Σενταβεζ θυγάτηρ.

¹⁸⁷⁶ The magical character of the name *Dr=w*, which usually appears duplicated as *Dr=w-Dr=w* or *Dr=w-sp-sn*, has been shown by QUAEGEBEUR, J., “À propos de Teilouteilou, nom magique, et de Têroutêrou, nom de femme”, p. 19-29. The meaning of this name, however, remains dark. In Egyptian *Dr=w* (Coptic τηροϥ) means “all”, and this is the exact form that seems to be reflected in the Greek transcriptions of the anthroponym. Cf. SPIEGELBERG, W., *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der roemischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 53. For other interpretations on the possible etymology of this name, cf. MASPERO, G., “À travers la vocalisation égyptienne”, p. 90; ČERNÝ, J., “Notes on Some Coptic Etymologies”, p. 46-47; and, especially, QUAEGEBEUR, J., “À propos de Teilouteilou, nom magique, et de Têroutêrou, nom de femme”, p. 29: “l’interprétation de MASPERO (“la suppliante?”) doit être rejetée; celle de SPIEGELBERG (“tous, tous”), à défaut d’une signification intelligible, peut difficilement constituer une explication définitive. Une nouvelle interprétation qui soit certaine ou pleinement satisfaisante n’a cependant pu être proposée”.

¹⁸⁷⁷ TM Nam 25950. In P. Leipz. 26 Vo. 3: Νωσθαήσιος.

¹⁸⁷⁸ TM Nam 25950. In O. Theb. Gr. 37, 2: Ψενθυγασή(μιος), and possibly abbreviated in O. Theb. Gr. 119, 2: Ψενθ(υν)τασήμιος.

¹⁸⁷⁹ TM Nam 25595. In P. Tebt. II 400, descr.: Ψενταπόντω(ς).

surely known. In the anthroponym Νωσθάησις an ending **...-ta-Īs.t* can be recognised¹⁸⁸⁰. The name Ψενταπόντω¹⁸⁸¹ probably begins by **P3-šr-n-ta-...*, but the prototype of the last part of the name is unknown even if the names Παπόντω¹⁸⁸² and Ταπόντω¹⁸⁸³ are broadly attested.



P. Tebt. II 400, descr.: Ψενταπόντω(ς)

The prototype of the anthroponym Ψενθυντάσημις seems to start by **P3-šr-n-* and end by **...-ta-Dm3*. The editor of O. Theb. Gr. 37, 2 has read the name Ψενθυγτασή(μιος), with dots under *upsilon* and *nu*. An *epsilon* instead of an *upsilon* should probably be read: if this proposition fits paleographically, the Egyptian prototype of this name would be **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-ta-Dm3*, “The son of the daughter of the one of Djeme”. Some similar names, such as *T3-šr.t-(n)-pa-Dm3*, “The daughter of the one of Djeme”, and the transcriptions Ψενπάσημις (*<*P3-šr-n-pa-Dm3*, “The son of the one of Djeme”) and Ψεντάσημις (*<*P3-šr-n-ta-Dm3*, “The son of the one of Djeme”) are in fact attested. The provenance of O. Theb. Gr. 37 – Thebes – seems to corroborate that the last part of this anthroponym renders *Dm3*¹⁸⁸⁴. Once more, the lack of an image of the text does not allow to confirm that Ψενθυντάσημις is a ghostname and Ψενθεντάσημις should be read instead.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Cf. also this name in *3s.t/Īs.t* in final position, Attestations derived from a prototype unknown.

¹⁸⁸¹ P. Tebt. II 400, descr.: Ψενταπόντω(ς).

¹⁸⁸² TM Nam 4872: 606 attestations.

¹⁸⁸³ TM Nam 6080: 79 attestations.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Cf. TM Geo 1341.

4.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

The Egyptian pronoun *ta* in secondary initial position is mainly attested as -θα- and -τα- in all the geographical areas¹⁸⁸⁵:

	00	L01	L04	U01	U04	U09	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
-θ(α)-					1	6				1		
-θα-	3	1		3	29	11	24	3				1
-τ(α)-	9				4	26			2			
-τα-	17		1	1	11	62	3		5		2	
-τε- (?)									1			
Total attestations	29	1	1	4	45	105	27	3	8	1	2	1

4.3. Linguistic characteristics

Egyptian *t* appears as τ in 26 attestations (89.65 %) from the Fayum, one (50 %) from Lower Egypt and 117 (59.69 %) from Upper Egypt, and as θ in 3 attestations from the Fayum (10.34 %), one from Lower Egypt (50 %) and 79 (40.30 %) from Upper Egypt. As pointed out as a linguistic characteristic of the pronoun *ta* in absolute initial position, aspiration does not seem to be a dialectal feature: it occurs in the transcriptions of all the geographical areas. Except in one attestation that appears to have ε as representation of the vowel of *ta* – the name ΨΕΝΤΕΛΝΙC¹⁸⁸⁶ –, in all the transcriptions it is represented as α even in the names in which it is the result of a phonetic contraction with the following element¹⁸⁸⁷. It is not possible to know, on the other hand, in -τε- in the anthroponym ΨΕΝΤΕΛΝΙC represents the Egyptian feminine article *t3*, which would substitute the pronoun *ta*, or the demonstrative *t3y*¹⁸⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁸⁵ The following names, which are partially or totally reconstructed, have not been included here: [Ψενθαίβιος] (P. Rainer Cent. 66, 2), [Ψενταπιάμιος] (BGU I 251, 13), [Ψενταπιάμιος] (BGU I 251, 15), [Ψενταπιάμιος] (BGU I 251, 16), [Ψενταπιάμιος] (BGU I 183, Ro. 23), Ψενταπί[α]μις (BGU I 183, Ro 43), Ψενθ(υ)ντασήμιος (O. Theb. Gr. 119, 2), Ψ[εντα]ήσεως (P. Cairo Masp. I 67001, 6).

¹⁸⁸⁶ In P. Ryl. Copt. 273, 7.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Cf. Σεντάμουινς (< *T3-šr.t-n-ta-Īmn), Ψενταμένρωσις (< *P3-šr-n-ta-Īmn-rwš), Ψενταύβαστις (< *P3-šr-n-ta-B3st.t).

¹⁸⁸⁸ Cf. *supra*, in “The pronoun *Ta-* in absolute initial position”, “Linguistic characteristics”.

5. CONCLUSION

In all the geographical areas both Egyptian *p* and *t* are represented with and without aspiration. This leads to think that, in the case of the pronoun *pa-/ta-*, aspiration was not due to any dialectal reason: in the Greek transcriptions of the possessive pronoun from Lower Egypt the rate of aspiration – which had traditionally been considered as a characteristic of Bohairic – is not much higher. Only in Bohairic there were aspirated stops and this was the only dialect that had two different signs to represent aspirated phonemes: \mathfrak{h} for \mathfrak{h} and \mathfrak{h} and \mathfrak{z} for \mathfrak{h} and h ¹⁸⁸⁹. However, in Bohairic aspiration seems to occur in specific phonetic contexts, such as accentuated syllables. In the other Coptic dialects, the Greek letters θ , ϕ , χ only appear in loanwords or as results of phonetic contractions (cf. the definite article plus a word beginning by \mathfrak{z}). The combination of π/ϕ and τ/θ as renderings of Egyptian *p* and *t* could consequently be caused by linguistic interference with Greek, but a completely satisfactory explanation of this alternation has not been found. On the other hand, in most transcriptions of *pa* and *ta*, the vowel represented is α , but ε appears in some attestations. Given the lack of bilingual texts that can shed light on this question, it is not possible to know if $\pi\varepsilon$ -/ $\tau\varepsilon$ - represent the Egyptian article, the demonstrative or the possessive pronoun. The writing of some Demotic names with the article or even with the ambiguous single letter *p* were a possessive pronoun was expected, seems to indicate that $\pi\varepsilon$ -/ $\tau\varepsilon$ - could reflect the same phenomenon in Greek transcription.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 95; MALLON, A., *Grammaire copte*, p. 41-43; TILL, W., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 7.

PART III

EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS ATTESTED IN THREE POSITIONS


Τί γὰρ βούλεται τὰ ἄσημα ὀνόματα πυνθάνη· τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄσημα, ὅ σὺ νενόμικας· ἀλλ' ἡμῖν μὲν ἄγνωστα ἔστω ἢ καὶ γνωστὰ ἔνια, περὶ ὧν παρεδεξάμεθα τὰς ἀναλύσεις παρὰ θεῶν, τοῖς μέντοι θεοῖς πάντα σημαντικά ἐστιν οὐ κατὰ ῥητὸν τρόπον, οὐδ' οἷός ἐστιν ὁ διὰ τῶν φαντασιῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις σημαντικός τε καὶ μηνυτικός, ἀλλ' ἦτοι νοερῶς [κατὰ τὸν θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπειον νοῦν] ἢ καὶ ἀφθέγκτως καὶ κρειττόνως καὶ ἀπλουστέρως [καὶ] κατὰ νοῦν τοῖς θεοῖς συνηγμένος.

IAMBLICHUS, *De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum* VII 4

CHAPTER 1

Htp

Htp

The Egyptian term *htp* ¹⁸⁹⁰, “to be at peace, to be satisfied”¹⁸⁹¹, which occurs in Egyptian anthroponyms at least from the Old Kingdom onwards¹⁸⁹², is attested in Greek transcription as verb in three positions – initial, middle and final –. In Demotic no graphic difference is generally found¹⁸⁹³ when it appears at the beginning or at the end¹⁸⁹⁴ of the anthroponyms¹⁸⁹⁵.

1. *HTP* IN INITIAL POSITION

1.1. Attestations

A. Greek transcriptions of Egyptian anthroponyms

In initial position, *htp* is attested in at least 7 anthroponyms in Greek transcription, of which *Htp=w* is the best attested. In this position, *htp* appears to be a *sdm=f* perfective or prospective grammatical form¹⁸⁹⁶.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 849: *Htp-Hr*, n. 2.

¹⁸⁹¹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p. 294-300.

¹⁸⁹² For some examples of anthroponyms with *htp* attested in the Old Kingdom, cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 257-260.

¹⁸⁹³ Cf. for example the representation of the qualitative *htp.t* (JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.); *CDD*, Letter H, p. 296). Cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 16-20.

¹⁸⁹⁴ *Htp* does not seem to be attested in middle position in anthroponyms written in Demotic.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 847-850 for *htp* in initial position; and for example *Imn-htp* (p. 67), *P3-di-Nfr-htp* (p. 318-319) and *Sbk-htp* (p. 920-921), the best attested names in Demotic with *htp* in final position.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte Iib*, p. 280-281; VERGOTE, J., *De oplossing van een gewichtig probleem : de vocalisatie van de Egyptische werkwoordvormen*, p. 13-17, who considers that it is a perfective form. However, it could also be considered as a prospective form and be translated as “May (Subject) be pleased”. Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte Iib*, p. 282-284; VERGOTE, J., *De oplossing van een gewichtig probleem : de vocalisatie van de Egyptische werkwoordvormen*, p. 21-23. Cf. also JOHNSON, J. H., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 115-131; SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 61-64. On these verbal forms in Late Egyptian, cf. JUNGE, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, p. 138-144, 152-157; NEVEU, F., *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, p. 59-61, 98-101.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*Htp-...	... is pleased/ May ... be pleased (<i>incomplete name</i>)	Ἀτπε[¹⁸⁹⁷	1	37286
Htp-Ḳmn	Amun is pleased/ May Amun be pleased	Ἐτφέμουνης	16	346
Htp-Ḳnpw	Anubis is pleased/ May Anubis be pleased	Ἐτφάνουπις ¹⁸⁹⁸	1	341
Htp-Is.t	Isis is pleased/ May Isis be pleased	Ἐτπέησις	3	347
Htp=w	They are pleased/ May they be pleased ¹⁸⁹⁹	Ἀτπῆς	35	350
Htp-B3st.t	Bastet is pleased/ May Bastet be pleased	Ἐτφεύβαστις ¹⁹⁰⁰	1	13420
Htp-Ḳnm	Khnum is pleased/ May Khnum be pleased	Ἀτπέχνουβις	10	7907
Htp-Sbk	Sobek is pleased/ May Sobek be pleased	Ἐτπέσουχος	6	349

B. Anthroponyms derived from a prototype unknown

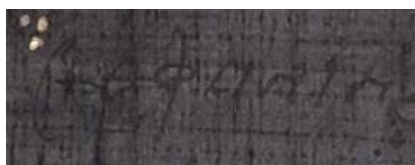
The prototype of the personal names Ἐθφεινίς/Ἐθφινίς (TM Nam 23974) – presumably attested six times in PSI III 229, 14, 15; 231, 11; 232, 13 and 23; and P. Ryl. Gr. II 217, fr. D 144 – and Ἐφθίμις (TM Nam 19601), attested once in P. Berl. Bibl. 19 Ro., 6, could start by *Htp-*, but the etymology of the last part of the anthroponyms is unknown. The reading of the anthroponyms is not, however, sure: for Ἐθφίνιος[ς] (P. Ryl. Gr. II 217, fr. D 144) – edited with dots under the *epsilon* and the *theta* – and Ἐφθίμιος (P. Berl. Bibl. 19 Ro., 6) no image is available, and in the pictures of PSI III 229, 231 and 232 the names are almost illegible.

¹⁸⁹⁷ In SB XXII 15216, 2: Ἀτπε[.

¹⁸⁹⁸ In P. Count. 6, 275: Ἐτφάνουπις.

¹⁸⁹⁹ J. VERGOTE, *Grammaire copte* IIb, p. 285, considers this form not as a perfective or a prospective plus a suffix pronoun as subject, but as a participle, and translates it as “Ceux qui sont cléments”.

¹⁹⁰⁰ In MAIRS, R., MARTIN, C. J., “A Bilingual “Sale” of Liturgies from the Archive of the Theban Choachytes: P. Berlin 5507, P. Berlin 3098 and P. Leiden 413”, text C (P. Leiden 413), 13, p. 44: Ἐτ]φευβάστιος.



PSI III 231, 11: 'Εθφεινiv



PSI III 232, 23: 'Εθφείνιος



PSI III 232, 23: 'Εθφείνιος

1.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

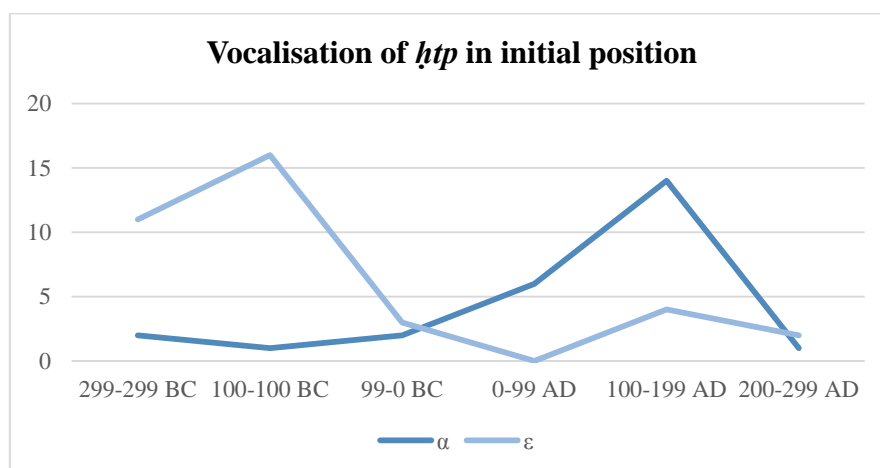
More than 10 different Greek variants represent *Ητρ-* in initial position, which is attested in all the geographical areas but especially in the Fayum and in Elephantine (U01)¹⁹⁰¹. The variants Ατπ- and Έτπε- are the best attested.

	00	L04	L16	U01	U02	U04	U20
Ατπα-				3			
Ατπ-	1			13			
Ατπε-				7	1		
Ατφ-				1			
Ατφε-	1						
Αφθε-	1	1					
Έτπ-	1						
Έτπε-	1					9	
Έθφ-		2					
Έθφε-	3		1				
Έτφ-	8					1	
Έτφε-	4						1
Έφθ-	2		1				
Έφθε-	2		1				
Total attestations	24	3	3	24	1	10	1

¹⁹⁰¹ The following names appear reconstructed in the editions and have been excluded: ['Εθφεύς (P. Cairo Zen. IV 59782 (b) col. 3, 34), Έ[τφεμούνιος (P. Tebt. I 73, col. 2, 27), Έτ[φεμούνιος (P. Tebt. IV 1119, fr. D 108), ['Ετφεύς] (P. Cairo Zen. II 59182, Ro. 16).

1.3. Linguistic characteristics

Egyptian *h*, which is defined as a “spirante laryngale sourde” by J. Vergote¹⁹⁰², has not been represented in Greek characters in any attestation¹⁹⁰³. In 3 attestations from the Fayum (12.5 %), 1 (16.6 %) from Lower Egypt and 25 (69.44 %) from Upper Egypt, the vocalisation of *hṭp* appears as *α*, and in 21 (87.5 %) transcriptions from the Fayum, 5 (83.3 %) from Lower Egypt and 11 (30.55 %) from Upper Egypt as *ε*. J. Vergote proposes an evolution *ḥátpa*- > *ḥátpe*- > *ḥétpe*-: according to him, the *a* variant would be previous to the *e* variant¹⁹⁰⁴. The attestations of *hṭp* in Greek transcription are not numerous enough to reflect reliable linguistic evolution: chronology does not seem to shed light on this question. In fact, most renderings with *ε* date from the Ptolemaic period, and most transcriptions with *α* from Roman times, as it can be seen in the following graph¹⁹⁰⁵.



¹⁹⁰² Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Les consonnes*, p. 99.

¹⁹⁰³ On the tendency of Egyptian *h*, represented in Coptic as *z*, to disappear, cf. VERGOTE, J., *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Les consonnes*, p. 100: “Ces exemples dénotent une tendance à l’amuïssement de *z*, affectant d’abord les syllabes non-accentuées et s’étendant peu à peu aux syllabes accentuées. Il importe de noter que les Grecs n’ont pas reproduit de spirante laryngale (...). Le résultat final de cette tendance dans les différents dialectes ressort des documents tardifs écrits en orthographe peu soignée : l’omission fréquente du *z* et son apparition dans des mots où il n’a jamais existé (*hyperurbanisme* ou *régression phonétique erronée*) prouvent que l’[*h*] est artificiellement maintenu dans le beau langage. C’est l’aboutissement de la réduction progressive des laryngales dont les premiers indices apparaissent en ancien-égyptien”.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *De oplossing van een gewichtig probleem : de vocalisatie van de Egyptische werkwoordvormen*, p. 14, 17.

¹⁹⁰⁵ In figures, 2 attestations with *α* date from the third century BC; 1 from the second century BC; 2 from the first century BC; 6 from the first century AD; 14 from the second century AD; and 1 from the third century AD. On the other hand, 11 transcriptions with *ε* date from the third century BC; 16 from the second century BC; 3 from the first century BC; 4 from the second century AD; and 2 from the third century AD.

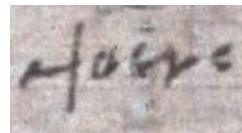
The α in the attestations of Elephantine (U01) and the Apollonopolites (U02) cannot be explained by phonetic assimilation, since in most transcriptions no *alpha* follows: 14 anthroponyms from Elephantine derive from *Htp=w* (cf. Ἀτπῆς) and 10 from *Htp-Hnm* (cf. Ἀτπέχνουμις/Ἀτπέχνουβις)¹⁹⁰⁶. Likewise, the proper name possibly attested in the Apollonopolites is Ἀτπεύς (in BGU VI 1401, 3, from the prototype *Htp=w*). Given that only four attestations with α seem to occur in the Fayum and Lower Egypt¹⁹⁰⁷, the α as vocalisation of *htp* cannot be excluded as a dialectal feature of Elephantine.



O. Wilcken II 285, 1: Ἀτπέχνουμις



P. Cairo Zen. III 59329, Ro. 15: Ἀτφεύς



P. Cairo Zen. IV 59751, 8: Ἀφθεύς

Egyptian *t* has been represented as τ in all the attestations from Upper Egypt and 16 (66.66 %) from the Fayum. In 6 anthroponyms, 3 from the Fayum¹⁹⁰⁸ and 3 from Lower Egypt¹⁹⁰⁹, it appears as

¹⁹⁰⁶ Only in three attestations an alpha appears as link between the elements *Htp-* and *-Hnm*. Cf. O. Wilcken II 58, 1: Ἀτπάχνουβις; O. Wilcken II 240, 13: Ἀτπάχνουμις; P. Bingen 91, 3: Ἀτπάχνουβις. Cf. VERGOTE, J., *De oplossing van een gewichtig probleem : de vocalisatie van de Egyptische werkwoordvormen*, p. 14. On the rendering of the *m* of *Hnm* as μ or β , cf. VERGOTE, J., *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Les consonnes*, p. 102: "On remarquera que le point d'articulation est conserve et que seul le mode d'articulation change : à la suite de l'ouverture du canal nasal, la spirante bilabiale ou labio-vélaire devient une occlusive nasale. Le changement inverse se produit à la suite de la fermeture des fosses nasales. Tous les exemples précités du changement *b, w > m* (...) représentent des cas d'assimilation ou de dilation. Notons à ce propos que le changement protosém. *b > m* ég., ou inversement, semble également déterminé, dans la plupart des cas, par le voisinage de *n* ou de *d*".

¹⁹⁰⁷ Three in the Fayum: the incomplete Ἀτπε[(SB XXII 15216, 2), with a dot under the *alpha*; Ἀτφεύς (P. Cairo Zen. III 59329, Ro. 15), Ἀφθεύς (P. Cairo Zen. IV 59751, 8); and one in Lower Egypt: Ἀφθεύς (P. Brux. Gr. I 21, col. 3, 24) (< *Htp=w*).

¹⁹⁰⁸ Ἐθφεύς (< *Htp=w*), in P. Cairo Zen. IV 59782 (b) col. 4, 53 and col. 5, 78; and the bilingual text P. L. Bat. XX 3, Ro. 12: Ἐθ/φεῦτος, in which the Demotic equivalent appears as *Htp.w* in l. 17.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Ἐθφεμούνης Ἐθφεμούνης (< *Htp-Imn*), in P. Brux. Gr. I 21, col. 3, 21; and P. Thmouis 1, col. 140, 6: Ἐθφέως (< *Htp=w*).

aspirated θ . In addition, in 8 transcriptions – 5 from the Fayum¹⁹¹⁰ and 3 from Lower Egypt¹⁹¹¹ –, the consonantal group tp has been rendered as $-\phi\theta-$ with both metathesis and aspiration¹⁹¹². Egyptian p , on the other hand, has been transcribed as non-aspirated π in 33 (91.66 %) of the renderings from Upper Egypt and 3 (12.5 %) from the Fayum. In most attestations from the Fayum (20, this is 83.33 %) and all from Lower Egypt, it appears as aspirated ϕ , as well as in 3 (9.09 %) anthroponyms from Upper Egypt¹⁹¹³. The aspiration in t or p , which could have been caused by progressive assimilation with the Egyptian h , occurs as a consequence more frequently in the Fayum and in Lower Egypt than in Upper Egypt, where only three attestations – one of which comes from the Herakleopolites (U20)¹⁹¹⁴, a nome close to the Fayum – appear to represent it. However, Greek transcriptions do not allow to confirm that aspiration, which is found in the renderings dated from both the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods, can be considered as a dialectal feature of Bohairic or Fayumic in the case of $h\dot{t}p$, since it may be due to assimilation with the previous h . The fact that the group tp has been represented with both aspirated θ and ϕ in all the attestations with metathesis (cf. $-\phi\theta-$) and in 6 anthroponyms starting by $\epsilon\theta\phi$ -¹⁹¹⁵ leads also to think of assimilation in the aspiration of both t and p . Nevertheless, even if it is not possible to attribute aspiration in the renderings of $h\dot{t}p$ to a dialectal reason, the scribes from Lower Egypt and the Fayum seem to have been more prone to represent it.

¹⁹¹⁰ $\alpha\phi\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, in P. Cairo Zen. IV 59751, 8 ($< H\dot{t}p=w$); $\epsilon\phi\theta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, in P. L. Bat. XX 3, Ro. 5 and 17; $\epsilon\phi\theta\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ($< H\dot{t}p-\dot{I}mn$), in P. Tebt. IV 1110, col. 4, 96; $\epsilon\phi\theta\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon(\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma)$, in P. Tebt. IV 1149, 59.

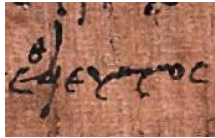
¹⁹¹¹ $\alpha\phi\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ (P. Brux. Gr. I 21, col. 3, 24), $\epsilon\phi\theta\iota\varsigma$ (?) (P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr.); and $\epsilon\phi\theta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (Stud. Pal. XVII, 476), all of them presumably from $H\dot{t}p=w$.

¹⁹¹² In the same text the group tp with metathesis and without metathesis can be represented. Cf. P. L. Bat. XX 3, Ro. 12: $\epsilon\theta/\phi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and Ro. 17: $\epsilon\phi\theta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

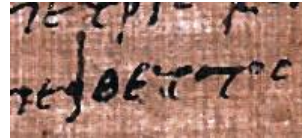
¹⁹¹³ In $\alpha\tau\phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (O. Eleph. DAIK 299, 2), from Elephantine, presumably from the prototype $H\dot{t}p=w$; $\epsilon\tau\phi\epsilon\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ($< H\dot{t}p-B\acute{z}st.t$), in the bilingual text edited in MAIRS, R., MARTIN, C. J., “A Bilingual “Sale” of Liturgies from the Archive of the Theban Choachytes: P. Berlin 5507, P. Berlin 3098 and P. Leiden 413”, text C (P. Leiden 413), 13, p. 44, from Thebes; and P. Hibeh I 112, col. 3, 51: $\epsilon\tau\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ ($< H\dot{t}p=w$), from the Herakleopolites.

¹⁹¹⁴ Cf. previous note.

¹⁹¹⁵ Cf. P. Brux. Gr. I 21, col. 3, 21: $\epsilon\theta\phi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\theta\phi\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$; P. Cairo Zen. IV 59782 (b) col. 4, 53 and col. 5, 78: $\epsilon\theta\phi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$; P. L. Bat. XX 3, Ro., 12: $\epsilon\theta/\phi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$; P. Thmouis I, col. 140, 6: $\epsilon\theta\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$.



P. L. Bat. XX 3, Ro. 12: 'Εθ/φευτος

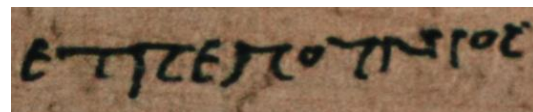


P. L. Bat. XX 3, Ro. 17: 'Εφθευτος

In 33 attestations which mostly derive from the prototypes *Htp-Is.t*, *Htp=w*, *Htp-Hnm* and *Htp-Sbk*, an ε has been added between *Htp-* and the next element (cf. for example 'Επέησις, 'Ετφεύς, 'Ατπέχνουμις/'Ατπέχνουβις, 'Ετπέσουχος, respectively), possibly to represent the Egyptian /ə/ that was pronounced as a link between the two elements. In three attestations from Elephantine, this linking element appears however as α: 'Ατπάχνουμις/'Ατπάχνουβις (< *Htp-Hnm*)¹⁹¹⁶, possibly due to the assimilation with the α represented as vocalisation of *Htp*-¹⁹¹⁷. In some attestations in which the element following *Htp-* starts by vowel in Greek transcription no linking element seems to have been represented: cf. 'Ετφέμουνις (< *Htp-Imn*)¹⁹¹⁸, 'Ετφάνουπις (< *Htp-Inpw*)¹⁹¹⁹.



P. Tebt. IV 1110, col. 4, 96: 'Εφθεμούνιος



P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro. 20: 'Ετπεμούνιος

¹⁹¹⁶ In O. Wilcken II 58, 1: 'Ατπάχνουβις; O. Wilcken II 240, 13: 'Ατπάχνουμις; P. Bingen 91, 3: 'Ατπάχνουβις, dating all from the Roman period. No images of these texts are currently available.

¹⁹¹⁷ Cf. however VERGOTE, J., *De oplossing van een gewichtig probleem : de vocalisatie van de Egyptische werkwoordvormen*, p. 14, who considers an evolution *hátpa-* > *hátpe-* > *hétpe-*.

¹⁹¹⁸ In the renderings of *Htp-Imn* the ε represented the yod of *Imn* can be due to the assimilation with the ε of the vocalisation of *Htp-*.

¹⁹¹⁹ In P. Count. 6, 275: 'Ετφάνουπις.

2. *HTP* IN MIDDLE POSITION

Egyptian *htp* is attested in middle position – also as a *sdm=f* perfective grammatical form¹⁹²⁰ – in the only attestation of the name Σενατπέχνουβις (< **T3-šr.t-n-Htp-Hnm*, “The daughter of Khnum is pleased”)¹⁹²¹. In this rendering from Elephantine (U01), the vocalisation of *htp* has been represented as α, -*tp*- as -*τπ*-, and the linking sound between the elements *htp* and *Hnm* has been transcribed as ε. The representation of *htp* in middle position is consequently similar to what is found for *htp* in initial position.

3. *HTP* IN FINAL POSITION

3.1. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

The element *htp* occurs in final position in at least 9 anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription, of which the best attested are *Imn-htp*, *Sbk-htp* and *P3-di-Nfr-htp*. Even though in the Demotic proper names *htp* seems to be written the same way in all the positions¹⁹²², the vocalisation found in Greek transcriptions show that *htp* was a qualitative when it was situated at the end of the names (cf. *infra*, in 3.1. *Linguistic characteristics*)¹⁹²³.

¹⁹²⁰ Cf. *supra*, *Htp* in initial position.

¹⁹²¹ In SB VI 9604 (22), 3: μ(η)τ(ρ)ος Σενατπέχνουβις, from Elephantine (cf. TM Nam17845). The renderings Ψεμφθέως, in PSI V 544, 20 (TM Nam 27231), and Ψενσενφθεῦτος, in *CRIPEL* II 115, A 2 (TM Nam 25837) – a bilingual text with the Demotic part unfortunately unpublished –, do not seem to derive from the prototypes **P3-šr-n-Htp=w*, “The son of They are pleased”, and **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Htp=w*, “The son of the daughter of They are pleased”, respectively. In fact, the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 806, in which Φθεῦς (B 2) appears as the Greek equivalent of Demotic *P3-ḏw* (A 3), reveals the etymology of Ψεμφθέως (nominative Ψεμφθεύς) (< **P3-šr-n-p3-ḏw*) and Ψενσενφθεῦτος (nominative Ψενσενφθεύς) (< **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-p3-ḏw*).

¹⁹²² The qualitative of *htp* can appear as *htp.t* in Demotic texts. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.); *CDD*, Letter H, p. 296; JOHNSON, J. H., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 16-20. However, no -*t* as mark of qualitative is generally found in *htp* when it is written in proper names. Cf. for instance the examples gathered in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 67: *Imn-htp*; p. 318-319: *P3-di-Nfr-htp*; p. 920-921: *Sbk-htp*.

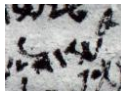
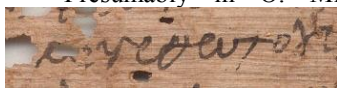
¹⁹²³ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *De oplossing van een gewichtig probleem : de vocalisatie van de Egyptische werkwoordvormen*, p. 24-27. Cf. also VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* IIb, p. 293; and *Grammaire copte* Ia: “Tandis que l’infinitif copte exprime un procès, c.-à-d. une action (...) ou l’entrée dans un état (...), le qualificatif exprime l’état résultant du procès (...). Ainsi le qualificatif des verbes transitifs correspond pratiquement à notre participe passif, celui de nombreux verbes intransitifs se traduit le plus souvent par un adjectif”. Consequently, *htp* in final position should be translated as a verb “to be” and an adjective better than as an adjective (cf. for example *Imn-htp*, “Amun is satisfied”, instead of “The satisfied Amun”). We use here the term “satisfied” instead of “pleased” to make the different Egyptian verbal forms distinguishable in the translation. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.); *CDD*, Letter H, p. 296, who gives a different translation for the qualitative *htp.t* – “to be satisfied” – than for the infinitive – “to rest, be at peace, dwell; to set (of sun, stars)” – (p. 294).

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
Imn-htp	Amun is satisfied	Ἀμενώθης	254	36
*P3-ḥm-p3-di-Nfr-htp	The eagle of He who has been given by the good one is satisfied	Παχομπετενεφώτης	22	11405
P3-di-Nfr-htp	He who has been given by the good one is satisfied	Πετενεφώτης, Πετεφώτης (?) ¹⁹²⁴	98 1	874 + 11545
Mnt-htp	Montu is satisfied	Μενθώτης ¹⁹²⁵	2	13216
Nfr-htp	The good one is satisfied	Νεφώτης	6	13265
Sbk-htp	Sobek is satisfied	Σοχώτης	115	1123
T3-šr.t-n-Imn-htp	The daughter of Amun is satisfied	Σεναμενώθης	5	1054
T3-šr.t-(n)-Nfr-htp	The daughter of the good one is satisfied	Σεनेφώτης	3	13696
T3-di-Nfr-htp	She who has been given by the good one is satisfied	Τετενεφώτης ¹⁹²⁶	1	1367

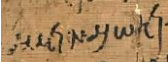

3.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

Approximately 10 transcriptional variants can be found for *htp* in final position, which occurs in all the geographical areas but is especially attested in the Fayum – in the name *Sbk-htp* – and in Thebes – in *Imn-htp* –¹⁹²⁷.

¹⁹²⁴ In P. Kellis IV 96, 904: Πετεφώτ(ου). It is possible that the name that should be read here is Πετε<νε>φώτ(ου). Cf. P. Kellis IV, p. 206: “Petephotes does not appear elsewhere”.

¹⁹²⁵ Presumably in O. Mich. I 46, 2: Μενθ(ώτου) ; and P. Tebt. II 313, 7: Μενθώτου .

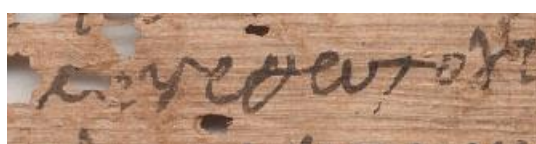
¹⁹²⁶ In P. Count. 50 Ro., 303: [[Τετενεφώτης]].

¹⁹²⁷ The following names are abbreviated or totally or partially reconstructed in the editions and have not been considered here: Μενθ(ώτου) (O. Mich. I 46, 2), [[Πετενεφώτου]] (P. L. Bat. XXII 31, Ro. 2), Σχ[ώτου] (P. Lond. III 678, 5). On the other hand, the attestations Ἀμεινιώθει  (P. Abinn. 36, Ro. 3) and Ἀμεινεώθει  (P. Abinn.

	00	L00	L13	U01	U02	U04	U05	U07	U08	U15	U19	U20
-θ-						1						
-θωπ-	1											
-(θ)ωτ-			1									
-οθ-						5						
-ουθ-		1				1						3
-ωθ-		1		2	1	219	2		1	1	3	
-ωτ-	3			24		49		13		1	5	
-(χ)ωιτ-	1											
-(χ)ωτ-	101					7						
-(χ)ωφθ- (?)	3											
Total attestations	109	2	1	26	1	282	2	13	1	2	8	3

3.3. Linguistic characteristics

Even though Egyptian *h* is not explicitly represented in Greek transcription, its pronunciation may be deduced from the contractions of some ending consonants of the previous elements and *h*. Thus, in the name Μενθώτου¹⁹²⁸ (nominative Μενθώτης, from a prototype *Mnt-htp*), the θ could be due to the contraction of *t* and *h*. Likewise, in 105 transcriptions of the name *Sbk-htp* from the Fayum, the *k* of *Sbk* appears represented as χ. It is not possible to know if this is because of the aspiration of the *k* itself or because of a contraction with the following *h*.



P. Tebt. II 313, 7: Μενθώτου

In all the attestations from the Fayum, 2 from Lower Egypt and 328 (97.04 %) from Upper Egypt, the vocalisation of *htp* has been represented as ω. Although the vocalisation of the qualitative of *htp* is

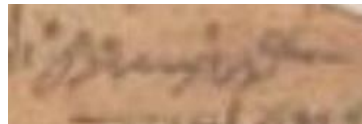
36, Vo. 24), presumably from *Imn-htp*, have not been included here because the reading of the last part of the name is uncertain in the images available. Cf. P. Abinn., p. 90: “A similar form of Abinnaeus’s name (Αμμενειώτι) is found in 10”; P. Abinn. 10, 1-2.

¹⁹²⁸ In P. Tebt. II 313, 7.

usually found as *o* in Coptic (cf. *ⲟⲩⲧⲏ*¹⁹²⁹), it is generally represented as *ω* in Greek transcriptions, as pointed out by J. Vergote¹⁹³⁰. The Greek transcriptions of the verb *wḏʒ* in final position, which is also a qualitative, transcribe the vocalisation as *ω* (-*ωυθ*-/-*υωτ*-) as well¹⁹³¹. In 5 attestations from Thebes¹⁹³², the vocalisation has however been represented as *o* as in Coptic. In 5 attestations from different areas¹⁹³³, the vocalisation of *ḥtp* has been rendered as *ου*¹⁹³⁴. In the name *Σοχωίτου* (nominative *Σοχωίτης*, presumably from a prototype *Sbk-ḥtp*)¹⁹³⁵, the vocalisation appears as -*ωι*-, probably due to a mistake of the scribe or of the editor. In the anthroponym *Ἀμένθου*¹⁹³⁶ no vocalisation has been represented, possibly because of an omission by the scribe.



SB XII 10900, 7: Ἀμενό(θου)



O. Petrie Mus. 360, 1: Ἀμενούθ(ου) (?)

¹⁹²⁹ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 316; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 724.

¹⁹³⁰ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 23-24: “L’opposition entre SB *o*: AA₂F *ⲁ* fait supposer que le second est un /A/ postérieur /à/ et que les premier est un /O/ ouvert /ò/ (...). Ceci est confirmé par les transcriptions grecques qui, avec une régularité remarquable, rendent le *o* copte par *ω*. Le o-mega grec avait, dans la langue classique, la valeur [ò:] ; on l’a donc choisi pour son timbre en faisant abstraction de sa quantité”. Cf. also VERGOTE, J., *De oplossing van een gewichtig probleem : de vocalisatie van de Egyptische werkwoordvormen*, p. 24-27.

¹⁹³¹ Cf. for example the name *Hr-wḏʒ*, “Horus is prosperous” (TM Nam 310), for which the most frequent Greek rendering is Ἀρωτής. In Coptic the qualitative of *ⲟϣⲭⲁⲓ* appears as *ⲟϣⲟϭ*. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p.242; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 511.

¹⁹³² In I. Deir el-Bahari Lajtar 17, 2: Ἀμενόθης; I. Deir el-Bahari Lajtar 127, 1: Ἀμενόθης – for which only two fac-similes are available –; O. Wilb. 25, 2: Ἀμενό(θου); O. Leiden Gr. 291, 7: Ἀμενόθης; and SB XII 10900, 7: Ἀμενό(θου), all of them renderings of *Ḥmn-ḥtp*. The date of the epigraphical attestations from Deir el Bahari is unknown; the three latter attestations date from the Roman period.

¹⁹³³ Cf. BGU IV 1170, 51: Ἀμενούθου; O. Petrie Mus. 360, 1: Ἀμενούθ(ου) – with a dot under the *omicron*; the reading of this name is not sure –; P. Neph. 33, Ro. 7: Ἀμινούθην; P. Neph. 33, Ro. 20: Ἀμένουθιν; P. Neph. 33, Vo. 23: Ἀμινούθου.

¹⁹³⁴ On the confusion of *ω*, *ο* and *ου* in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 208-215.

¹⁹³⁵ In P. Ryl. Gr. IV 588, Vo. 44. This seems to be a ghostname due to a printing error, since it appears in the index under *Σοχωίτης*, which occurs several times in the text, but no image of the text is available.

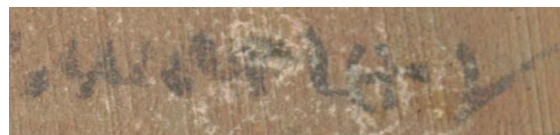
¹⁹³⁶ In O. Wilcken II 885, 2.



P. Neph. 33, Ro. 7: Ἀμινούθην



P. Neph. 33, Ro. 20: Ἀμένουθιν



O. Wilcken II 885, 2: Ἀμένθου

Egyptian *t* has been transcribed as *θ* in 2.75 % (3) of the attestations from the Fayum, 2 from Lower Egypt and 70.71 % (239) from Upper Egypt, and as non-aspirated *τ* in 96.33 % (105) of the transcriptions from the Fayum, 1 from Lower Egypt and 99 (29.28 %) from Upper Egypt. This rate of aspiration and non-aspiration in the representation of *t* is due to both assimilation and dissimilation. In the Fayum, where aspiration could be expected, most renderings appear without aspiration because the majority of the attestations of *hṯp* in final position occur in the name *Sbk-hṯp*, in which *k* and possibly *h* are represented as aspirated *χ* (cf. Σοχώτης). Egyptian *t* is therefore not transcribed as aspirated given the dissimilation of aspirations¹⁹³⁷. Likewise, most attestations from Upper Egypt belong to the prototype *Īmn-hṯp*, which is generally transcribed into Greek as Ἀμενώθης. In these attestations, aspirated *θ* seems to be caused by assimilation with the previous *h*, which is not explicitly rendered. The attestations from Upper Egypt in which Egyptian *t* has been rendered as *τ* without aspiration are mostly renderings of names ending by *Nfr-hṯp*, and mainly transcriptions of the anthroponym *P3-di-*

¹⁹³⁷ On the dissimilation of aspirations in Greek, cf. for exemple LEJEUNE, M., *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, p. 56 : “Grecques communes sont les dissimilations d’« aspirations » que présentent tous les dialectes (*loi de Grassmann*) : lorsque, dans un mot, figuraient, séparées l’une de l’autre, deux quelconques des quatre consonnes φ, θ, χ et h- (esprit rude initial (...)), la seconde subsistait, la première était dissimilée (*h* s’amuissant, φ passant à π, θ à τ, χ à κ). Cela suppose, pour φ, θ, χ, une prononciation *ph, th, kh*”. In Greek transcriptions of Egyptian anthroponyms, however, the first aspirated seems to remain and the second one is dissimilated.

Nfr-ḥtp (> Πετενεφώτης), in which Egyptian *f* is previously rendered as aspirated φ. As in the renderings of *Sbk-ḥtp*, *t* is not transcribed as aspirated θ due to the dissimilation with the previous φ. The two attestations from Lower Egypt in which *t* appears as aspirated are transcriptions of *Īmn-ḥtp*¹⁹³⁸, and the anthroponym with *t* represented as non-aspirated derives from the prototype *Mnt-ḥtp* (cf. Μενθώτου¹⁹³⁹), in which *t-h* are represented as θ and the aspiration of the *t* of *ḥtp* consequently dissimilated.

The Egyptian voiceless occlusive *p* is not rendered in final position except in four attestations: the name Σοκθώπου (presumably from *Sbk-ḥtp*), in P. Gurob 5, 3, in which π might have been written for τ due to a mistake of the scribe or of the editor¹⁹⁴⁰; and three attestations of the name Σοχώφθης in P. Heid. Gr. VI 374 (col. 1, 7 and 11; and col. 5, 131), also presumably from *Sbk-ḥtp*, in which a metathesis of *t* and *p* seems to be found in the consonantal group -φθ-¹⁹⁴¹, in which both letters have been written with aspiration due to the assimilation. Since in Coptic the occlusive *p* is represented in final position (cf. ϣⲟⲩⲛ), its omission in Greek transcriptions might be due to the difficulty of its pronunciation for Greek speakers¹⁹⁴².

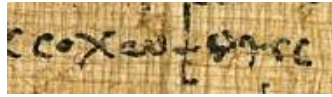
¹⁹³⁸ In BGU IV 1170, 51: Ἀμενούθου; and BGU IV 1130 (108 Ro.), 12: Ἀμενώθο[υ].

¹⁹³⁹ In P. Tebt. II 313, 7.

¹⁹⁴⁰ No image is currently available for this name.

¹⁹⁴¹ Cf. P. Heid. Gr. VI, p. 86-87.

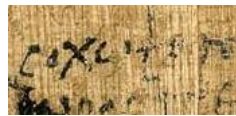
¹⁹⁴² On the drop of final stops in Greek from an early stage of the language, cf. LEJEUNE, M., *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, p. 41-42: “Sauf dans des mots accessoires, dépourvus de ton, et qui s’appuient étroitement sur le mot suivant (...), le grec n’a conservé, en fin de mot, aucune occlusive. Cet amuïssement des occlusives finales apparaît dans tous les dialectes du premier millénaire. Il est *probable* qu’il était déjà acquis à date mycénienne, bien que l’orthographe du linéaire B ne permette pas de le prouver (...). C’est seulement de façon tout à fait occasionnelle, dans des onomatopées (...) ou des noms propres empruntés (...), que le grec ancien a admis des mots non accessoires terminés par occlusive. Le grec moderne n’en admet pas davantage”. The difficulty of pronouncing some final stops seems also to have led to their drop in ancient Egyptian. Thus, as the final stops in Greek, the feminine *.t* appears to have fallen already in an early stage of the Egyptian language. Cf. LACAU, P., *Phonétique égyptienne ancienne*, p. 63: “En réalité, je pense que la chute du \ominus du féminin est bien antérieure à l’époque des pyramides, antérieure même à l’époque de la rédaction de leurs textes, eux-mêmes beaucoup plus anciens que les V^e et VI^e dynasties. Rappelons-nous qu’un très grand nombre de signes phonétiques du système graphique dits « alphabétiques » (unilitères) ou « syllabiques » (plurilitères) sont des images représentant des êtres ou des objets dont le nom est au féminin. Or la désinence de ce féminin a disparu totalement dans la valeur phonétique que ces images représentent”.



P. Heid. Gr. VI 374, col. 1, 7: Θοτεϋς Σοχώφθης



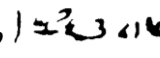
P. Heid. Gr. VI 374, col. 1, 11: Σοχώφθης



P. Heid. Gr. VI 374, col. 5, 131: Σοχώφθης

4. *M-ḤTP* IN THE ANTHROPONYM *Ỉy-M-ḤTP*, “IMHOTEP”

4.1. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

Egyptian *ḥtp* is also attested in final position as substantive¹⁹⁴³ in the name *Ỉy-m-ḥtp* and all the anthroponyms containing it. The personal name *Ỉy-m-ḥtp* ¹⁹⁴⁴, “He who comes in peace/

¹⁹⁴³ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *CDD*, Letter H, p. 300: “peace, contentment”; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 316: “Comme nom m. « accord, paix, conciliation, coucher (*des astres*) »”; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 724-725.

¹⁹⁴⁴ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 55-56, n. 1.

He who has come in peace”, or “Imhotep”, which is composed of a participle¹⁹⁴⁵ of the verb *īy*¹⁹⁴⁶, “to come”, and an adverbial predicate starting by the preposition *m*, occurs more than 500 times in Greek transcription. In addition, it occurs in final position in 12 anthroponyms, of which *P3-di-īy-m-ḥtp*, “He who has been given by Imhotep”, is the best attested.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
īy-m-ḥtp	Imhotep	Ἰμούθης	508	368
*P3-ḥm-pa-īy-m-ḥtp	The eagle (of) the one of Imhotep	Παχομπαιμούθης ¹⁹⁴⁷	1	23002
P3-šr-n-īy-m-ḥtp	The son of Imhotep	Ψενιμούθης	7	978
*P3-šr-n-t3-rm.t-n-īy-m-ḥtp	The son of the woman of Imhotep	Ψεντρεμμούθης ¹⁹⁴⁸	1	28768
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-īy-m-ḥtp	The son of the daughter of Imhotep	Ψενσενιμούθης ¹⁹⁴⁹	1	23776
*P3-grr-īy-m-ḥtp (?)	The frog of Imhotep (?)	Ποκρουριμούθης (?) ¹⁹⁵⁰	1	28771
P3-di-īy-m-ḥtp	The one who has been given by Imhotep	Πετειμούθης	142	862

¹⁹⁴⁵ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 32, n. 26: “A participle is a relative form without an expressed subject”. The name *īy-m-ḥtp*, already attested in the Old Kingdom (cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 9.2), seems to contain an ancient participle which appears as fossilized in Demotic. Scholars do not seem to be in agreement on the translation of the participle as a present or past tense. Although in Demotic the past participle is composed of the part participle of *iri*, “to do” (*i.ir*) plus the lexical infinitive (cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *Thus Wrote ‘Onchsheshonqy. An Introductory Grammar of Demotic*, p. 57; JOHNSON, J. H., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 120), in late Egyptian the participles with a simple form without a verbal periphrasis composed of the verb *iri* can express a past tense. Cf. NEVEU, F., *La langue des Ramsès. Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, p. 141: “Les participes actifs des verbes 3-lit. et moins ont une valeur temporelle passée quand ils sont à la forme simple – le point de repère étant, dans la narration, le moment des faits narrés et, hors narration, le moment de l’énonciation. Lorsqu’ils sont périphrasés, ces participes possèdent une valeur de présent d’habitude ou de présent général. Cette opposition est évidemment neutralisée pour les verbes où la périphrase est obligatoire”. However, VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte IIb*, p. 285, considers *īy* as a “participle perfectif actif” and translates *īy-m-ḥtp* as “Celui qui vient en paix”. Cf. ALLEN, J. A., *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, p. 334: “The perfective participles simply describe action without any indication of tense or aspect, like the perfective *sdm=f*. They are the most common of the participles, and can be used with reference to any tense”. According to ALLEN, J. A., *ibidem*, p. 328, 330, *īy* is a “perfective active” participle, with “no special ending other than those of gender and number”. Cf. however OBSOMER, C., *Égyptien hiéroglyphique. Grammaire pratique du moyen égyptien*, p. 110: “On désignera comme «perfectif» ou «accompli» le participle qui sert à exprimer une action ponctuelle réalisée dans le passé”.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 59.

¹⁹⁴⁷ In P. Brooklyn Gr. 35, 1: Παχομπαιμούθ(ης). The name is not completely legible in the image available in the edition.

¹⁹⁴⁸ In O. Bodl. II 518, 1: Ψεντρεμμού(θου).

¹⁹⁴⁹ In O. Camb. 99, col. 2, 10: Ψενσενιμούθ(ης).

¹⁹⁵⁰ Presumably in P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, fr. A 11: Ποκρούριο(ς) Ποκρουριμού[θου]. This name could however be a ghostname resulting from a wrong word division: a reading Ποκρουρ Ἰμού[θου] seems more probable at first sight.

Ns-Imn-Īy-m-ḥtp	He belongs to Amun-Imhotep	Ζμενιμούθης ¹⁹⁵¹	5	21795
Hr-Īy-m-ḥtp	Horos-Imhotep	Ἄριμούθης	30	265
T3-šr.t-n-Īy-m-ḥtp	The daughter of Imhotep	Σενιμούθης	7	1072
T3-di-Īy-m-ḥtp	The one who has been given by Imhotep	Τετειμούθης	3	1364
Ta-Īy-m-ḥtp	The one of Imhotep	Ταιμούθης	15	1247
*Dḥwty-Īy-m-ḥtp	Thot-Imhotep/Thot has come in peace	Θωτιμούθης ¹⁹⁵²	1	25496

4.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

The name *Īy-m-ḥtp* and the anthroponyms containing it are attested in Greek transcription all over Egypt. Even though more than 5 transcriptional variants can be found for *-m-ḥtp*, -μουθ- is the best attested in all the geographical areas¹⁹⁵³.

	00	L00	L01	L04	L16	L21
-μθ-						
-μοουθ-	1					
-μουθ-	255	4	25	4	6	5
-μουσ-						
-μουτ-	2					
-μυτ-						
-μωθ	1					
-μωτ-			1			
Total attestations	259	4	26	4	6	5

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U07	U09	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
-μθ-												1
-μοουθ-												
-μουθ-	8	2		205	1	3	6	1	3	1	18	110
-μουσ-				1								
-μουτ-	4			2								

¹⁹⁵¹ In O. Bodl. II 920, 1; 1444, 3 and 5; 1467, 6; and 1472, 5, all of them from Thebes. The Demotic equivalent *Ns-Imn-ḥtp* is well attested in the area of Thebes. Cf. TM Nam 13279 and LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 658.

¹⁹⁵² Presumably in P. Hels. I 38, col. 2, 10: Θωτιμούθου.

¹⁹⁵³ The following anthroponyms have been totally or partially reconstructed in the editions and have not been included here: Εἰμ[ούθου] (SB XVI 12720, col. 2, 52), Ἰμ[ού]θῃ (P. Oslo II 17, 17), Ἰμ[ούθου] (P. Oxy. Census, 316), [Ἰμούθης] (P. Turner 17, 24), Ἀριμ[ούθης] (P. Tebt. III 867, col. 8, 159).

-μντ-			1									
-μωθ												
-μωτ-												
Total attestations	12	2	1	208	1	3	6	1	3	1	18	111

4.3. Linguistic characteristics

In all the attestations, the Egyptian preposition *m* has been rendered as μ into Greek. In 99.25 % (666) of the transcriptions, the vocalisation has been represented as ου after *m*¹⁹⁵⁴. In one name¹⁹⁵⁵, the o seems to have been written with dittography and consequently appears as οου. In two anthroponyms¹⁹⁵⁶, the vocalisation appears to have been transcribed as ω, in one as υ¹⁹⁵⁷ and in other one it has not been rendered¹⁹⁵⁸.

In 98.36 % (660) of the renderings, Egyptian *t* has been represented as aspirated θ: even though *h* is not explicitly transcribed into Greek, aspirated θ representing *t* seems to be due to the assimilation with *h*. In 10 (1.49 %) attestations Egyptian *t* is transcribed as non-aspirated τ¹⁹⁵⁹, and in one name as σ¹⁹⁶⁰, possibly due to a mistake of the scribe or of the editor. As the renderings of the qualitative *hṭp* in final position, none of the Greek transcriptions represents the final occlusive *p*.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 22: “Le fait que ω, dans tous les dialectes, devient οΥ = /u:/ après *m* et *n* plaide en faveur de son caractère fermé, donc /ô:/, ex. ΜΟΥΝ, rester, durer ; ΝΟΥΤΕ, dieu”.

¹⁹⁵⁵ In Chrest. Wilck. 224 c, 4-5: Ἰμοοῦθην (< *Īy-m-hṭp*).

¹⁹⁵⁶ In P. Leipz. 11 Ro., 7: Πετειμῶτου (< *P3-di-Īy-m-hṭp*); and presumably in P. Cairo Zen. III 59326 bis, col. 1, 19: Ἰμῶθει (< *Īy-m-hṭp*) – with dots under *mu* and *omega* –. The reading of this later attestation is not sure considering also that in the same text, l. 22, the variant Ἰμούθην occurs.

¹⁹⁵⁷ In I. Thèbes à Syène 31, 4: Ταίμυτις (< *Ta-Īy-m-hṭp*). On the interchange of ου and ω and υ in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 208-211 and 214-215.

¹⁹⁵⁸ In BGU IV 1196, col. 3, 56: Πετείμθου (< *P3-di-Īy-m-hṭp*). No image is currently available for this anthroponym.

¹⁹⁵⁹ In P. Heid. Gr. VII 392, 8: Εἰμούτην; BGU VI 1465, 3-4: Ἰμούτης; I. Philae I 2, 7: Ἰμούτης; SB XX 14352, 3: Ἰμούτ(ου) (< *Īy-m-hṭp*); P. Count. 24, 184: Ταίμουτις; P. L. Bat. XXVI 25, 5 and 28, 3: Ταίμουτ; I. Thèbes à Syène 31, 4: Ταίμυτις (< *Ta-Īy-m-hṭp*); I. Syr. 1015, 1: Ψενμούτης (< *P3-šr-n-Īy-m-hṭp*); P. Leipz. 11 Ro., 7: Πετειμῶτου (< *P3-di-Īy-m-hṭp*).

¹⁹⁶⁰ In O. Bodl. II 1761, 17: Εἰμούσης, presumably from the prototype *Īy-m-hṭp*. No image is currently available for this attestation.



BGU VI 1465, 3-4: Ἰμούτης



P. L. Bat. 26 25, 5: Ταμουτ



I. Philae 1 2, 7: Ἰμούτης

5. CONCLUSION



Greek transcriptions of *hṭp* show a different vocalisation of the element depending on its position in the anthroponyms and reveal that, when it was situated in final position, it was a qualitative: whereas for the perfective – situated in initial and middle position – the vocalisation was represented as α or ε, for the qualitative it appears as ω. Although no Greek letter could represent Egyptian *h*, its presence in the transcriptions of *hṭp* is reflected in the representation of *t* as aspirated due to the assimilation with the *h*. Egyptian *p* is generally represented when *hṭp* was situated in initial or middle position within a name, but not in final position, possibly because of the difficulty to pronounce final stops for Greek speakers. Even though the vocalisation of *hṭp* as qualitative in final position is mainly rendered as ω,

when it was preceded by the preposition *m* in the name *Īy-m-ḥtp* or derivatives it appears, as pointed out by J. Vergote, as ov.

CHAPTER 2

$\underline{D}d\text{-}\dot{h}r$

Dd-ḥr

Egyptian *Dd-ḥr*-  ¹⁹⁶¹ is composed of the *sdm=f* perfective form of the verb *dd*, “to say”¹⁹⁶², and the term *ḥr*, “face”, as nominal subject, followed in some attestations by the name of a deity or a divine manifestation as complement of *ḥr* (cf., for example, *Dd-ḥr-Pth*, “The face of Ptah has said”; *Dd-ḥr-p3-hb*, “The face of the ibis has said”)¹⁹⁶³. After the verb and the nominal subject, what the face of the deity has said – *iw=f/s- ḥḥ*  ¹⁹⁶⁴ – is introduced in direct speech. The part in direct speech is always constructed of the particle *iw* plus the masculine or feminine suffix pronouns *f* or *s* as subject and the verb *ḥḥ*, “to live” (cf. *Dd-ḥr-Pth-iw=f- ḥḥ*, “The face of Ptah has said: ‘He will live’”)¹⁹⁶⁵. The bearers of these personal names could consequently be both men and women. In most attestations, given the length of the name, this later part of the anthroponym is omitted and the resulting abbreviated names are used instead. Even though it was presumably followed by a second part, for phonetical and accentual reasons, the abbreviated name *Dd-ḥr* has been considered here as an independent element which can be found in absolute (cf. *Dd-ḥr*), initial (cf. *Dd-ḥr-Bs*) or final (cf. *Pa-dd-ḥr*) position.

¹⁹⁶¹ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1368: *Dd-ḥr*, n. 14.

¹⁹⁶² Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* IIb, p. 280-281; VERGOTE, J., *De oplossing van een gewichtig probleem : de vocalisatie van de Egyptische werkwoordvormen*, p. 13-17; JOHNSON, J. H., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 115-131; SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 61-64.

¹⁹⁶³ This type of names is attested from the New Kingdom onwards. Cf. RANKE, H., *PN* I, p. 409-412; and II, p. 244. Cf. also QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teēphthaphōnukhos”, p. 86: “On rencontre ces noms dans les documents hiéroglyphiques à partir de la 21^e dynastie jusqu’à l’époque grecque, mais ils sont surtout en vogue dans la période qui s’étend de la 22^e dynastie à l’époque saïte et à la 30^e dynastie. En démotique, ils sont attestés à partir de la 26^e dynastie jusqu’à l’époque ptolémaïque”.

¹⁹⁶⁴ Image of *iw=f- ḥḥ* from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1364: *Dd-B3st.t-iw=f- ḥḥ*, n. 7.

¹⁹⁶⁵ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 153-167; SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 61-64; SPIEGELBERG, W., *Demotische Grammatik*, p. 77-78 (“Futurum III”). These anthroponyms have an oracular origin according to RANKE, H., “Les noms propres égyptiens”, p. 317: “Rappelons-nous le rôle que jouaient les oracles des dieux aux époques postérieures de l’histoire de l’Égypte ! Supposons que la femme enceinte, avant son accouchement, soit allée quêter dans le temple d’Isis – ou des autres dieux – une réponse à la question brûlante de son cœur, que cette réponse ait été affirmative, disant que l’enfant sera mis au jour vivant, et que la phrase énoncée au moment de la naissance, et qui devient le nom de l’enfant, se rapportât à cette réponse favorable de l’oracle !”. Cf. also QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teēphthaphōnukhos”, p. 92: “Nous savons, en effet, qu’à propos des oracles égyptiens on parlait du « visage » de la divinité”; QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Tithoes, dieu oraculaire?”, p. 108: “On a l’impression que l’élément Tεω(ς) = *Dd-ḥr* ne doit pas toujours être compris comme “A parlé le visage...”, dont la suite est sous-entendue, mais que ce vocable par son emploi fréquent comme une sorte d’appellation divine peut désigner dans certains cas la faculté divine de répondre aux gens qui consultent l’oracle”.

1. *Ḍd-ḥr* IN ABSOLUTE POSITION

1.1. Attestations

The name *Ḍd-ḥr* is attested in more than 900 attestations in Greek transcription. Among the different variants, the best attested is Τέως, occurring more than 700 times.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*Ḍd-ḥr-...-(īw=f/s-‘nh)	The face ... has said: (‘He/She will live’) (<i>incomplete names</i>)	Τέω... ¹⁹⁶⁶	2	6222
Ḍd-ḥr-(īw=f/s-‘nh)	The face has said: (‘He/She will live’)	Τέως ¹⁹⁶⁷	965	1349

1.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

The name *Ḍd-ḥr* is attested in all the geographical areas, and especially in the Fayum and in Thebes, the Oxyrhynchites and the Herakleopolites in Upper Egypt.

¹⁹⁶⁶ Presumably in P. Petrie II 40 a, 2: Τέω. [; and SB XIV 11303, 5: μητρὸς Τέω. If these names represent Egyptian **Ḍd-ḥr*-, the position of *Ḍd-ḥr* in the name should have been absolute according to the vocalisation of *ḥr*.

¹⁹⁶⁷ J. Quaegebeur also considers the names Θάως, Τάως, Σάως and Χάως – which are not include in TM Nam 1349 in the Trismegistos database, but in TM Nam 9488, 1285, 5682 and 25591, respectively – as renderings of *Ḍd-ḥr*. Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teēphthaphônukhos”, p. 92-93: “*Ḍd-ḥr* est le nom d’un pharaon de la 30^e dynastie que les auteurs ont rendu par Τέως ou Τάχως. Ce nom, très fréquent à l’époque tardive, a été transcrit en araméen, en assyrien et en néo-babylonien et chaque fois la consonne *ḏ(d)* est rendue par *ṣ*. Citons également la forme copte τᾱῑο (...). Le *Namenbuch* cite comme seule variante de Τέως la forme Θεως. Vergote y a ajouté Σαως et Θαως. Je voudrais signaler que Ταως, Σεως, Χεως et Χαως constituent également des variantes de Τέως de sorte que *ḏ* peut être rendu en grec par les consonnes simples T, Θ, Σ, X et exceptionnellement K”. In the Trismegistos database Τάως and the Coptic name τᾱῑο are considered as renderings of *Ta-ḥr*, “The one of the face”, which is also attested in Demotic. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1205. Thus, the name Θάως probably belongs to this prototype as well. The etymology of Σάως and Χάως is uncertain, since they do not seem to occur in any bilingual text. Although Σάως is classified as Greek in the Trismegistos database, it is not listed in the *LGN*. The prototype of these names might be *Ḍd-ḥr*, but this is not sure, since it seems that only in Fayumic the verb *ḏd* can appear as *ṣṣ*- in *nominalis status* (cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 754) and the attestations of Σάως and Χάως occur elsewhere in Egypt and not only in the Fayum. Since the etymology of these anthroponyms is not sure they have consequently not been included here. In addition, the prototype of the name Τάχως, attested once in SB X 10551, 7, from Ammoniake (Western desert) and included in TM Nam 1349 as a rendering of *Ḍd-ḥr*-(īw=f/s-‘nh) (cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1368; VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* IIb, p. 281; QUAEGBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teēphthaphônukhos”, p. 92) is not certain, since Egyptian *ḥ* is generally not rendered by *χ*. This name is attested in Miletos (262 BC) and a Greek etymology should not be dismissed (cf. *LGN* V.B, p. 403). Cf., on the other hand, the similar name Τάχωςις as a presumable transcription of **Ta-Īkš*, “The one of the Kushite”, in TM Nam 1290. In addition, the anthroponym Τά[χ]ων (nominative), attested in P. Graux II 9, 12 and also included in TM Nam 1349 as a rendering of *Ḍd-ḥr*-(īw=f/s-‘nh), is probably a different name which might render *Ta-Ḥnsw*, “The one of Khonsu”.

Τεω- is the best attested variant in all the regions, followed by Χεω- and Σεω-, mainly attested in the Fayum and the Oxyrhynchites¹⁹⁶⁸.

	00	L00	L01	L05	L16	L20	L21
Θεω-	10						
Θηω-	1						
Κεω-	2						
Σεω-	29						
Τεω-	509	1	10	1	12	1	8
τρω-							
Χεω-	40						
Total attestations	591	1	10	1	12	1	8

	U01	U02	U04	U05	U07	U08	U09	U15	U17	U19	U20
Θεω-			1								2
Θηω-											1
Κεω-											1
Σεω-	1		3					1		4	
Τεω-		6	86	1	2	1	1	4	2	29	28
τρω-			2					2			
Χεω-		2						1		5	
Total attestations	1	8	92	1	2	1	1	8	2	38	32

1.3. Linguistic characteristics

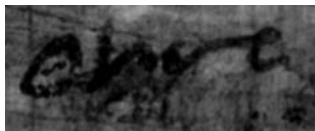
Egyptian *d* is represented by τ/τ in at least 85 % of the attestations in all the geographical areas. In 29 transcriptions from the Fayum and 9 from Upper Egypt¹⁹⁶⁹, *d* it has been represented as σ, and in

¹⁹⁶⁸ The next names have been partially reconstructed in the editions and have been excluded here: [Τέ]ωτος (P. Petrie III 100 (a-b), 25); Τ[έ]ωτος (Stud. Pal. XVII 119); Τέ[ωτος] (SB XVI 12777, 3). On the other hand, in the variant Θέως in the Trismegistos database (TM Nam 1349: presumably 135 attestations), approximately 120 attestations – especially the forms Θέων and θεῶ – are not Greek renderings of *Dd-hr* in accusative and dative, respectively, but attestations of the Greek name Θέων in nominative (cf. TM Nam 5538) – no *accusativus pro nominativo* should consequently be considered –, and also attestations of the Greek word θεός, which appears in the expression σὺν θεῶ, “with God”. Cf. for example P. Merton II 99 Ro., 5: σὺν Θ(εῶ). On some anthroponyms declined according to this dental stem, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* II, p. 61.

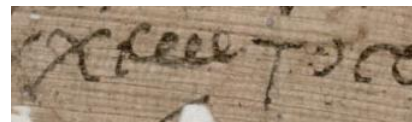
¹⁹⁶⁹ In I. Philae II 283, 1: Σέω[ς]; O. Bodl. II 1436, 13: Σεω(ς); O. Strasb. I 375, 6: Σέω(ς); O. Strasb. I 376, 4: Σέω(ς); SB VIII 9792, 3: Σέωτος; P. Oxy. XLIX 3491, fr. 1 1: Σέωτο(ς); P. Strasb. Gr. VII 662, 14: Σέωτος; BGU X 1905, 8: Σέω(ς); BGU X 1905, 4: Σέωτι.

40 attestations from the Tebtynis and 8 from Upper Egypt¹⁹⁷⁰, as χ . Greek θ appears, on the other hand, as rendering of \underline{d} in 11 attestations from the Fayum and 4 from Upper Egypt¹⁹⁷¹. In addition, in three attestations \underline{d} has been rendered as κ ¹⁹⁷². The rates of the different variants for each geographical area can be seen in the table below:

\underline{D}	Fayum	Lower Egypt	Upper Egypt
Θ -	1.86 %	0 %	2.15 %
K -	0.33 %	0 %	0.53 %
Σ -	4.90 %	0 %	4.83 %
T -	86.12 %	100 %	88.17 %
X -	6.76 %	0 %	4.30 %



P. Hibeh I 112, col. 3, 44: Θήως



P. Oxy. XLIX 3479, 5: Χέωτος



P. Oxy. XLIX 3479, 13: Χέωτος



P. Oxy. XLIX 3479, 20: Χέωτος

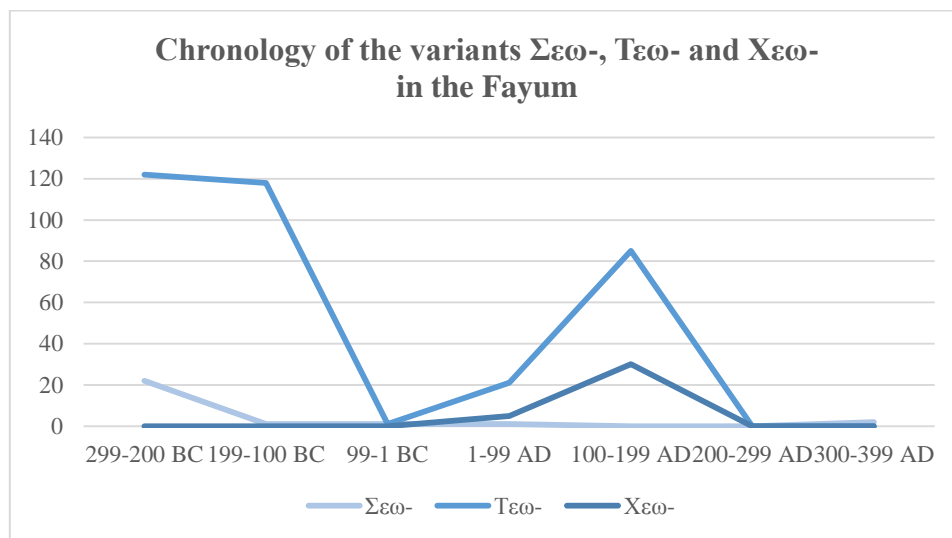
Given that the variants starting by Θ -, K -, Σ - and X - are not numerous, chronology does not seem to show a real evolution in the use of specific variants. The attestations starting by T -, which seems to

¹⁹⁷⁰ In O. Edfou III 434, 1: Χέως and presumably in O. Edfou III 446, 1: Χέ[ωτος]; I. Akôris 154, 2 : Χέωτος; P. Oxy. XIV 1747, col. 1, 25: Χέως; P. Oxy. XLIX 3479, 5: Χέωτος; P. Oxy. XLIX 3479, 13: Χέωτος; P. Oxy. XLIX 3479, 16: Χέω[ς]; P. Oxy. XLIX 3479, 20: Χέωτος. Of these attestations, 5 come from the Oxyrhynchites.

¹⁹⁷¹ In BGU IV 1196, col. 2, 27: Θέως; P. Mich. II 121 Ro., 2, viii 1: Θέωτος – from the Herakleopolites, a nome close to the Fayum –; P. Rein. Gr. II 143, 3: Θέωτος – with dots under the first three letters –; and P. Hibeh I 112, col. 3, 44: Θήως, also from the Herakleopolites.

¹⁹⁷² In P. Kron. 4, 3: Κέωτος; BGU XIV 2425, 14: Κέως; and possibly in SB XX 14576, Vo. col. 12, 268: Κεω(). On these different variants, cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teēphthaphônukhos”, p. 98-100.

have been the standard variant in all the areas, occur in all the period between the third century BC and the third century AD. In the Fayum, most of the attestations beginning by Σ- (22) date from the third century BC, and, of the transcriptions with X- from Tebtynis, 5 date from the first century AD and 30 from the second century AD. The chronology of most names with Θ- is uncertain, but two of them¹⁹⁷³ seem to date between the third and the first century BC and four¹⁹⁷⁴ between the first and the third century AD. The chronology of the Σ-, T- and X- variants from the Fayum can be seen in the graph below¹⁹⁷⁵.



Although at first sight the variants with Θ- and X- could seem as dialectal from the Fayum, and X- from Tebtynis in particular – they are in fact mostly attested there or in close nomes such as the Herakleopolites and the Oxyrhynchites –, the high rate of the T- variant in the Fayum leads to think that the diversity of variants could rather be due to the attempt to reflect a sound – represented as *ɣ* in all the Coptic dialects¹⁹⁷⁶ – that did not exist in Greek. The Greek letters Θ-, K-, Σ- and X- were

¹⁹⁷³ In P. Tebt. III 794, 1 (third century BC): Θέωτος; and in BGU IV 1196, col. 2, 27 (ca. 11-10 BC): Θέως.

¹⁹⁷⁴ In BGU IV 1201, 3 (2 AD): Θέωτος; P. Mich. II 121 Ro., 2, viii 1 (AD 42): Θέωτος; CPR XV 25, fr. D 6 (94-95 AD): Θέως; P. Rein. Gr. II 143, 3 (228-229 AD): Θέωτος.


¹⁹⁷⁵ In figures, 22 attestations starting by Σ- date from the third century BC; one from the second century BC; one from the first century BC; one from the first century AD; and 2 from the fourth century AD. 1221 transcriptions with T- date from the third century BC; 118 from the second century BC; 1 from the first century BC; 21 from the first century AD; and 85 from the second century AD. 5 anthroponyms with X- date from the first century AD, and 30 from the second century AD.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 323; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 754.

consequently the closest to this Egyptian sound, which has been considered as equivalent to /č/ = [tš] by J. Vergote¹⁹⁷⁷.

As the Greek transcriptions of *Ḍd-hr-* and the form Coptic verb *ⲭⲱ*, “to say”, indicate, the *d* of the Egyptian verb *ḏd* was no longer pronounced in the Graeco-Roman period¹⁹⁷⁸. The vocalisation of the verb *Ḍd* in *status nominalis* appears as -ε- in all the attestations except in two, in which it has been rendered as η¹⁹⁷⁹. This vocalisation is in agreement with the Coptic form *ⲭⲉ-* attested for most dialects¹⁹⁸⁰. Egyptian *hr* is transcribed as ω/ω in all the attestations: Egyptian *h* in intervocalic position is not noted in Greek, and the rendering ω/ω is the equivalent of Coptic ⲉⲟ/ⲉⲱ, attested for Sahidic and Akhmimic¹⁹⁸¹.

¹⁹⁷⁷ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 14: “ⲭ (...) a la valeur de la dentale prépalatale affriquée sourde /č/ = [tš] puisqu’il rend la combinaison τ + ⲱ dans ⲭⲛⲟ, engendrer (τ + ⲱⲛⲉ) (...). Le grec, ne possédant pas ce phonème, le rendait tantôt par *s*, tantôt par *t*”. Cf. also VERGOTE, J., *Phonétique historique de l’égyptien. Les consonnes*, p. 38, who summarizes the main hypotheses on the pronunciation of Egyptian *ḏ* and *t*: “D’après M. Czermak, *t* se prononçait [t’, ts’ ou tš] (...), *ḏ* était déjà en moyen-égyptien une mi-occlusive ou une spirante emphatique [ḏz’, ḏž, ts’, tš, š] ou « quelque chose de ce genre » (...). Le ⲉ se prononçait en sahidique [tš_l] et [ḏž_l], en bohairique [tš] et [tš_l]; ⲭ équivalait en sahidique à [tš] et [ḏž], en bohairique à [ḏž] et [ḏž_l] (...). D’après cet auteur, [tš_l, ḏž_l] ont le point d’articulation plus reculé que [tš, ḏž]. L’opinion de M. Worrell sur ce point est plus importante pour nous parce que celui-ci a réussi à expliquer la distinction entre le ⲉ sahidique et bohairique (...). Le professeur américain transcrit le ⲭ bohairique par [ʃ] ou [ʃ_l], le ⲭ sahidique par [ʃ_l] et le ⲉ bohairique par [c] (...). Le premier représente un phonème dont l’articulation produit à peu près le même effet acoustique que la mi-occlusive [dʒ] dans le mot angl. *dune*; le second produit presque le même effet que la mi-occlusive [tʃ] dans le mot angl. *posture*; [c] représente ce dernier phonème combiné avec l’aspiration, l’effet acoustique qu’il produit ressemble à celui de la mi-occlusive [tʃ] + aspiration qui se rencontre dans angl. *tune*”.

¹⁹⁷⁸ In JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Ḍ, p. 1, the verb *ḏd* is indeed listed as *ḏ*. Cf. the hieroglyphic form  *ḏd*. Cf. also VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 324: “La forme *ⲭⲱ* (avec voyelle longue en syllabe fermée) ne correspond pas aux lois régissant la structure des syllabes et est par conséquent une *innovation*. L’ancienne forme a dû être **ḏid*”.

¹⁹⁷⁹ In P. Princ. I 10, col. 2, 2: Θήωτος and P. Hibeh I 112, col. 3, 44: Θήως. On the interchange of ε and η in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 242-249, and especially 248-249: “The interchange of η with ε (...) takes place mainly in the same phonetic conditions in which ε interchanges with ι, namely, before a back vowel (...), with little difference between unaccented and accented syllables (...). On the other hand, frequent interchanges of η with the symbols for /ε/ at the same time that η interchanges with ι and ει are found, except for a transitional period in Attic inscriptions, only in the Ptolemaic papyri and locally elsewhere in the Koine, especially in areas where bilingual interference was operative. In Egypt, the bivalence of Coptic η is a related factor, especially since the interchange of η and ε is commonly found in documents showing other evidence of bilingual interference”. Cf. also CLARYSSE, W., “Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek”, p. 197.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Sahidic, Akhmimic, Sub-Akhmimic, Bohairic, Fayumic. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 754; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 323.

¹⁹⁸¹ Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 646; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 286.

2. *DD-HR* IN INITIAL POSITION

2.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

Egyptian *Dd-hr-* occurs at the beginning of at least 8 anthroponyms in Greek transcription. The most frequent proper name is **Dd-hr-bnw-(iw=f/s- 'nh)* – with more than 100 attestations –, which is paradoxically not attested in Demotic. The anthroponym *Dd-hr-p3-hb-(iw=f/s- 'nh)* is in addition attested more than 40 times in Greek characters.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
* <i>Dd-hr-Ḳnpw/nfr-(iw=f/s- 'nh)</i> (?)	The face of Anubis/the good one has said: ('He/She will live') (?)	Θεανουφ ¹⁹⁸²	1	34427
* <i>Dd-hr-bnw-(iw=f/s- 'nh)</i> ¹⁹⁸³	The face of the Benu bird has said: ('He/She will live')	Θεάβενις	135	5434
<i>Dd-hr-Bs-(iw=f/s- 'nh)</i>	The face of Bes has said: ('He/She will live')	Τεέβης, Τεέβησις	11	1336
* <i>Dd-hr-p3-m3y-(iw=f/s- 'nh)</i>	The face of the lion has said: ('He/She will live')	Τεέφμοις ¹⁹⁸⁴	2	25776
* <i>Dd-hr-p3-R'- (iw=f/s- 'nh)</i>	The face of Ra has said: ('He/She will live')	Τεεφραῖος	7	6160
<i>Dd-hr-p3-hb-(iw=f/s- 'nh)</i>	The face of the ibis has said: ('He/She will live')	Τεέφιβις ¹⁹⁸⁵	45	1338

¹⁹⁸² In *CRIPPEL* V 1093, 1: Θεανουφ. Since it is not in a bilingual document, it is not possible to know if in this anthroponym the name of Anubis (*Ḳnpw*) or the element *nfr*, “good” is represented. If it renders Egyptian **Dd-hr-Ḳnpw*, the *alpha* representing the *yod* of Anubis seems to have contracted with the *alpha* representing *hr*, “face” (cf. Θε(α)νουφ): the Greek rendering (Α)νουφ for *Ḳnpw* would indeed be possible. The usual transcription of Egyptian *nfr* in final position is, on the other hand, -νουφ-; consequently, we cannot know which the element represented here is.

¹⁹⁸³ On the term *bnw*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter B, p. 51: “phoenix, heron”. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 28: *BNNE* (Sahidic), *BNNI* (Bohairic): “hirondelle”.

¹⁹⁸⁴ In P. Oxy. L 3587, col. 1, 21 and 22: Τεέφμοιτος and Τεέφμ[οι]τος respectively.



¹⁹⁸⁵ The anthroponym Χέσφιβις has been identified as a ghostname by QUAEGBEUR, J., “The Study of Egyptian Proper Names in Greek Transcriptions. Problems and Perspectives”, p. 411. Cf. also <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=512>.

*Dd-ḥr-p3-ḥm- (iw=f/s-‘nh)	The face of the younger has said: (‘He/She will live’)	Σεέφχημις ¹⁹⁸⁶	1	5689
Dd-ḥr-Pth-iw=f- ‘nh	The face of Ptah has said: ‘He will live’	Τεεφθαφώνυχος ¹⁹⁸⁷	3	1339
*Dd-ḥr-Nfr-Tm- (iw=f/s-‘nh)	The face of Nefertem has said: (‘He/She will live’)	Τεενέφθιμις ¹⁹⁸⁸	1	1337
*Dd-ḥr-Ḥnb- (iw=f/s-‘nh)	The face of Heneb has said: (‘He/She will live’)	Θεάμβησις ¹⁹⁸⁹	1	1336

B. Anthroponyms from a prototype unknown

The beginning of the anthroponym Θεαήποννις, which is attested – with a dot under the *eta* – in P. Cornell 22, col. 2, 52 (TM 16878), could also represent Egyptian *Dd-ḥr-*. The derivation of the ending -ποννις from Egyptian *-pn-iy*, “this one has come”, can be deduced from several texts of the bilingual archive of Narmuthis, in which the Demotic name *Hk3-pn-iy*, “This Heka has come”¹⁹⁹⁰, and its Greek equivalent Ἀκέποννις¹⁹⁹¹ are found¹⁹⁹². The Egyptian prototype of the *eta* – if the reading of the name and these hypotheses on its etymology are correct – is however unknown.



P. Cornell 22, col. 2, 52: Θεαήποννις (?) ἀδελφός

¹⁹⁸⁶ In BGU VI 1258, A 7: Σεέφχημις Σεφίβιος.

¹⁹⁸⁷ In SB XVI 12349, 2: Τεεφθαφώνυχος; SB XVI 12351, 3: Τεεφθαφώνυχος; and SB XVI 12352, 3: Τεεφθαφώνυχος.

¹⁹⁸⁸ In P. Petrie III 117 h, col. 2, 5: Τεενέφθιμις.

¹⁹⁸⁹ In SB XXIV 16295, Ro. 2: Θεαμβήσιος



¹⁹⁹⁰ Cf. OMM 1059, 4-6; OMM 272, 16-17.

¹⁹⁹¹ Cf. OMM 1514, 6; OGN I 105, 2-8; OMM 272, 16-17.

¹⁹⁹² Cf. MENCHETTI, A., PINTAUDI, R., “Ostraka greci e bilingui da Narmuthis (II)”, p. 211.

2.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

The Greek renderings of *Dd-hr-* in initial position occur in all the geographical areas, although they are more numerous in the Fayum, where the variant *Θεα-* is the best attested. In Lower and Upper Egypt, the variant *Τεε-* appears to be the most frequent.

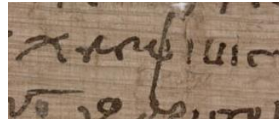
	00	L01	L16	U04	U15	U19	U20
Θαια-	1						
Θε-	1						
Θε(α)-	1						
Θεα-	135						
Τε-							1
Τεε-	28	4	4	22		2	2
Σε-					1		
Σεε-				1	1		
Χεε-						8	
Total attestations	166	4	4	23	2	10	3

2.3. Linguistic characteristics

Egyptian *ḏ* seems to be mainly represented as *θ* in the Fayum, where 83.13 % (138) of the attestations have this rendering. The variant with *T-* represents, on the other hand, 16.86 % (28) of the transcriptions from the Fayum, 100 % (8) from Lower Egypt and 71.05 % (27) from Upper Egypt. In 8 anthroponyms from the Oxyrhynchites¹⁹⁹³, *ḏ* has been transcribed as *χ*, and in 3 from Thebes and the Hermopolites as *σ*¹⁹⁹⁴.

¹⁹⁹³ In P. Oxy. XVII 2134 Ro., 17: Χεέφιβιν; SB XIV 12170, 14: Χε[εφεϊ]βιος; SB XIV 12170, 15: Χεεφεϊβιος; PSI IV 282, 14: Χεέφιβιν; PSI IV 282, 25: Χεέ[φε]βιος; PSI IV 282, 26: Χε[εφε]βιος; PSI IV 282, 35: Χεέφιβιος; and P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 13: Χεέφιβιος. All these attestations are renderings of *Dd-hr-p3-hb*.

¹⁹⁹⁴ In O. Bodl. I 289, 1: Σεεφιβιος (< *Dd-hr-p3-hb*) and BGU VI 1258, A 7: Σεέφχημις (< **Dd-hr-p3-hm*) Σεφιβιος.



P. Oxy. XLVII 3333, 13: Χεέφιβις

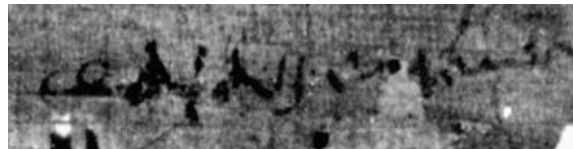


PSI IV 282, 14: Χεέφιβιν



PSI IV 282, 35: Χεέφιβις

The vocalisation of the verb *ḡd* in *status nominalis* appears as ε in all the attestations (cf. Coptic *ⲭε-* in most dialects¹⁹⁹⁵) except in one¹⁹⁹⁶, in which *αι* is found instead¹⁹⁹⁷.



P. Cairo Mich. Ro., col. 6, 223: Θαιαβένεως

In all the attestations from Lower and Upper Egypt, and 29 from the Fayum (17.46 %), Egyptian *ḥr* appears as ε. In 3 attestations¹⁹⁹⁸ non-geminated ε is however found: this can be interpreted as a simplification of the geminated ε resulting from the vocalisation of *ḡd* and the representation of *ḥr* or, less probably, as the lack of rendering of one of them.

¹⁹⁹⁵ Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 754; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 323.

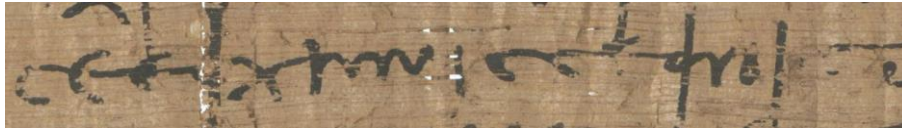
¹⁹⁹⁶ Presumably in P. Cairo Mich. Ro., col. 6, 223: Θαιαβένεως (< **ḡd-ḥr-bnw*).

¹⁹⁹⁷ On the interchange of ε and αι in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 192-195.

¹⁹⁹⁸ In BGU IX 1897, col. 2, 32: Θεβενίδ(αι) (< **ḡd-ḥr-bnw*); BGU XVI 2673, Ro. col. 1, 5: Τεφίβιος; BGU VI 1258, A 7: Σεέφχημις Σεφίβιος (< *ḡd-ḥr-pz-hb*). In this latter attestation, both the renderings Σεε- and Σε-, with double and simple ε, occur.



BGU XVI 2673, Ro. col. 1, 5: Τεφίβιος



BGU VI 1258, A 7: Σεέφχημις Σεφίβιος

The transcription of *hr* as ε – always without representation of *h* in Greek – does not seem to be attested in Coptic¹⁹⁹⁹, which leads to think that it might be due to the assimilation with the ε of the vocalisation of *dd*²⁰⁰⁰. In 136 (81.92 %) attestations from the Fayum²⁰⁰¹, however, *hr* is represented as α in transcription, which corresponds to Fayumic ʒα in Coptic²⁰⁰². Whereas the renderings with ε from the Fayum date from both the Ptolemaic and the Roman period, the anthroponyms with the Fayumic variant α are not attested before the first century AD, as it can be seen in the graph below²⁰⁰³.

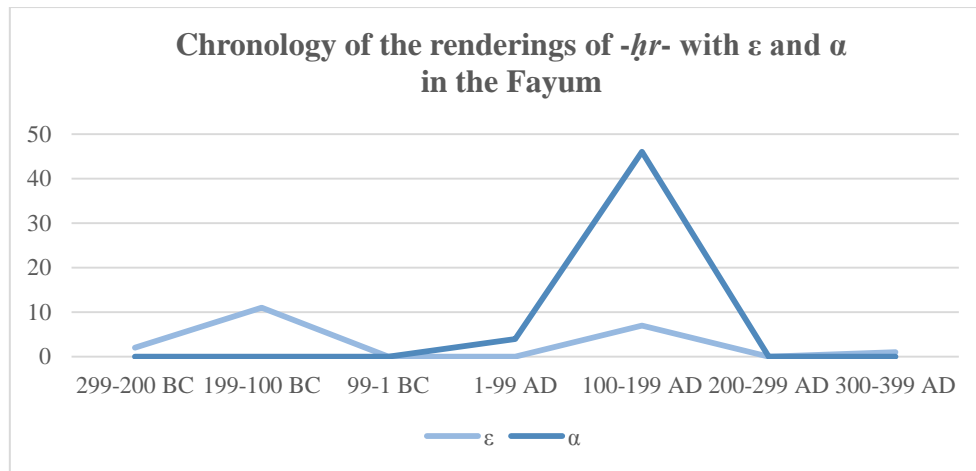
¹⁹⁹⁹ Only for the *status pronominalis* ʒpe= (Akhmimic, Sub-Akhmimic, Bohairic, Fayumic) and ʒλε= (Fayumic), with ε, is found. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 646; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 286.

²⁰⁰⁰ Cf. FECHT, G., *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 84, who reconstructs the Coptic form *ʒεze for Τεε- and *ʒεzo for Τέως.

²⁰⁰¹ In the name Θεαμβήσιος (SB XXIV 16295, Ro. 2), however, the *alpha* seems to be the result with a phonetic contraction with the following element. Cf. the name Ἀμβήσις (TM Nam 39485).

²⁰⁰² Fayumic according to VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 286; and Sahidic with Fayumic tendency according to CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 646.

²⁰⁰³ 2 attestations with ε date from the third century BC; 11 from the second century BC; 7 from the second century AD; and 1 from the fourth century AD. On the other hand, 4 attestations with α date from the first century AD and 46 from the second century AD. In addition, at least 85 anthroponyms with α attested in P. Cairo Mich. 1, and P. Mich. IV 224 and 225, have the years 173 and 175 AD as *termini post quem*.



The α variants from the Fayum, along with the attestations with lambdacism and the chronology for the renderings of *ht.w*, *Šꜣy* and *sn* with α ²⁰⁰⁴, confirm that Fayumic starts to develop during the first century AD.

3. *DD-HR* IN FINAL POSITION

3.1. Attestations

Egyptian *-dd-hr-* seems to be attested at the end of three anthroponyms in Greek transcription with less than 5 attestations each.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
Pa-dd-hr-(iw=f/s- <i>nh</i>)	The one of the face has said: ('He/She will live')	Πατέως ²⁰⁰⁵	4	10955
*Tꜣ-šr.t-n-dd-hr-(iw=f/s- <i>nh</i>)	The daughter of the face has said: ('He/She will live')	Θεντέως ²⁰⁰⁶ , Θενχέως ²⁰⁰⁷	1 1	21894 + 21897

²⁰⁰⁴ Cf. the linguistic characteristics of the element *ht.w* and the Appendix II on the lambdacistic variants.

²⁰⁰⁵ In SB XIV 11533, col. 1, 14 and col. 2, 14: Πατέως and Πατέως, respectively; and presumably two attestations in Crete in I. Creticae IV Gortyn 195, c 4 and c 10: Πατέωτ[ος] and Πατέωτος, respectively.

²⁰⁰⁶ In P. Tebt. II 353, 5: Θεντέωτος.

²⁰⁰⁷ In P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 8, 27: Θενχέωτο(ς).

*Ta- <u>dd</u> - <u>hr</u> -(iw=f/s- 'nh)	The one of the face says: ('He/She will live')	Ταχέως ²⁰⁰⁸	2	25681
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3.2. Transcriptional variants, geographical spread and linguistic characteristics

Egyptian *-dd-hr-* in final position is only attested in 5 renderings from the Fayum. 2 of them appear as *-τεω*²⁰⁰⁹ and 3 as *-χεω*²⁰¹⁰. These transcriptions attested at the end of the anthroponyms have the same form than the attestations in absolute position: Egyptian *d* has been rendered as *τ* or *χ*; the vocalisation of *dd* appears as *ε* in *status nominalis* and *hr* has been transcribed as *ω* in final position.

4. CONCLUSION

In all the positions of *Dd-hr-*, Egyptian *d* can be rendered by *θ*, *κ*, *σ*, *τ* and *χ*. Although the variant with *θ* for *d* in *Dd-hr-* in initial position could seem characteristic of Fayumic, the high rate of attestations with *τ* for *d* in *Dd-hr-* in absolute position and the attestation of the *θ* variant in documents previous to the first century AD²⁰¹¹ lead to think that the various representations *d* of are probably not dialectal, but the different attempts to render a phoneme that did not exist in Greek, as pointed out by J. Vergote²⁰¹². In all the attestations, the vocalisation of *Dd-* in *status nominalis* appears as *ε* in agreement with the Coptic form *ⲭⲉ-*. In *Dd-hr* in absolute and final positions, Egyptian *hr* has been rendered as *ω*, but it appears as *ε* and *α* when *Dd-hr-* is situated in initial position and *hr* is not at the end but in the middle of the anthroponyms. This seems to indicate that, in absolute and final position, the accent was situated on the last syllable of the name, *-ως*. When *hr* appears in middle position it seems to be unaccented and consequently rendered as an etymologically short vowel in Greek. Even though unaccented, the rendering of *hr* in middle position reflects the Fayumic form *ⲭⲁ*, which appears

²⁰⁰⁸ In P. Mich. V 300, 2 and 15: Ταχέως  and Ταχέωτος, respectively.

²⁰⁰⁹ Cf. P. Tebt. II 353, 5: Θεντέωτος; SB XIV 11533, col. 2, 14: Πατέως; and probably in SB XIV 11533, col. 1, 14 Πατ]έως (not considered here since it is partially reconstructed).

²⁰¹⁰ In P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 8, 27: Θενχέωτο(ς); P. Mich. V 300, 2: Ταχέωτος; P. Mich. V 300, 15: Ταχέωτος.

²⁰¹¹ Cf. P. Tebt. III 794, 1 (third century BC): Θέωτος; and in BGU IV 1196, col. 2, 27 (ca. 11-10 BC): Θέως.

²⁰¹² Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 14.

as α in Greek transcription. The anthroponyms with this dialectal feature are first attested in the first century AD, which confirms that Fayumic started to develop at the beginning of the Roman period.

PART IV

EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS ATTESTED IN FOUR POSITIONS

Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὐρίσκω ἐόν· δοκέω δ' ὧν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῆχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσκούρων, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἥρης καὶ Ἰστίης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι.


HERODOTUS II, 50

CHAPTER 1

I'mn


1. *ĪMN* IN ABSOLUTE POSITION

1.1. Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription

The name *Īmn* ²⁰¹³, “Amun”, in absolute position appears in Greek rendering in more than 120 anthroponyms. The transcriptions Ἀμουνις and Ἀμουν, without Greek morphological ending²⁰¹⁴, are the best attested. The etymology of the anthroponyms Ἀμενᾶς²⁰¹⁵ and Ἀμοντᾶς²⁰¹⁶, on the other hand, is not clear: it is not possible to confirm whether these proper names might render the name *Īmn* and contain a Greek morphological ending -ᾶς/-τᾶς, or if their etymology is Greek. The various names starting by Ἀμμων- (cf. Ἀμμων, Ἀμμωνάριον, Ἀμμωνᾶς, Ἀμμωνεύς, Ἀμμωνία, Ἀμμωνιανός, Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀμμώνις, Ἀμμωνόδοτος,...), attested in different places of the Greek world and especially in Cyrenaica²⁰¹⁷, are related to the Libyan god Ammon and have not consequently been included here.

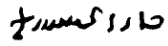
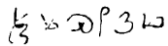
²⁰¹³ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 63, *Īmn-p3-ym*, n. 5.

²⁰¹⁴ Cf. HERODOTUS II, 42: Ἀμούν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. Cf. also SETHE, K., *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis: eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs*, p. 65.

²⁰¹⁵ The reading of Ἀμενᾶς is clear in P. Heid. Gr. VI 374, col. 1, 33: . The name Ἀμενίας is attested in Cyprus in the fifth century BC (cf. *LGPN* I, p. 31), but Ἀμενᾶς is not listed in the *LGPN* and does not seem to be Greek. In P. Heid. Gr. VI, p. 90, the editor considers this name as transcription of *Īmn-iw* and equivalent to the variants Ἀμεννεύς, Ἀμενεύς or Ἀμένης (...). However, the equivalence of *Īmn-iw* and Ἀμενᾶς is doubtful, because no Egyptian *wau* is reflected in the name and -ᾶς as the morphological ending of the name seems to have been added to the root Ἀμεν-.

²⁰¹⁶ The name Ἀμοντᾶς seems to be clearly attested in O. Wilcken II 1390, 1: διαγε(γράφηκεν) Ἀμοντᾶς Μεσοῦη(ριος) and O. Wilcken II 1562, 1: διέγ(ραψεν) Ἀμοντᾶς Μεσοῦη(ριος). The reading of the name in O. Camb. 87, 5 is not completely certain: Ἀμοντ(). It is not sure if the etymology of this name is Greek or Egyptian: this anthroponym could have an Egyptian etymology with -τᾶς as ending, but the attestation of names Ἀμόντας (*LGPN* III.B, p. 28, in Boiotia), Ἀμούντας (*LGPN* III.B, p. 28, in Boiotia), Ἀμύντας (*LGPN* I, p. 33; II, p. 26; III.A, p. 34; III.B, p. 29-30; IV, p. 22; V.A, p. 27-28; and V.B, p. 23) and Ἀμύντης (*LGPN* II, p. 26; IV, p. 22; V.A, p. 28; V.B, p. 23) in different places of the Greek world leads to think that Ἀμοντᾶς may be the same name as Ἀμόντας/Ἀμούντας/Ἀμύντας and is not related to the god *Īmn*. On the confusion of o and ou or v in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 211-215.

²⁰¹⁷ Cf. *LGPN* for Ἀμμων (I, p. 32; IV, p. 21; V.B, p. 23), Ἀμμωνάριον (I, p. 32), Ἀμμωνᾶς (I, p. 32), Ἀμμωνεύς (V.A, p. 27), Ἀμμωνία (I, p. 32; II, p. 25), Ἀμμωνιανός (III.A, p. 33), Ἀμμώνιος (I, p. 32; II, p. 25-26; III.A, p. 33; III.B, p. 28; IV, p. 21; V.A, p. 27; V.B, p. 23), Ἀμμώνις (I, p. 32; IV, p. 21), Ἀμμωνόδοτος (III.A, p. 33),... The rendering of these names from Greek into Demotic in uniliteral signs and the foreign determinative in some of them indicates that these names were

not conceived as Egyptian. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 18-19: *3mwnys*, n. 15: ; 18: . On the names with Ἀμμων, cf. http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/list_names.php?god=Ammon.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
Īmn	Amun	Ἀμενᾶς (?)	1	21103
		Ἀμοντᾶς (?)	3	21122
		Ἄμουνις	127	1990

1.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

The transcriptional variant Ἄμουν-/ΔΜΟΥΝ for *Īmn* in absolute position is the most frequent in all the geographical areas: it represents 98 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 100 % of the transcriptions of *Īmn* from Lower Egypt and 91.30 % of the renderings from Upper Egypt²⁰¹⁸. The variant Ἀμεν- is attested once in the name Ἀμενᾶς²⁰¹⁹, and Ἀμον- twice in the anthroponym Ἀμοντᾶς²⁰²⁰.

	00	L01	L03	L04	L16	L19	U04	U09	U15	U17	U19	U20
Ἀμεν- (?)	1											
Ἀμον- (?)							2					
Ἄμουν-	60	8	1	3	3	1	2	1	7	2	6	
ΔΜΟΥΝ-		1					1		1			1
Total attestations	61	9	1	3	3	1	5	1	8	2	6	1

1.3. Linguistic characteristics

In all the renderings attested, the Egyptian *yod* at the beginning of the name *Īmn* has been represented as Ἀ- in Greek writing, and *m* and *n* have respectively been rendered as μ and ν. In 96 % of the

²⁰¹⁸ The following names have not been included in this study because they are totally or partially reconstructed: [Ἄμουνις (P. Tebt. I 61 a, col. 4, 95 and 96), [Ἄμουνις (P. Tebt. I 63 Ro., col. 7, 177 and 178), [Ἄμουνις (P. Tebt. IV 1115, col. 7, 135), Ἀμ[ουν] (P. Lond. II 156, Ro. col. 1, 14), Ἀμο[υν] (P. Bodl. I 23, col. 2, 32), [Ἀμούνεις (SB XIV 11715, col. 1, 41), Ἀμ[ούνει]ς (SB XIV 11715, col. 9, 36), Ἀμ[ου]ν (BGU II 392, col. 1, 18) and Ἄμ]ουνις (P. Count. 6, 470).

²⁰¹⁹ In P. Heid. Gr. VI 374, col. 1, 33.

²⁰²⁰ In O. Wilcken II 1390, 1 and O. Wilcken II 1562, 1.

attestations, the vocalisation of the name appears as *ou* between *μ* and *ν*²⁰²¹; only in the attestations of the name Ἀμοντᾶς it is rendered as *o* and as *ε* in the name Ἀμενᾶς. The representation of the vocalisation of the word as *ε* and *o* in these names, in which an accentuated Greek morphological ending has been added, reveals that, whereas in the anthroponyms with *-ou-* the accent was placed in that vowel (cf. Ἀμουν, Ἀμουνις)²⁰²², in the names Ἀμοντᾶς and Ἀμενᾶς the accent became perispomenon because of the Greek morphological ending and, as a consequence, the unaccented vowel between *m* and *n*, represented as a short vowel in Greek writing (*o* or *ε*), was probably pronounced as /ə/²⁰²³.

2. ĪMN IN INITIAL POSITION

2.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription



Īmn is attested in initial position in more than 10 anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription:

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
Īmn-...	Amun... (incomplete names)	Ἀμεν...	5	29
Īmn-i.īr-di-s	Amun is the one who has given him/her	Ἀμορταῖος	28	42
Īmn-iw	Amun has come	Ἀμεννεύς	259	34
Īmn-ʿ3	Amun the great	Ἀμένως ²⁰²⁴	1	21105

²⁰²¹ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 22: “Le fait que ω, dans tous les dialectes, deviant ΟΥ = /u:/ après *m* et *n* plaide en faveur de son caractère fermé, donc /ó:/, ex. ΜΟΥΝ, rester, durer; ΝΟΥΤΕ, dieu”.

²⁰²² Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 22.

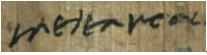

²⁰²³ Cf. LACAU, P., *Études d'égyptologie I. Phonétique égyptienne ancienne*, p. 131-136, QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 211, 235-236.

²⁰²⁴ In P. Baden II 7, 7: τοῦ Ἀμένως  and completely reconstructed in P. Baden II 8, 10. The prototype of this anthroponym is probably Īmn-ʿ3, which is not attested in Demotic but in hieroglyph. Cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 26.26: Īmn-ʿ3 . The rest of the names included in TM Nam 21105 do not render Īmn-ʿ3, but they are incomplete names Ἀμενω() attested in documents from Thebes, which leads to think that they are in fact renderings of Īmn-m-Īpy (> Ἀμένωφης). They have been added to this name in the table.


Imn-p3-ym	Amun of the lake	Ἀμφίωμις ²⁰²⁵	60	44
Imn-m-İpy	Amun is in Opet	Ἀμενω() ²⁰²⁶ (abbreviated names)	5	21105
		Ἀμένωφισ	14	8042
Imn-m-h3.t	Amun is in front	Ἀμενέμησος ²⁰²⁷	3	33
Imn-m-št3	Amun is in the woods	Ἀμέσθως ²⁰²⁸ , Ἀμόσθως	2	39
Imn-nfr ²⁰²⁹	Amun the good	Ἀμμονάφρις ²⁰³⁰ , Ἀμμονάφρις ²⁰³¹ (?)	2 1	26574 + 16743
		Ἀμένρωσις	69	38
*Imn-Ḥr	Amun-Horos	Ἀμόνυρις ²⁰³³	1	21123
Imn-htp	Amun is satisfied	Ἀμενώθης	254	36

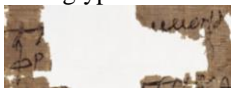
²⁰²⁵ The name Ἀμφίονος, which appears in TM Nam 44 as transcription of *Imn-p3-ym*, represents in fact the Greek name Ἀμφίων, as it can be deduced from P. Sarap. 100, Ro. 1 and Vo. 1: Ἀμφίων Ἡλιοδῶρῳ, Ἡλιοδῶρῳ ἀπὸ Ἀμφίονος, respectively.

²⁰²⁶ Cf. *supra*, the note for the name *Imn-ʿ3*.

²⁰²⁷ In P. Cairo Zen. I 59133, Ro. 5, Ro. 6 , and Vo. 21 : Ἀμενέμησος. In LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 64, the name Ἀμενέμης is considered as the Greek rendering of *Imn-m-h3.t*.


²⁰²⁸ Presumably in P. Petrie III 87, (a) Vo. col. 2, 22: [Ἀ]μέσθωτι; and in the bilingual document P. Lille Dem. II 42 + P. Lille Dem. II 79, Gr. 5. Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Sureties in Fayum Villages”, p. 281: “The most easy to identify is [Ἀ]μέσθως for Ἀθη[νᾶς κώ(μης) in col. ii 22, whom we find as Ἀμόσθως Πετήσιος ζυ(τοπιὸς) Ἀθηνᾶς κώ(μης) on the back of P. Lille dem. II 42 + 79. In demotic his name reads *Imn-m-št3* ‘Amon in the woods’”. On the meaning of *št3*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Š, p. 232-233: “woodland, scrubland”. Cf. also VERNUS, P., “Le mot *št3w*, « branchages, bosquets, bois »”, p. 179-193. This word also seems to occur in the name Πεστενεμένωφισ, “The woodland of the (god) Amenophis”. Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Documents grecs et géographie historique – Le Mendésien”, p. 270. This word appears in Coptic as ⲱⲧⲁ (Fayumic). Cf. VYCICHL, W. E., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 271: “fourrée, plantation d’arbres”; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 595: “thicket, wood”.

²⁰²⁹ This name is not attested in Demotic, but in hieroglyph. Cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 29.18: *Imn-nfr* .

²⁰³⁰ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 232, Ro. 1-2: Ἀμμονάφρι  and presumably in Vo. 13: [Ἀμμό]ναφρις.

²⁰³¹ In P. Lond. II 335, 6: Ἀμμονάφρις. Egyptian *nfr* appears as -ναφ- into Greek in some attestations of *Rnp.t-nfr.t* (cf. TM Nam 1016): Πέμναφρις in O. Wilcken II 783, and Πεμπνάφιο(ς) in O. Cairo 109, 2, and in Οὐέναφ<ρ>ις (< *Wn-nfr*), in O. Mich. I 336, col. 2, 17. If the first part of the names renders *Imn*, the form Ἀμμων- could be due to influence of Ἀμμων-names.

²⁰³² The verb *rwš*, “to have care for”, appears in Coptic as ϣⲟⲟϣⲱ (Sahidic), ϣⲟⲟϣⲱ (Bohairic). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 179: “provenant de *wrš* « veiller »”; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 306-308.

²⁰³³ In P. Flor. III 368 Ro. 6: Ἀμονύρεως. The name **Imn-Ḥr* does not seem to be attested in Egyptian, but in hieroglyph there are some attestations of the group *Imn-Ḥr* contained in other anthroponyms. Cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 30.8: *Imn-Ḥr-ī.ir-di-s* , “Amun-Horos is the one who has given him/her”.

B. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown

The name Ἀμενομάφεως, attested in O. Strasb. I 525, 10 and edited with dots under *epsilon* and *omicron*, probably contains the transcription of *Īmn* at the beginning, but the etymology of the rest of the anthroponym is unknown. There is not currently an image of the text available to confirm the reading.

2.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

The transcribed element *Īmn* is attested in initial position in all the geographical areas of Egypt (Fayum, Lower and Upper Egypt)²⁰³⁴. It appears in five different transcriptional variants in Lower Egypt, 18 in the Fayum and 9 in Upper Egypt. The best attested transcriptional variant in the Fayum and in Lower Egypt is Ἀμενν-, which represents 58.99 % of the attestations of *Īmn* in the Fayum and 42.10 % in Lower Egypt. In Upper Egypt, the most frequent transcription is Ἀμεν-, which is found in 78.70 % of the attestations.

	00	L00	L01	L04	L16	L21
Ἀμ-	34			1	4	
Ἀμε-	1		1			
Ἀμεν-	2					
Ἀμεν-	23	3		1		
Ἀμενε-	3					
Ἀμενν-	142	3	1	3		1
Ἀμενο-	1					
Ἀμμεν-	6					
Ἀμμενν-	1					
Ἀμμο(ν)-	1					
Ἀμμο(νν)-	2					

²⁰³⁴ The following names presumably having the rendering of *Īmn* in initial position, included in the Trismegistos database, have been excluded here, because they are partially or totally reconstructed: Ἀμφι[ώμιος (O. Heid. 187, 1), [Ἀμέ]νωφίς (BGU VII 1625), Πετρε[ούχου Ἀμενέως -ca.-?] (P. Tebt. III 870, fr. 1 14), [τοῦ Ἀμένωτος (P. Baden II 8, 10), Ἀ[μενέως (SB XX 14429, 6), Ἀμε]νέα (SB XX 14431, 1-2), Ἀμ[εν]νέως (P. Cairo Zen. II 59294, Vo. 27), [Ἀμεννέως] (P. L. Bat. XX 10, Ro. 4), [Ἀμεννέως] (P. Tebt. I 64, col. 2, 17), Ἀ[μεν]νέως (P. Tebt. IV 1117 col. 6, 104), Ἀ[μεννέως -ca.-?] (P. Tebt. IV 1119, col. 5, 96), Ἀμεν]νέως (P. Tebt. IV 1144, col. 1, 6), [Ἀμεννεύς (P. Tebt. IV 1144, col. 1, 14), Ἀμεννέως μετὰ] (P. Oxy. XXXIV 2720, 2), [-ca.-? Ἀμ]νοῦθου (P. Neph. 33, Vo. 23), Ἀμ(?)μενέως (SB XII 10861, fr. B 32), Ἀμμ[ενεῶτι] (P. Abinn. 10, 34), [Ἀμο]ννεύς (SB XVIII 13862, col. 1, 13). The name Ἀννεμ{μ}εύς (BGU XVI 2674, 184) has not been included here neither, since its belonging to the Egyptian prototype *Īmn-īw* as it considered in the Trismegistos database is doubtful.

Ἀμμων-	2					
Ἀμν-	1					
Ἀμο-	1					
Ἀμον-	1					
Ἀμωνν-	14				1	
Ἀμυν-	2					
Ἀμυνν-	2					
Total attestations	239	6	2	5	5	1

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U08	U10	U15	U19	U20
Ἀμ-	1			33			1			
Ἀμεν-	2	1	1	292	2	1		1	1	2
Ἀμενν-				2					16	17
Ἀμιν-										1
Ἀμμεν-									1	
Ἀμμενν-										2
Ἀμον-	1			3				1		
Ἐμεν-				2						
Ἐμον-	1									
Total attestations	5	1	1	332	2	1	1	2	18	22

2.3.Linguistic characteristics

In 100 % of the variants from the Fayum and Lower Egypt and 99.22 % from Upper Egypt, the initial yod of *Ḥmn* is represented as Ἀ- in initial position. Only in three anthroponyms from Upper Egypt it is found as Ἐ-²⁰³⁵. The *m* of *Ḥmn* appears as simple μ in 94.56 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 100 % from Lower Egypt and 99.22 % from Upper Egypt. In 15 attestations, 12 from the

²⁰³⁵ They are the names Ἐμενώθης (< *Ḥmn-ḥtp*), in O. Bodl. II 1761, 5, from Thebes; Ἐμένραυς (< *Ḥmn-rwš*), in SB I 1725, 6, from Thebes; and Ἐμόνρους (< *Ḥmn-rwš*), in O. Eleph. DAIK 20, 1, from Elephantine. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 279: “There is a frequent change of α to ε in Egyptian personal and place names”; p. 285: “An interchange of α and ε is found elsewhere in Greek, especially before liquids. But nowhere outside Egypt is it found so frequently and unconditionally, and bilingual interference has long been postulated to explain it”.


Fayum and 3 from Upper Egypt, it is represented as geminated μ ²⁰³⁶: except two names²⁰³⁷, all the anthroponyms with geminated μ are renderings of *Īmn-iw*. Egyptian *n* is, on the other hand, rendered into Greek as simple ν in 17.15 % of the transcriptions from the Fayum, 21.05 % from Lower Egypt and 81.29 % from Upper Egypt, and as geminated ν in 67.36 % of the renderings from the Fayum, 47.36 % from Lower Egypt and 9.61 % from Upper Egypt²⁰³⁸. All the attestations with geminated ν belong to the name Ἀμεννεύς/Ἀμοννεύς (< *Īmn-iw*)²⁰³⁹.

In 36 attestations from the Fayum, 6 from Lower Egypt and 35 from Upper Egypt, a reduced form of *Īmn* is found and *n* seems not to be represented: all these names are renderings of *Īmn-p3-ym* (cf. Ἀμφίωμις) and *Īmn-ī.īr-dī-s* (cf. Ἀμορταῖος). This reduced form of *Īmn* in initial position may be caused by the Egyptian stress accent, which was probably situated on the penultimate syllable of the names (Ἀμφίωμις, Ἀμορταῖος). On the other hand, in Ἀμέρων²⁰⁴⁰, a transcription of *Īmn-rwš*, the *n* has been omitted before *r*. It is not clear if in the variants Ἀμόσθως²⁰⁴¹ and Ἀ]μεσθῶτι²⁰⁴² (> *Īmn-(m)-šd*), *n* has been dropped before *š*²⁰⁴³ or a reduced form of *Īmn* is represented and Greek μ renders the

²⁰³⁶ The hesitation between simple and geminated μ in the same name is also found in MANETHO: cf. Ἀμένωφις (fr. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 113) and Ἀμμένωφις (fr. 53). Cf. also Ἀμμένεμης (fr. 56) as transcription of *Īmn-m-h3.t*. On the lack of germination in Egyptian names in cuneiform transcription, cf. OSING, J., *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, p. 342-345. Cf. also VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 10: “La gémination est toujours absente dans les transcriptions cuneiformes, en hébreu et dans les formes coptes (sauf dans les emprunts grecs), elle existe chez des auteurs grecs”. On the germination and simplification of nasals in the κοινή, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 157-158.

²⁰³⁷ Ἀμμενώφεις (< *Īmn-m-ip.t*) in Stud. Pal. XXII 67 Vo. + Stud. Pal. XXII 167 Vo., col. 4, 292; and Ἀ]μμόνωφρι in P. Ryl. Gr. II 232, Ro. 1.

²⁰³⁸ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 157-158.

²⁰³⁹ In P. Köln Gr. VI 258, Ro. 1 and Vo. 1, the names Ἀμέννει and Ἀμμένει have been read by the editor. The reading of Ro. 1 is difficult due to the faded ink: ; in Vo. 1, the reading of the editor should be corrected to

Ἀμέννει: .

²⁰⁴⁰ In P. Cairo Zen. III 59451, 14.

²⁰⁴¹ In the bilingual document P. Lille Dem. II 42 + P. Lille Dem. II 79, Gr. 5.

²⁰⁴² In P. Petrie III 87, a Vo. col. 2, 22.

²⁰⁴³ On the omission of nasals, especially before other consonants, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 116-119.

contraction of the *m* of *Īmn* and the preposition *m*. On the other hand, in the name Ἀμε<νε>ύς²⁰⁴⁴, *n* seems not to have been rendered because of a mistake of the scribe.



P. Cairo Zen. III 59451, 14: Ἀμέρων

In the three Greek attestations of the transcription Ἀμενέμησος (< *Īmn-m-ḥz.t*)²⁰⁴⁵ and the transcriptional variant Ἀμενόνωπις of the name *Īmn-m-Īpy*²⁰⁴⁶, a short vowel, represented as ε and ο, has been noted after the *n* of *Īmn* and before the beginning of the next linguistic element. In these attestations, ε/ο represents the /ə/ pronounced²⁰⁴⁷ as a link of a linguistic element ending by a consonant and the following one, also starting by a consonant.

The vocalisation of *Īmn* in initial position has been represented as ε in 176 (73.64 %) attestations from the Fayum, 12 (63.15 %) from Lower Egypt and 343 (89.09 %) from Upper Egypt, and as ο in 18 (7.53 %) of the anthroponyms from the Fayum, 1 (5.26 %) from Lower Egypt and 5 (1.29 %) from Upper Egypt²⁰⁴⁸. In two attestations, it appears as -ει-²⁰⁴⁹, in one name as -ι-²⁰⁵⁰, and as -υ- in four

²⁰⁴⁴ In P. Tebt. III 894, fr. 6, 19.

²⁰⁴⁵ In P. Cairo Zen. I 59133, Ro. 5 and 6 and Vo. 21.

²⁰⁴⁶ In SB XIV 11273, 5.

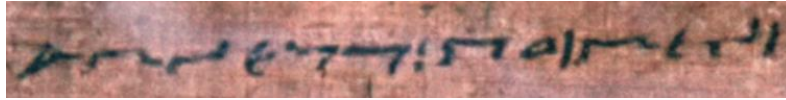
²⁰⁴⁷ LACAU, P., *Études d'égyptologie I. Phonétique égyptienne ancienne*, p. 131-136, QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 211, 235-236.

²⁰⁴⁸ Cf. also the transcription Ἀμονρασώνθηρ for the Egyptian name *Īmn-R'-nsw-ntr.w*, "Amun-Ra, King of gods". Cf. ERMAN, A., GRAPOW, H., *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* V, p. 84-85.

²⁰⁴⁹ In the two attestations of the name Ἀμειναιώθει (< *Īmn-ḥtp*) (P. Abinn. 36, Ro. 3 and Vo. 24, from the Arsinoites).

²⁰⁵⁰ In Ἀμινούθην (P. Neph. 33, Ro. 7, from the Herakleopolites), transcription of *Īmn-ḥtp*. On the confusion of ε and ι (ει), cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 249-262.

renderings²⁰⁵¹. In addition, it appears as -ω- in two attestations from the Fayum²⁰⁵² and it has not been represented in the name Ἀμνεῦτι²⁰⁵³, a transcriptional variant of *Īmn-īw* in dative. This interchange of different Greek vowels, generally etymologically short, reveals the weakness of the sound pronounced between *m* and *n* in *Īmn* when placed in initial position of a proper name, and represents the /ə/ pronounced in an unstressed syllable²⁰⁵⁴.



P. Cairo Zen. II 59292, Ro. col. A15, 160: Ἀμνεῦτι ποιμένι.

3. *ĪMN* IN MIDDLE POSITION


3.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription

In middle position, *Īmn* is attested in more than 20 anthroponyms in Greek transcription, of which *P3-di-Īmn-m-Īp.t*, with more than 400 attestations in Greek rendering, is the best attested:

²⁰⁵¹ In the anthroponym Ἀμυνταίου (SB I 4425, col. 3, 1 and 13, from Karanis) and Ἀμυννέως (P. Corn. 21, col. 13, 347 and 366, from Philadelphieia). On the interchange of ε and υ in the κοινή, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 273-275.

²⁰⁵² In the name Ἀμμωνεύς (P. Petaus 108, col. 4, 97, from Kerkesoucha Orous) and Ἀμμώναφίς (P. Lond. II 335, 6, from Soknopaiou Nesos), in which simple ν represents the contraction of the *n* of *Īmn* and *nfr*. The reading of Ἀμμωνεύς

 in P. Petaus 108 is not completely clear: the space between the *alpha* and the *ny* seems too small to contain the letters -μμω-. According to the other names of the text, it appears juto belong to an Egyptian milieu. If the reading is correct, it might represent a theophoric name of Ammon with the Greek morphological ending -εύς or the Greek rendering of *Īmn-īw*, with *Īmn* represented as Ἀμμων- owing to a possible influence of Ἀμμων- anthroponyms. On the interchange of ο and ω in the κοινή, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 275-277.

²⁰⁵³ In P. Cairo Zen. II 59292, Ro. col. A15, 160: Ἀμνεῦτι ποιμένι.

²⁰⁵⁴ VERGOTE, J., *Les noms propres du P.Bruxelles inv. E. 7616. Essai d'interprétation*, p. 6. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 273, on the interchange of ε and υ: "These interchanges of the symbols for /y/ and /ε/ occur mainly in unaccented syllables, suggesting that they reflect the reduction of unstressed vowels to /ə/". Cf. also LACAU, P., *Études d'égyptologie I. Phonétique égyptienne ancienne*, p. 131-136, QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 211, 235-236.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*P ₃ -ḥm-p ₃ -di- Ḥmn-m-Ḳp.t	The eagle (of) he who has been given by Amun is in Opet	Παχομπετεμ(ενώφιος) ²⁰⁵⁵	1	38325
P ₃ -šr-n-Ḥmn-m-Ḳp.t	The son of Amun is in Opet	Ψεναμένωφης	26	962
*P ₃ -šr-n-ta-Ḥmn-rwš	The son of the one of Amun takes care	Ψενταμένρωσις	2	17860
*P ₃ -di-Ḥmn-Ḳkš	He who has been given by Amun the Kushite	Πετεμενέκυσις	17	11530
P ₃ -di-Ḥmn-m-Ḳp.t	He who has been given by Amun is in Opet	Πετεμένω(φης) ²⁰⁵⁶ (abbreviated name)	1	38381
		Πετεμένωφης, Πετεμένωφης ²⁰⁵⁷	508 1	831 + 24698
*P ₃ -di-Ḥmn-nfr	He who has been given by the good Amun	Πετεμένωφρις, Πετεμένωφρις	7	5080
P ₃ -di-Ḥmn-nsw-t ₃ .wy	He who has been given by Amun, king of both lands	Πατεμοστοῦς,	10	864 +
		Πετεμοστοῦς,	2	24197 +
		Πετεμέσθης ²⁰⁵⁸ , Πετεμονστοῦς ²⁰⁵⁹	2	30829
*P ₃ -di-Ḥmn-rwš	He who has been given by Amun takes care	Πετεμενροῦς ²⁰⁶⁰	1	18542
*Pa-Ḥmn-iw	The one of Amun has come	Παμμονήουις,	1	22863 +
		Παμμόννηις ²⁰⁶¹	1	722

²⁰⁵⁵ Presumably in O. Wilcken II 1610, 3, from Syene (U01). The reconstruction of the final part of the name is not sure and consequently its belonging to this Egyptian prototype is uncertain.

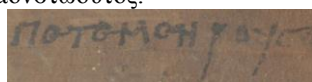
²⁰⁵⁶ Abbreviated name in O. Wilcken II 1033, 2, from Thebes: Πετεμενω(). The anthroponym is illegible in the image currently available because of the faded ink.

²⁰⁵⁷ In VAN LANDUYT, K., “The Soter Family: Genealogy and Onomastics”, p. 76: Πετεμενώφιος. A facsimile of the text is provided in the edition. The anthroponym Πενεμενώφριος that in SB XX 14374, 1, the Trismegistos database and at http://www.litpap.info/ddbdp/sb;20;14374?rows=3&start=632&fl=id%2Ctitle&fq=volume_led_path%3A20%3B*%3B*%3B*&sort=series+asc%2Cvolume+asc%2Citem+asc&p=633&t=1587 should consequently be corrected.

²⁰⁵⁸ Presumably in BGU X 1925, col. 1, 4: Πετ]εμεσθέους, from Thebes. Cf. also the variant in O. Bodl. I 88, 4-5: Πετεμεσθέως.

²⁰⁵⁹ In *CRIPEL* IV 788, 3-4 and 6-7: Πετεμονστοῦτος.

²⁰⁶⁰ In O. Wilcken II 402, 5: Πετεμενροῦς



²⁰⁶¹ The name Παμμοννή[ιος], in P. Mich. IV 224, col. 135, 5192, probably renders *Pa-Ḥmn-iw and not *Pa-Ḥmn. Παμμοννή(ους) (TM Nam 22863) appears, in fact, in the same text (P. Mich. IV 224, col. 21, 862) and both names allude to the same person: cf. Παμμοννήουις Ἀγχορύμφεω[ς] τοῦ Παμμοννή(ουιου) (P. Mich. IV 224, col. 21, 862) and Παμμοννή[ιος] Ἀγχορύμφεω[ς] τοῦ Παμμοννήου (P. Mich. IV 224, col. 135, 5192). The reconstructions of the editor do not seem to be correct.

Pa-Īmn-(m)-Īp.t	The one of Amun is in Opet	Παμέννωπις	1	711
*T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-iw	The daughter of Amun has come	Θεναμεννεύς	3	18693
T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-(m)-Īp.t	The daughter of Amun is in Opet	Σενεμένωπις	6	13631
*T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-p3-ym	The daughter of Amun of the lake	Σεναμφιώμιος, Σεναμφίωμις, Τσεναμφίωμις	3	26581
*T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-rwš	The daughter of Amun takes care	Σεναμένρωσις	1	25891
T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-ḥtp	The daughter of Amun is satisfied	Σεναμενώθης	5	1054
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Īmn-Īp.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Amun is in Opet	Σενπετεμένωφισ	18	12073
Ta-Īmn-iw	The one of Amun has come	Τααμεννεύς ²⁰⁶²	15 1	1252 26795
Ta-Īmn-(m)-Īp.t	The one of Amun is in Opet	Ταμέναπις ²⁰⁶³ , Ταμέννωπις, Ταμένωπις	3	1253
*Ta-Īmn-nfr	The one of the good Amun	Ταμένναφρις, Ταμόννωφρις	2	6049
*Ta-Īmn-Īkš	The one of Amun the Kushite	Ταμενέκνσις	1	17911
*Ta-Īmn-rwš	The one of Amun takes care	Ταμένρωσις	6	23477
*Ta-Īmn-ḥtp	The one of Amun is satisfied	Τααμενώθης ²⁰⁶⁴	1	26586
*Ta-Īmn-ḥm(.t)	The one of Amun, the little one	Ταμόνχημις	1	18801

B. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown

Some Egyptian names in Greek transcription probably contain the element *Īmn* in secondary initial position, but their complete Egyptian prototype is unknown. No image is currently available to confirm the reading of these names.

²⁰⁶² The name Ταμοννῆς (TM Nam 26795), attested in P. Harris I 72, 15: Ταμοννῆτος, is probably a transcription of **Ta-mn-n=s*, “She whom they brought ashore” (cf. *Pa-mn-n=s* and its transcriptions in TM Nam 719). However, the anthroponyms Ἀμοννῆς and Ἀμεννῆς are considered as renderings of *Īmn-iw* in the Trismegistos database (cf. TM Nam 34).

²⁰⁶³ In SB XVI 12934, 6-7: Ταμέναπις. On this variant, cf. ČERNÝ, J., *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, p. 349: *nape* (Sahidic).

²⁰⁶⁴ As pointed out at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/psi;9;1039>, the name Τααμεννασώθης (TM Nam 26586) (PSI IX 1039, 44)

should be read as Τααμενν\ώθης/ θνγατρός (< **Ta-Īmn-ḥtp*):



Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Ζμενιμούθης	5	21795
Πεστομενώ(φιος)	1	24703
Φαμουνίοφης	3	25915

All the attestations of the name Ζμενιμούθης – in O. Bodl. II 920, 1; 1444, 3 and 5; 1467, 6; 1472, 5, from Thebes –, seem to allude to the same person. For this anthroponym, a prototype **Ns-Īmn-Īy-m-ḥtp*, “He/She who belongs to Amun-Imhotep”, could be proposed, but the element **Īmn-Īy-m-ḥtp*, “Amun-Imhotep”, is not attested elsewhere and the lack of vowel between Z, presumably representing *ns* and -μεν- leads to think that -μεν- might not represent *Īmn* in this name²⁰⁶⁵.

On the other hand, the anthroponym Πεστομενώ(φιος), in O. Strasb. I 524, 4, might be a ghostname or a mistake for Πετεμενώ(φιος) (< **P3-di-(m)-Īp.t*) or a similar variant. The prototype of Φαμουνίοφης, only attested in P. Lille Gr. I 59, 66: Φαμουνιόφ[ιος]; 70: Φαμουνιόφ[ιος]; and presumably in 76: Φαμ[ουνιόφιος, is unknown, but, if the name contains the element *Īmn*, the vocalisation show that it is probably situated in final position and the anthroponym would consequently be a ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division.

3.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

In secondary initial position, *Īmn* is attested in 9 transcriptional variants from the Fayum and 17 from Upper Egypt, where the variant -(ε)μεν-, which is contained in names such as Πετεμένωφης (< *P3-di-Īmn-m-Īp.t*) – especially attested in the area of Thebes –, represents 84.10 % of the attestations²⁰⁶⁶.

²⁰⁶⁵ Cf., however, GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 306, who refers to this phonetic phenomenon as the Kretschmer’s Law: “Loss of an unaccented (etymologically short) vowel after a liquid or nasal when the preceding or following syllable has the same vowel”.

²⁰⁶⁶ The following names, which are abbreviated or totally or partially reconstructed in the editions, have not been included here: Ψεναμ(ενώφιος) (O. Wilcken II 1397, 2), Ταμε]ννέως (P. Oxy. II 256, 3), Τααμεν][νέω]ς (PSI III 240, fr. A 4-5), Ταμονν() (P. Princ. I 8, col. 10, 15), Φαμ[ουνιόφιος (P. Lille Gr. I 59, 76), Παχομπετεμ(ενώφιος) (O. Wilcken II 1610, 3), Πετεμε(νώφιος) (O. Bodl. II 1707, 3), Πετεμε(νεκύσιος) (P. Flor. III 327, col. 2, 17), Πε[τεμ]εν[ε]κ[ύ]σιος (P. Giss. I 61, 4), [Πετεμεν]εκύσιος (P. Giss. I 84, col. 2, 16), Ψεμέ(νώφιος) (O. Bodl. II 1049, 1), Σενε[με]νώτφιος (UPZ II 219, Vo.

	00	U01	U03	U04	U09	U10	U15	U19	U20
-αμ-				2				1	
-(α)μεν-	2			9		1		1	
-αμεν-				9					
-(α)μενν-	3							2	
-αμενν-								7	2
-αμμεν-									1
-(α)μμον-	1								
-(α)μμονν-	1								
-(α)μον-	1				1				
-(α)μονν-	1								
-(ει)μεν-				1					
-(ε)μ-				2					
-(ε)με-				3					
-(ε)μεν-	1		1	455		12	2	3	
-(εμ)εν-				10					
-(ε)με(ν)-	3								
-εμεν-	1			7					
-(ε)μν-				1					
-(ε)μο-				6					
-μο-				1					
-ωμεν-		1							
Total attestations	14	1	1	506	1	13	2	14	3

3.3. Linguistic characteristics

In Greek transcriptions without a phonetic contraction of the *yod* of *Īmn* and a previous phoneme of the precedent linguistic element, *yod* is rendered as α in 22 attestations from Upper Egypt and as ε in 1²⁰⁶⁷ from the Fayum and 7 from Upper Egypt. All the names in which *yod* has been represented as ε are representations of *P3-šr-n-Īmn-m-Īp.t*²⁰⁶⁸, “The son of Amun is in Opet”, and *T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-(m)-Īp.t*²⁰⁶⁹, “The daughter of Amun is in Opet”. The rendering of *yod* as ε in these attestations seems to be influenced by the vocalization of both *P3-šr-n-/T3-šr.t-n-* in initial position and *Īmn* in medial position,

2) – probably an error or a ghostname for Σενεμεώπιος, which is also attested in UPZ II 219, Ro. 2, for which no image is available –, Ψενεμ(ένωφι) (O. Petrie Mus. 209, 2) and Πετέ[νωφίς] (I. Syr. 72, 2).

²⁰⁶⁷ In Σενεμενώνπιος (P. Enteux. 21, Ro. 1, from the Fayum).

²⁰⁶⁸ Cf. Σενεμενώνπιος (P. Enteux. 21, Ro. 1); Σενεμένω(φίς) (UPZ II 180 a, col. 40, 5); Σενεμενώτφις (?) (UPZ II 219, Ro. 2), Τενεμένωφίς (O. Bodl. I 320, Vo. 8) and Σενεμένωπις (O. Wilcken II 1213, 4).

²⁰⁶⁹ Cf. Ψεγεμένωφίς (O. Bodl. I 288, 3), Ψεγεμέ(νωφίς) (O. Bodl. I 322, col. 1, 5) and Ψενεμενώνφις (O. Petrie Mus. 97, 2).

which is usually represented as ε. In 100 % of the attestations with α and ε resulting from a phonetic contraction, the precedent elements are *Pa-/Ta-* and *P3-di-*, respectively: only seven attestations of the name Τααμεννέυς contain the pronoun *Ta-* in initial position and its last phoneme has not been contracted with the yod of *Īmn*. The anthroponym Πετειμενώφιο(ς)²⁰⁷⁰ contains -ει- as rendering of the contraction of the yod of *P3-di-* and *Īmn*. In one attestation, yod has been transcribed as ω owing to a mistake of the scribe²⁰⁷¹. In the name Πετμοστοῦς²⁰⁷² (< *P3-di-Īmn-nsw-t3.wy*), yod has not been rendered.

Egyptian *m* has been represented as simple -μ- in all the attestations except three²⁰⁷³, in which it appears as geminated. In 10 transcriptions of the name *P3-šr-n-Īmn-m-Īp.t*, the genitive *n* of *P3-šr-n-* and the yod and the *m* of *Īmn* appear contracted (cf. Ψεμένωφίς²⁰⁷⁴ instead of Ψενεμένωφίς). The *n* of *Īmn* is, on the other hand, transcribed as simple ν in 6 transcriptions from the Fayum and 514 (92 %) from Upper Egypt, and as geminated in 5 attestations from the Fayum and 11 (2.03 %) from Upper Egypt²⁰⁷⁵. In all the renderings of the name *P3-di-Īmn-nsw-t3.wy* (e.g. Πατεμοστοῦς/ Πετεμοστοῦς), the *n* of *Īmn* is omitted before the group *ns*, represented as -σ- in Greek transcription²⁰⁷⁶. In other 5 names, including all the transcriptions of the prototype **T3-šr.t-n-Īmn-p3-ym* (cf. Σεναμφίωμις)²⁰⁷⁷, alongside the variants Πετεμώφιο(ς) and Πετεμώφι[ος]²⁰⁷⁸ (< *P3-di-Īmn-m-Īp.t*), *Īmn* seems to appear in a reduced form and *n* has not been rendered. The contraction of *Īmn* with a part of the preceding

²⁰⁷⁰ In O. Strasb. I 180, 6. Cf., however, Πετέμενωφίς in the same text, l. 1.

²⁰⁷¹ In fact, ω has been deleted by the scribe in the text: Ψεν[[ω]]μένωπιος (O. Eleph. DAIK 59, 1-2).

²⁰⁷² In SB XVIII 13216, 1, from Thebes.

²⁰⁷³ In the names Θεναμμενέυς (PSI I 32, 26), Παμμονη(ούιος) (P. Mich. IV 224, col. 21, 862) and Παμμοννήιος (P. Mich. IV 224, col. 135, 5192). Cf., however, also in P. Mich. IV 224, col. 21, 862, the variant Παμμοννήουις.

²⁰⁷⁴ Cf. This transcriptional variant is attested in O. Heid. 156, 1; O. Bodl. II 1050, 1; O. Bodl. II 1184, 3; O. Bodl. II 1418, 3; O. Bodl. II 1449, 3; O. Bodl. II 1978, 1; O. Cairo 112, 3; O. Ashm. 67, 2; P. Merton III 102, 5 and O. Ont. Mus. II 78, 1. These attestations could also be considered as errors for Ψενεμ<έν>ωφίς.

²⁰⁷⁵ On gemination of simple nasals in the κοινή, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 157-158.

²⁰⁷⁶ Cf. also the names Σενσοντωοῦς (< *T3-šr.t-n-nsw-t3.wy*) (TM Nam 19541) and Ταπετεστοῦς (< **Ta-p3-di-nsw-t3.wy*) (TM Nam 18878).

²⁰⁷⁷ TM Nam 26581. Cf. PASQUALI, S., “Le Πιμμεϊῶμις de Coptos et « la route de la mer (Rouge) »”, p. 388-390.

²⁰⁷⁸ In O. Strasb. I 300, 2 and O. Strasb. I 408, 3. These names can also be considered as errors for Πετεμ<εν>ώφιος.

element in some transcriptions and the possible reflect of the use of a reduced form in some names reveal the phonetic weakness of *Īmn* in middle position.

In 10 attestations from the Fayum (71.42 %) and 526 (97.22 %) from Upper Egypt, the vocalisation found between the *m* and the *n* of *Īmn* is represented as *ε*. However, in 5 attestations – excluding the renderings of reduced forms such as Πατεμοστοῦς/Πετεμοστοῦς/Πετμοστοῦς (< *P3-di-Īmn-nsw-t3.wy*) – it appears as *ο*²⁰⁷⁹, and in one name²⁰⁸⁰ no vocalisation is represented. The different renderings of the vocalisation of *Īmn* (mostly as *ε*, but also as *ο* or *ø*) reflect the /ə/ pronounced between *m* and *n*, and show that the syllable(s) where *Īmn* was placed within the names when it was situated in middle position were unstressed.

4. *ĪMN* IN FINAL POSITION

4.1. Attestations

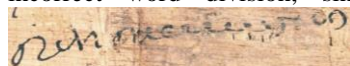
A. Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription

The name of the god *Īmn* is attested in final position in more than 20 anthroponyms in Greek transcription²⁰⁸¹. *P3-šr-n-Īmn*, “The son of Amun”, *Pa-Īmn*, “The one of Amun”, *T3-šr.t-n-Īmn*, “The daughter of Amun”, *Ta-Īmn*, “The one of Amun” and *P3-di-Īmn*, “He who has been given by Amun”, with more than 100 attestations each, are the best attested.

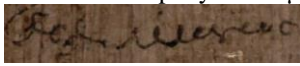
²⁰⁷⁹ In the anthroponyms Παμοννήου and Παμμονη(ούιος) (P. Mich. IV 224, col. 21, 862), Παμμοννήιος (P. Mich. IV 224, col. 135, 5192), Ταμόννωφρις (P. Count. 17, 4), Ταμονχήμιος (CRIPEL III 321, A 2) and Θαμμονεύς (P. Count. 6, 164).

²⁰⁸⁰ Πατέμνωφι (O. Bodl. II 1010, 2), presumably a transcription of *P3-di-Īmn-m-Īp.t*.

²⁰⁸¹ The anthroponyms containing the name of the Libyan god Ἄμμων, such as Θινάμμωνις (TM Nam 9565), Σεναμώνιος (TM Nam 23311), Σεναμμωνία (TM Nam 24092), Τσεναμμωνῆς (TM Nam 28290), Τααμμωνίος (TM Nam 17742), Ταμμωνῆς (TM Nam 19286), and others, do not render the Egyptian name *Īmn* and have not been included here. On the other hand, the name Παππάμωνος (TM Nam 24133), in P. Laur. II 35 Ro., 3 is probably a ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division, since the first three letters do not probably belong to the name Πάμωνος:




. The name Σεσμίμων (TM Nam 18424) is not related to *Īmn*, but is a hybrid name beginning by *T3-šr.t-n-* plus the anthroponym Σίμων (cf. SB I 4433, 2: Σεσιμωνοῦς Σίμωνος). The derivation of the Coptic name ΤΣΕΝΔΑΜΜΕ (TM Nam 31258) from the Egyptian name *T3-šr.t-n-Īmn* is uncertain and it has not consequently been considered. It is not possible to know whether or not the anthroponym Ἀσάμων (TM Nam 19644), whose reading is right

in P. Oxy. XXIV 2421, col. 1, 2 as Ἀσάμωνος , renders Egyptian *Īmn* and it has not been included here.

Egyptian name	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*P ₃ y-Īmn	This one of Amun	Πιαμουν ²⁰⁸²	1	11589
P ₃ -l-Īmn	<i>Meaning uncertain</i> ²⁰⁸³	Πααλόμουνης	35	702
*P ₃ -wr-Īmn	The great one of Amun	Πουράμουνης ²⁰⁸⁴	2	11758
*P ₃ -rmt-n-Īmn	The man of Amun	Προμμουν	13	17975
P ₃ -šr-n-Īmn	The son of Amun	Ψενάμουνης	696	963
P ₃ -šr-n-ta-Īmn	The son of the one of Amun	Ψενθαμουν ²⁰⁸⁵ , Ψενθάμουνης	2 10	33967 + 995
P ₃ -di-Īmn	He who has been given by Amun	Πετέμουνης	113	834
*P ₃ -di-Ĥr-Īmn	He who has been given by Horos-Amun	Πετεάρμουνης	1	5069
Pa-Īmn	The one of Amun	Πάμουνης ²⁰⁸⁶	378	722
		Πεμούνιος ²⁰⁸⁷	1	28792
*Pa-n-Īmn	The one of Amun	Φαναμουν	4	11114
Hry-Īmn	Amun is satisfied	Ἐριέμουνης	14	331
Ĥr-Īmn	Horos-Amun	Ἀρέμουνης ²⁰⁸⁸	1	21244
Ĥtp-Īmn	Amun is pleased	Ἐτφέμουνης	16	346
Sy-Īmn	Son of Amun	Σιάμουνης	4	7985

²⁰⁸² In P. Kellis IV 96, 900: Πιαμουν.

²⁰⁸³ The meaning of 'l in the Demotic name P₃-l-Īmn  (image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 163) is unknown.

²⁰⁸⁴ In O. Eleph. DAIK 113, 12: Πουραμούνεως. The other possible attestation is found in O. Leiden Gr. 285, Ro. 9, but it appears abbreviated at its reconstruction is not sure: Πουραμ(). In O. Wilcken II 657, 2 the possible attestation of the name is badly damaged: ουραμ . νε . ς (?), and consequently it has not been taken into account here. All these attestations come from Elephantine. The name *P₃-wr-Īmn is not attested, but its representation in the Greek transcription of O. Eleph. DAIK 113, 12 seems clear. Other similar names, such as P₃-wr-*Dḥwty* > Πορθώ(της) (O. Elkab 11, 1) (TM Nam 20160), are attested. Cf. O. Elkab, p. 50: “Le mot πορθώτης est connu comme titre religieux en grec et en démotique”. Cf. also VITTMAN, G., “Ein thebanischer Verpfändungsvertrag aus der Zeit Ptolemaios’ III”, p. 137 ; QUAEGBEUR, J., “La désignation « porteur(s) des dieux » et le culte des dieux-crocodiles dans les textes des époques tardives”, p. 167, 176.

²⁰⁸⁵ In *CRIPPEL* V 1082, 3: Ψενθαμουν and SB I 754, 1: Ψενθαμουν. These attestations do not have a Greek morphological ending. The reconstructed nominative Ψενθαμοῦς that appears in the Trismegistos database is incorrect.

²⁰⁸⁶ To the renderings of Pa-Īmn another Coptic attestation of the name ΠΑΜΟΥΝ, in P. Heid. inv. kopt. 124, 2, from Bawit (U15), should be added. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “20. Orden de pago”, p. 117.

²⁰⁸⁷ In P. Herm. 20, 5: Πεμούνιου. Cf. P. Herm., p. 37: “The epsilon is quite good, and so is the pi; we must, then, take the proper name as a variant of the well-known Παμούνιος”.

²⁰⁸⁸ Presumably in P. Giss. III 59, col. 4, 14: Ἀρεμούνιο(ς). The name *Ĥr-Īmn* seems to be attested in Demotic. Cf. TM Nam 226.

*Gl-Īmn	He who betakes himself to Amun	Κελέμουνης ²⁰⁸⁹	1	401
Tȝy-Īmn	This one of Amun	Τίμουνης	8	13903
Tȝ-šr.t-n-Īmn	The daughter of Amun	Σεναμουινή		24065
		Σενάμουνης	121	1056
*Tȝ-šr.t-n-pȝ-šr-n-Īmn	The daughter of the son of Amun	Σενψενάμουνης	9	12100
*Tȝ-šr.t-n-pȝ-di-Īmn	The daughter of He who has been given by Amun	Τσενπετέμουνης	1	18003
*Tȝ-šr.t-n-ta-Īmn	The daughter of the one of Amun	Σεντάμουνης	1	1089
Tȝ-di-Īmn	She who has been given by Amun	Τετέαμουνης	1	1358
Ta-Īmn	The one of Amun	Ταμουνία	1	25629
		Θάμουνης, Τάμυνης	96 + 2	1262 + 36809
		Θαμούνιος	12	25170
*Ta-pȝ-šr-n-Īmn	The one of the son of Amun	Ταψενάμουνης	1	18829
*Ta-pȝ-di-Īmn	The one of He who has been given by Amun	Θαπετέμουνης	7	16868
*Ta-pa-Īmn	The one of the one of Amun	Ταφάμουνης	1	18986

B. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Νεχθερεάμουνης	1	17179
Πεσκάμουνης	4	17463
Σονσάμουνης	1	17935
Τιαννάμουνης	1	6238
Φχάμουνης	4	17994

²⁰⁸⁹ In P. Petrie III 117 (h), II 14: Κελεμούνιος.

Some anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription may contain the formant *Īmn* in final position, but their complete Egyptian prototypes are unknown. Thus, the name Νεχθερεάμουνις²⁰⁹⁰ probably starts by *nḥt*, but the Egyptian element in middle position is unknown and it is not possible to determine whether or not it could be *Hr* (**Nḥt-Hr-Īmn* (?), “Horos-Amun is strong”). The anthroponym Σονσάμουνις²⁰⁹¹, on the other hand, was considered by J. Vergote²⁰⁹² as the transcription of **(T3)-sn.t-ns-Īmn*, “The sister of He/She who belongs to Amun”, since the name *Ns-Īmn*, “He/She belongs to Amun”, is attested in Egyptian²⁰⁹³. This anthroponym could also be the rendering of *Hnsw-Īmn*²⁰⁹⁴. For other names, such as Πεσκάμουνις²⁰⁹⁵, Τιαννάμουνις²⁰⁹⁶ and Φχάμουνις²⁰⁹⁷, only the last part is recognisable²⁰⁹⁸.



P. Brux. I 21, col. 2, 10: Νεχθερεάμουνις

²⁰⁹⁰ In P. Brux. I 21, col. 2, 10.

²⁰⁹¹ In P. Brux. Gr. I 21, col. 2, 12.

²⁰⁹² VERGOTE, J., *Les noms propres du P.Bruxelles inv. E. 7616. Essai d'interprétation*, p. 15.

²⁰⁹³ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 658, RANKE, H., *PN*, p. 173.19.

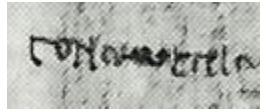
²⁰⁹⁴ The Greek transcription -σονσ- may be attested for *Hnsw* in the name Πετέσονσις (< *P3-di-Hnsw*) (SB X 10499, 1). Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Dialektische Namensformen und die Lokalisierung von Urkunden”, p. 183. Cf. TM Nam 20087.

²⁰⁹⁵ The attestations Πεσκαμο(ύνιος) (SB XVI 12737, col. 4, 35) and Πεσκα(μούνεως) (P. Col. II 1 Ro. (4), col. 18, 27) are not complete. However, his name is clearly attested in P. Col. II 1 Ro. (4), col. 13, 3.

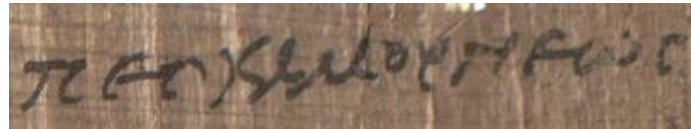
²⁰⁹⁶ In O. Bodl. I 143, 2-3.

²⁰⁹⁷ This name seems to be attested only in Thmouis (L16). It appears incomplete in P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, fr. A 7 (Φχαμ[ούνιος] and Stud. Pal. XVII, 33 (Φχά[μουνις] and complete in Stud. Pal. XVII, 40 and P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr.: Φχάμουνις.

²⁰⁹⁸ The name Χωθαμοούνιος (TM Nam 12940; in BGU XVI 2577 Ro. fr. A col. 6, 78) is probably a ghostname, since, according to the editor, there is only one attestation, which is actually illegible. In the apparatus criticus the reading Χωθ() Άμουνίου is also considered.



P. Brux. Gr. I 21, col. 2, 12: Σονσάμμουνις



P. Col. II 1 Ro. (4), col. 13, 3: Πεσκαμούνεως

C. Names ending in -άμμων

▪ Theophoric names ending in -άμμων

Some names with the ending -άμμων, generally preceded by the name of a deity, have been considered as composed names with *Imn* as second element by some scholars²⁰⁹⁹. The Egyptian god's names best attested in this type of anthroponyms are Sobek and Bes²¹⁰⁰:

Most frequent Greek rendering	Egyptian deity mentioned	Attestations	TM Nam
Ανουβάμμων	Anubis	1	21164
Ἀρποκράμμων	Harpokrates	4	21288
Βησάμμων	Bes	34	9006
Παχουμάμμων ²¹⁰¹ , Παχομπάμμων	The eagle of Ammon	1 1	24844 + 24130
Σουχάμμων	Sobek	84	5829

²⁰⁹⁹ Cf. DUNAND, F., "Les noms théophores en -ammon. À propos d'un papyrus de Strasbourg du III^e siècle p.C.", p. 237-262. Only the anthroponyms containing the name of an Egyptian deity have been considered here. For other names ending in -άμμων, cf. http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/list_names.php?god=Ammon.

²¹⁰⁰ The following names are totally or partially reconstructed and have not been considered here: [Σουχά]μμων (P. Petaus 71, col. 2, 29), Σουχάμ]μμων (Stud. Pal. XX 5, 4), [τῷ τε Σουχάμμωνι (Stud. Pal. XX 5, 21), [ἀποδότω ὁ Σουχάμμων (Stud. Pal. XX 5, 28), Σ]ουχ[άμ]μω(νι) (CPR I 25, 15), [Σουχάμμων] (CPR I 25, 20), Σουχάμμων ὁμο]λογῶ (BL I p. 115, 5), Βησά]μμων (P. Oxy. XL 2894 col. 3, col. 3, 33), Ταβ[ησάμμων (P. Oxy. I 56, 31).

²¹⁰¹ In O. Wilcken II 139, 3: Παχουμάμμων(ος); O. Edfou III 449, 2: Παχομπάμμων(ς).

Ταβησάμμων	(The one of) Bes	2	19091
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The anthroponyms composed by the name of an Egyptian deity plus -άμμων seem to be attested in all the geographical areas of Egypt. The suffix -άμμων is usually written with geminated μ, simple ν and ω, but there are some attestations with simple μ²¹⁰²:

	00	L03	U01	U02	U04	U09	U15	U19	U20
-άμμων	45	1	2		3	1	6	15	2
-άμων	5			1			1		
-ΔΜΩΝ					1				
Total attestations	50	1	2	1	4	1	7	15	2

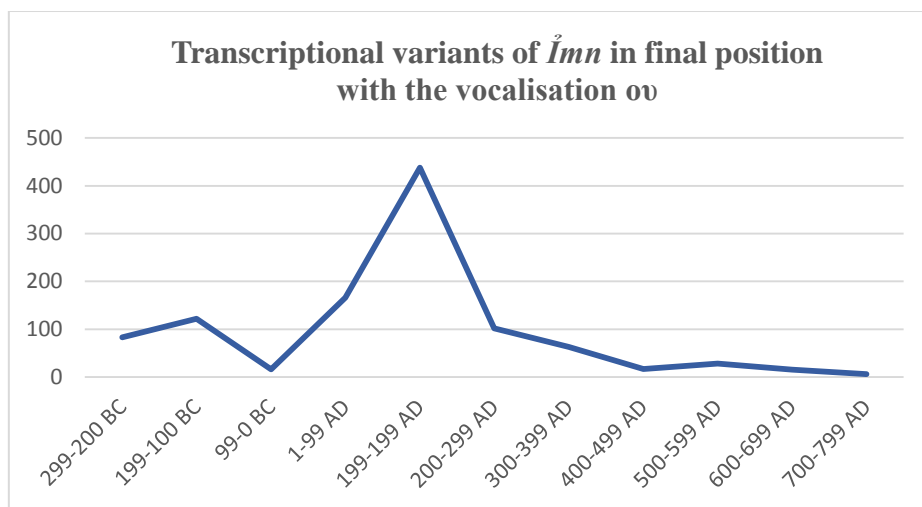
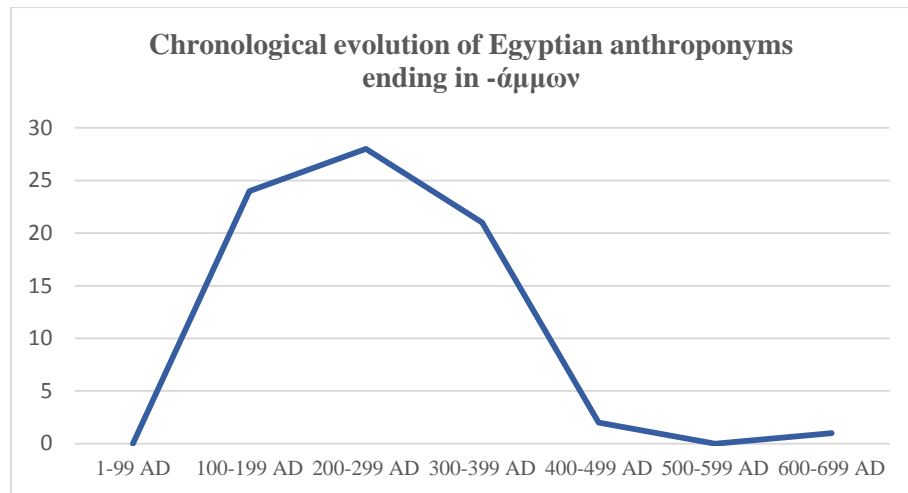
As pointed out by F. Dunand²¹⁰³, these names date from the Roman period onwards²¹⁰⁴; however, although transcriptions of *Īmn* in final position with the vocalisation ou seem to have become popular between the first and the third centuries AD, they are largely attested in the Ptolemaic period²¹⁰⁵, as it is shown in the following graphs:

²¹⁰² The names [B]ησάμμων (P. Herm. Landl. [G], col. 21, 330), ΒΗCΔΜΩΝ (P. Mon. Epiph. 356, 4) and Σουχάμμων (OGN 43, 1; P. Petaus 102, col. 2, 43; P. Bingen 106, Ro. 3; BGU IV 1087, Vo. col. 2, 5).

²¹⁰³ DUNAND, F., “Les noms théophores en –ammon. À propos d’un papyrus de Strasbourg du III^e siècle p.C.”, p. 138-139: “Les noms théophores en -άμμων sont inconnus à l’époque ptolémaïque (...). Les noms en -άμμων (...) sont encore rares au II^e siècle ; c’est au III^e siècle qu’ils connaissent leur plus grande faveur et que l’on rencontre le plus grand nombre de formations nouvelles”. Cf. also SWINNEN, W., “Philammon, chanter légendaire, et les noms gréco-égyptiens en -ammôn”, p. 260-261: “Nous ajoutons que cette assertion peut être étendue à tous les composés en -άμμων. Seul Philammon ferait exception à cette règle bien établie et tirée d’une documentation abondante”.

²¹⁰⁴ 24 names date from 100-199 AD, 28 from 200-299 AD, 21 from 300-399 AD, 2 from 400-499 AD and 1 (ΒΗCΔΜΩΝ) from 600-699 AD.

²¹⁰⁵ 83 anthroponyms with the formant *Īmn* in final position with the vocalisation ou date from 299-200 BC, 122 from 199-100 BC, 16 from 99-0 BC, 166 from 1-99 AD, 438 from 100-199 AD, 102 from 200-299 AD, 63 from 300-399 AD, 17 from 400-499 AD, 28 from 500-599 AD, 15 from 600-699 AD and 6 from 700-799 AD.



Since there is not any attestation of the names ***Īnpw-Īmn*, ***Bs-Īmn*, ***Hr-p3-hrd-Īmn*, ***Sbk-Īmn* or ***Ta-Bs-Īmn* in any Egyptian writing, and given the different writing of most transcriptions of *Īmn* in final position (cf. below) and -άμμων/-άμων, this suffix must be considered, as pointed out by W. Swinnen²¹⁰⁶, as an ending of Greek origin. In fact, the ending -άμμων/-άμων mostly occurs – always during the Roman period – in Greek names than in Egyptian anthroponyms²¹⁰⁷. It is therefore

²¹⁰⁶ SWINNEN, W., “Philammon, chanter légendaire, et les noms gréco-égyptiens en -ammôn”, p. 251: “Il faut scinder le mot après Φιλα- de façon que l’*alpha* fasse encore partie du radical. Le double mu est l’effet d’une gémation accompagnant abrègement et la désinence -ων est le suffixe usité fréquemment dans la formation de noms propres et notamment de noms abrégés. Suivant cette hypothèse, Philammon serait issu soit du participe φιλάμενος répondant à l’aoriste homérique φίλατο, soit du composé *φιλα-μένης, qui peut signifier « celui qui φίλα μενοινᾷ » (...), ou bien « celui qui a le φίλον μένος » (...). L’analyse du nom telle que nous la concevons permet aussi, et cela peut paraître le plus attirant, d’y voir la forme hypocoristique de φιλάμενος. L’existence d’une série de noms propres reproduisant des participes médio-passifs, soit présents, aoristes ou même parfaits, et chose connue. Sporadique au premier millénaire avant notre ère, ce type d’anthroponyme est, en revanche, bien représenté dans l’onomastique mycénienne. C’est là que l’on retrouve un pi-ra-me-no (PY Jn 389 (= 04).2 et KN E 36) dont on nous dit que, d’après le contexte, ce doit être un nom de personne. On s’accorde à y reconnaître le participe φιλάμενος. Il s’agirait alors d’un exemple où le Mycénien authengie une forme surprenante de la tradition homérique”.

²¹⁰⁷ Cf. DUNAND, F., “Les noms théophores en -ammon. À propos d’un papyrus de Strasbourg du III^e siècle p.C.”, p. 136-146; BENAÏSSA, A., “Greek Polytheophoric Names: An Onomastic Fashion of Roman Egypt”, p. 72-73.

possible that, from an anthroponym such as Φιλάμμων, attested in Naukratis, the Greek suffix -άμμων has been grammaticalized – and perhaps in some cases associated with the Libyan god Ammon – and extended to other names²¹⁰⁸.

▪ The name Παράμμων and its variants

The anthroponym Παράμμων/Παράμων (TM Nam 10998), first analysed as a Greek name with the preposition παρά plus the Greek name Ἄμμων by some scholars²¹⁰⁹, and later considered as a transcription of Egyptian *P3-ī.īr-Īmn*, “He who has been given by Amun”, by F. Colin²¹¹⁰, appears to be attested, usually with the ending -άμμων, but also with the variants -άμων²¹¹¹ and -αμων²¹¹², in some nomes of Egypt, the Egyptian Western desert and Libya²¹¹³:

²¹⁰⁸ Cf. SWINNEN, W., “Philammon, chanter légendaire, et les noms gréco-égyptiens en -ammôn”, p. 254: “Pour découvrir la principale zone de diffusion du nom de Philammon, il faut diriger ses pas vers les pays grecs de l’Afrique: la Cyrénaïque d’abord et puis l’Égypte ptolémaïque. Le plus ancien témoignage vient de Naukratis”; BENAÏSSA, A., “Greek Polytheophoric Names: An Onomastic Fashion of Roman Egypt”, p. 73: “The element -άμμων was so common as to have become degraded to a mere grammaticalized suffix for theophoric names. This is shown by its combination with all sorts of divine names”. On the name Ποτάμμων/Ποτάμων as a possible transcription of *P3-di-Īmn*, cf. VERGOTE, J., *Les noms propres du P.Bruxelles inv. E. 7616. Essai d’interprétation*, p. 14, BONNEAU, D., “La divinité du Nil sous le principat en Égypte”, p. 3197, BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Los dioses *H’py* y *Neĩlos* en la antropomimia greco-egipcia”, p. 115-117.

²¹⁰⁹ Cf. EISELE, T., “Parammon”, p. 1567-1568; GRUPPE, O., *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* II, p. 1558; KRUSE, B. gr., “Parammon”, col. 1212; EITREM, S., “Hermes”, p. 756; and WAGNER, G., *Les oasis d’Égypte à l’époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d’après les documents grecs*, p. 334-335: “Le dieu Parammon, dont le nom semble devoir signifier « qui se tient aux côtés d’Ammon », ne nous est que depuis peu connu comme un des dieux vénérés à l’Ammoneion de l’Oasis d’Ammon. A. Fakhry y a, en effet, découvert, pendant ses fouilles de 1971, une dédicace du II^e avant notre ère « à Ammon, Parammon, Poseidon, Herakles ». Après une première publication dans laquelle il n’avait su reconnaître le nom du dieu, G. Petzl a repris cette inscription en faisant le point de nos connaissances sur cette divinité : il s’agit de l’Hermes Parammon que les Éléens adoraient déjà à Olympie en compagnie d’Ammon et d’Héra Ammonia ; la même triade apparaît dans une inscription de Lindos en 275 av. J.-C. ; le dieu figure sur des monnaies de Cyrène, comme l’a montré F. Chamoux ; dans un papyrus magique, Ammon et Parammon sont associés à Hermès pour attraper les voleurs ; peut-être faut-il enfin restituer le nom du dieu dans une dédicace de Thèbes où figurent déjà Ammon, Hermès et Herakles”. Cf. PETZL, G., “Zwei neue Inschriften aus Siwa”, p. 30-32; “Eine Weihinschrift aus der Oase Siwa (Ammonion)”, p. 68-71. On the triade Ammon, Parammon and Héra Ammonia, cf. COLIN, F., “Ammon, Parammon, Poséidon, Héra et Libye à Siwa”, p. 97-108.

²¹¹⁰ Cf. COLIN, F., “De la signification du nom ΠΑΡΑΜΜΩΝ”, p. 213-216.

²¹¹¹ In the names Παράμμωνι (P. Lond. II p. 101 no. 367 a, 2), Παράμμωνος (P. Wisc. II 80, col. 6, 170), Παράμμωνος (PSI XII 1223, Ro. 8), Παράμμωνος (Stud. Pal. XXII 36, 3) and Παράμμων[ος] (P. Iand. VII 142, col. 2, 16).

²¹¹² In the name Παράμμωνος (SB XVIII 13880, 6), with dot under both *omicrons*.




²¹¹³ The following names have not been included here because they are incomplete or abbreviated: Παράμμ[ωνος] (P. Iand. VII 142, col. 3, 2), Παράμμ(ων) (O. Douch III 225, 6), Παράμμ[ωνος] (P. Oxy. I 43 Vo., col. 3, 20), Παράμμ(ων) (SB X 10551, 34), Παράμμων[ος] (P. Oxy. XLIII 3126, Ro. col. 1, 1), Παράμμ[ωνος] (P. Oxy. LX 4071, 3), Π[αρά]μμ[ων] (BGU VII 1630 descr., col. 2, 7), and Παράμμ(ωνος) (SB VI 9370, col. 5, 1).

	00	L00	U15	U19	Western	Libya
-αμμων-	4		3	9	4	3
-αμον-	1					
-αμων-	3	1			1	
Total attestations	8	1	3	9	5	3

As the anthroponyms ending by -άμμων/-άμων, all the attestations of Παράμμων and its variants date from the Roman period, and especially between 100 and 400 AD²¹¹⁴. The first attestation of the name, of unknown provenance, date from 75-99 AD²¹¹⁵. Even though the anthroponym *P3-ī.īr-Īmn*, which F. Colin considers as its prototype, is attested three times in Demotic²¹¹⁶, all these attestations, from Thebes, date from 497 BC, and no attestation of the name Παράμμων is found in any bilingual document. The wide period of time from 497 BC to the first century AD and the provenance of the Demotic attestations of *P3-ī.īr-Īmn* – Thebes, where no attestations of Παράμμων have been found – do not seem to support F. Colin’s hypothesis. Therefore, it is not impossible that the end of the name Παράμμων refers to the god Ἄμμων from the Siwa Oasis in Libya, as Pausanias²¹¹⁷ and Herodotus²¹¹⁸ seem to reveal²¹¹⁹, or that the anthroponym Παράμμων is composed by a name such as Παρᾶς²¹²⁰,

²¹¹⁴ At least 15 attestations date from 100-199 AD, 1 from 200-299 AD and 5 from 300-399.

²¹¹⁵ In P. Lond. III p. LVIII no. 1124 a descr., Ro. 26.

²¹¹⁶ In P. Louvre E. 3231 b, Ro. 1  and Vo. 1 , and in P. Louvre E. 3231 c, 1 . Cf. CRUZ-URIBE, E., “Two Early Demotic Letters from Thebes (P. dém. Louvre E. 3231c and 3231b)”, p. 11, 13.

²¹¹⁷ Cf. PAUSANIAS V 15, 11: θεοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ σπένδουσι καὶ Ἥρα τε Ἀμμωνία καὶ Παράμμωνι· Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶς ἐστὶν ὁ Παράμμων. Φαίνονται δὲ χρώμενοι ἐκ παλαιοτάτου τῷ ἐν Λιβύῃ μαντεῖω, καὶ ἀναθήματα Ἡλείων ἐν Ἀμμωνός εἰσι βωμοί· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὅσα τε ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἀμμωνα ἦλθον ἐξ Ἡλίδος. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀμμωνος, “[Les Éléens] ne se limitent pas dans leurs libations aux dieux grecs, ils en adressent aussi au dieu de Libye, à Héra d’Ammon et à Parammon. Parammon est l’épithète cultuelle d’Hermès. Apparemment les Éléens consultent l’oracle de Libye depuis la plus haute Antiquité et, dans le sanctuaire d’Ammon, il y a des autels qui sont des consécration des Éléens. On y a gravé toutes les questions que posaient les Éléens ainsi que les réponses du dieu et les noms des pèlerins qui vinrent d’Élide rendre visite à Zeus Ammon. Voilà ce qui est dans le sanctuaire d’Ammon” (translation by J. Pouilloux). Cf. also COLIN, F., “De la signification du nom ΠΑΡΑΜΜΩΝ”, p. 213: “On remarquera la faveur de ce nom du côté de la Libye antique, la patrie de l’Ammon de Siwa, à qui le dieu Parammon est associé dans le culte”.

²¹¹⁸ HERODOTUS I, 46: ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησομένους, “Tels furent les oracles grecs où Crésus envoya pour faire interroger; d’autres consultants furent expédiés en Libye, au sanctuaire d’Ammon” (translation by P. E. Legrand).

²¹¹⁹ However, the confusion of both gods appears to be in PLUTARCH, *De Is. et Os.* 9 = 354 C: ἔτι δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἴδιον παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἀμοῦν (ὃ παράγοντες ἡμεῖς Ἀμμωνα λέγομεν) Μανεθὸς μὲν ὁ Σεβεννύτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἶται καὶ τὴν κρύψιν ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῆς φωνῆς, “While the majority still believe that Amûn (which we modify into Ammon) is the proper name of Zeus among the Egyptians, Manetho the Sebennyte thinks that it means ‘what is concealed’ and that concealment is signified by this word” (translation by J. G. Griffiths).

²¹²⁰ Cf. TM Nam 11234.

which is attested in several areas of Egypt (Fayum, Herakleopolis, Hermonthis, Thebes, Western Desert) during the Roman period, plus the grammaticalised ending -άμμων.

4.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

Approximately 10 transcriptional variants of the name *Īmn* in final position are attested for the Fayum, 5 for Lower Egypt and 18 for Upper Egypt²¹²¹. The best attested variant in all the geographical zones is -αμουv-/(α)μουv-²¹²².

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L05	L13	L16	L21
-(Δ)MON	1								
-(α)μουv-	138	1	1	2	2			3	2
-αμουv-	195		9		12		1	6	
-(Δ)MOYH	1								
-(α)μυν-	1					2			
-αμυν-	1								
-(ε)μουv-	33		1					5	
-εμουv-	18		1		2				
-μουv-	2								
-ομουv-	13								
Total attestations	403	1	12	2	16	2	1	14	2

	U01	U02	U04	U05	U07	U09	U10	U12	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
-αμμουνv-										1			
-(α)μυν-												1	
-αμυν-			1										
-(Δ)MON												1	
-ΔMONE	1												

²¹²¹ The following names are totally or partially reconstructed or abbreviated and have not been included here: Παμον() (O. Cairo 128, 3), Παμονον[(O. Bodl. I 297, Vo. 5), Θαμο[ύνιος] (P. Brux. Gr. I 2, 3), Παμ]ουν (SB XX 14669, col. 4, 122), Παμο(?)]υν (SB XVIII 13371, 12), [Πετ]ε[άμο]υνιν (Stud. Pal. XX 11, 13), Πετεά(μουνις) (Stud. Pal. XX 11, 44), [Πεταμ(ούνιος)] (Stud. Pal. XX 11, 45), Ψοναμ[ούνιος] (O. Elkab 11, 2), Σενάμο(υνις) (O. Petrie Mus. 361, 5), Ψενα(μούνιος) (P. Ryl. Gr. II 185, col. 2, 11), Ψεναμο(ύνιος) (P. Sarap. 62, col. 1, 16), Σενα[μού]νιος (SB VIII 9870, col. 1, 11), Πε[τ]ά[μω]νος (I. Syr. 863, 4-6), Πουραμ(ώνεως) (O. Leiden Gr. 285, Ro. 9), Πετέ[μω]νις (P. Corn. 21, col. 13, 351), Πετέμο(υνις(?)) (P. Corn. 24, col. 2, 35), Πετέμο(υνις) (P. Ryl. Gr. IV 595, col. 3, 43), Πετεμο(ύνιος) (P. Ryl. Gr. IV 595, col. 3, 54), Πετε]μο(ύνιος) (SB XIV 11481, col. 3, 31), Πετεμο(ύνιος) (P. Princ. I 14, col. 2, 27), Πετεμο(ύνιος) (P. Princ. I 8, col. 7, 4), Πετεμο(ύνιος) (P. Princ. I 8, col. 5, 9), Πετεμο(ύνιος) (SB XX 14576, Vo. col. 14, 346), Πετεμο(ύνιος) (SB XX 14576, Vo. col. 14, 359), Πετεμο(ύνιος) (SB XX 14576, Vo. col. 20, 583), Πετεμο(ύνιος) (SB XXII 15813, col. 1, 26), Πετεμ(ούνιος) (P. Princ. I 2, col. 4, 18), Πετεμ(ούνιος) (P. Princ. I 2, col. 4, 19), Πετεμού(νιος) (P. Tebt. III 894, fr. 8, Ro. 6), Ψεναμ(ούνιος) (SB XX 14601, 2), Πετεμ[ούνιος] (UPZ II 177, 21), Πετέμω[νις] (P. Oxy. XII 1518, 24), Θαπετέμ(ουνις) (P. Bon. 18 col. 1, col. 2, 19), [. . .]υνι (P. Tebt. III 806, 2), Έργέμω[νις] (P. Corn. 23, fr. A col. 3, 59), Έ[τρεμούνιος] (P. Tebt. I 73, col. 2, 27), Έτρεμ[ούνιος] (P. Tebt. IV 1115, col. 3, 52), Τιμ(ούνιος) (BGU IV 1089 col. 3, col. 3, 16), Πααλο() (P. Tebt. I 94, col. 3, 23), Ψενόμο(υνις) (P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr.), Π]αμω() (O. Cairo 114, 2), Ψενσεναμω() (O. Strasb. I 277, 2), Ψενσεναμω(ύνι) (O. Bodl. II 1036, 1), Ψενσεναμού(νιος) (O. Leiden Gr. 249, 4), Π[α]ναμού[νιος] (SB XXII 15600, 13); η[ΔΜΟYH] (P. Athen. Xyla 5, 16).

²¹²² In this part, only the transcriptional variants clearly containing *Īmn* have been included. The names ending in -άμμων with the previous mention of a deity and the anthroponym Παράμμων and its variants have been excluded.

-(α)μουν-	4	1	22		4	7	10			84		74	22
-αμουν-	2		421	2		12	2	1		11		61	44
-(α)μογν			3				2		9	18			
-(α)μουνι	2												
-(ε)μουν-				2						4	3	8	4
-εμουν-			2									1	2
-εμων-	1												
-(ι)μουν-										5			
-(μ)ουν-			1										
-μουν-			9				1					1	
-μων-			1										
Total attestations	10	1	459	4	4	19	15	1	9	124	3	147	72

4.3.Linguistic characteristics

Regarding the transcriptions without any phonetic contraction between *Īmn* and the precedent element, Egyptian *yod* is represented as α in 196 (48.63 %) attestations from the Fayum, 28 (56 %) from Lower Egypt and 559 (64.40 %) from Upper Egypt. In 18 (4.46 %) transcriptions from the Fayum²¹²³, 3 (6 %) from Lower Egypt²¹²⁴ and 6 (0. 69 %) from Upper Egypt²¹²⁵, *yod* appears as ε. In all the variants with ε as representation of *yod*, the vocalisation of the precedent linguistic element has been rendered as ε: the transcription of the *yod* of *Īmn* as ε in these attestations is therefore due to progressive assimilation. On the other hand, in 13 attestations from the Fayum, *yod* has been represented as ο²¹²⁶, possibly because of the influence of the vowel ou of the vocalization of *Īmn* (regressive assimilation). In more than 90 % of the attestations with the elements *pa-/ta-* or *p3-di-/t3-di-* preceeding *Īmn*, *yod* is contracted with the previous phoneme and rendered as α and ε, respectively²¹²⁷. Likewise, in all the Greek renderings of the name Τίμουνις (< *T3y-Īmn*), the *yod* of *Īmn* appears contracted. On the other hand, in two attestations from the Fayum and at least 12 from

²¹²³ Belonging to the names Ἐππεμόνιος/Ἐθφέμονις (< *Htp-Īmn*), Ἐριεμόνιος (< *Hry-Īmn*), Κελεμόνιος (< **Gl-Īmn*), and Σενεμόνιος (< *T3-šr.t-n-Īmn*).

²¹²⁴ In the variants Ἐθφέμονις (< *Htp-Īmn*) and Ἐργεμόνιος (< *Hry-Īmn*).

²¹²⁵ In the names Ψενέμουνις (< *P3-šr-n-Īmn*), Ἐριεμόνιος (< *Hry-Īmn*), Πρεμεμού[νιος] (< **P3-rmt-n-Īmn*) (PSI XII 1228, 5) and Σεννέμωνις (< *T3-šr.t-n-Īmn*) (SB V 7576, 1).

²¹²⁶ In the variants Σινομόνιος (presumably from *T3-šr.t-n-Īmn*), attested in P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro. 8-9 and 28; and Πααλομόνιος/Πααλόμουνις (< *P3-l-Īmn*).

²¹²⁷ There are, however, some attestations of the variant Πετεάμουνις as exceptions.

Upper Egypt, Egyptian *yod* has not been transcribed²¹²⁸. The phonetic assimilations, the contractions and even the drop of the *yod* of *Īmn* in final position reveal its phonetic weakness in the name.

Egyptian *m* is transcribed as simple *μ* in all the attestations except in the name [Ψε]γαμμοῦν(ιος)²¹²⁹ in which it seems to have been rendered as geminated *μ*²¹³⁰. Similarly, *n* is represented as simple *ν* in all the transcriptional variants²¹³¹. In some attestations – the Coptic name *ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲉ*²¹³², and possibly *Ταμουϋνι* and *Παμουνι*²¹³³, a short vowel has been written after *n*²¹³⁴.


The vocalisation of the formant *Īmn* in final position has been represented as -ου- in most attestations. This rendering reflects that the vowel between *m* and *n* was accentuated when *Īmn* was situated at the end of the anthroponyms²¹³⁵. In 4 names, however, it appears as *υ*²¹³⁶, and in 5 attestations as *ο/ο*²¹³⁷. On the other hand, in 2 anthroponyms, *Σεννέμωνις* and *Πρεμμώνιος*, the

²¹²⁸ All the names with no rendering of *yod* belong to the variants *Πρεμμούνιος*, *Πρεμμώνιος*, *Προμμουν* and *Πρεμμουν*, from a prototype **P3-rmt-n-Īmn*, “The man of Amun”.

²¹²⁹ In P. L. Bat. XXII 7, Vo. 14, a bilingual document.

²¹³⁰ The name *Πάμμουνιν* (SB XXIV 16005, 2) has not been included here because its reading is not certain



²¹³¹ In P. Col. Zen. II 106, 5 the name *Φάμ[ο]ννιν* , with double *ν*, has been read, but it has not been included here because the rendering of *Īmn* in final position is not clear.

²¹³² In O. Crum ST 91, 1.

²¹³³ Cf. P. L. Bat. XXVI 28, 2: *Παμουνι* and P. L. Bat. XXVI 29, 3: *Ταμουϋνι γυ(νή)*.

²¹³⁴ Cf. PESTMAN, P. W., *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*, p. 491.

²¹³⁵ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 22.

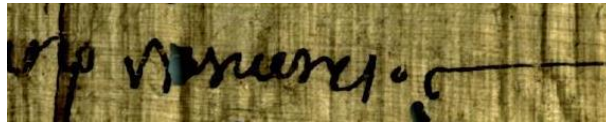
²¹³⁶ Cf. *Θάμνιν* (P. Count. 6, 459), *Πεταμόνιος* (P. Tebt. II 398, 6), *[Τά]μουνιν* and *Τάμυνις* in the inscription *Γοργίας φιλεῖ [Τά]μουνιν | καὶ Τάμυνις Γοργίαν φιλεῖ* (I. Delta II 638, 1 and 2). In P. Cairo Zen. III 59320, Ro. 2, the editor has incorrectly read *Φαμόνιος*: a little *ο* has been missed between *μ* and *ν*. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming. On the interchange of *ου* and *υ* in the κοινή, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 214-216.

²¹³⁷ In *Ψενάμωνις* (O. Theb. Gr. 49, 1), *Παμόνου* (PSI I 77, 34), *ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛ* (CPR IV 171, 16), *ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲉ* (O. Crum ST 91, 1) and *ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲉ* (O. Vind. Copt. 120, 11). These attestations probably render *Īmn*, but they can also transcribe the name of Ammon. For the name *ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲉ*, the editor wonders if the scribe meant *ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲥ*. On the confusion of *and* in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 211-214.

vocalisation seems to be represented as ω ²¹³⁸. It is not possible to know if these anthroponyms contain the transcription of the name Libyan god Ἄμμων or if there is a confusion of \omicron/ω and $\omicron\upsilon$ as it is found in the κοινή²¹³⁹. Since these anthroponyms date from the Roman period, it is not impossible that they have been influenced by the Greek names in -άμμων/-άμων.



PSI I 77, 34: Παμόνου



P. Lips. I 97, col. 8, 2: Πρεμμώνιος

5. CONCLUSION

Greek transcriptions of *Īmn* not only reveal the vocalisation of the word according to its situation within the anthroponyms, but also reflect the nature of Egyptian accent in the spoken language of the Graeco-Roman period. When *Īmn* is situated in absolute or final position, the vowel between *m* and *n* is written as $\omicron\upsilon$ in most variants. On the other hand, when *Īmn* is at the beginning (absolute or secondary) of the proper names, its vocalisation is mainly represented as an etimologically short Greek vowel (ϵ or \omicron), or even not noted: the vowel alternation and the elision reveal that the vowel between

²¹³⁸ Σευννέμωνις: SB V 7576, 1, dated from the first century AD; Πρεμμώνιος: P. Lips. I 97, col. 8, 2, with 338 AD as *terminus post quem*. On the other hand, COLIN, F., “Ammon, Parammon, Poséidon, Héra et Libye à Siwa”, p. 103, considers the name Σφανέμων (TM Nam 19127), attested only in the Western desert (in the Siwa Oasis and El-Areg, in SB X 10551, 2 and P. Graux II 27, 3, 7, 15, 20 and incomplete in SB X 10551, 35), as the transcription of Egyptian **Ns-p3-ḥr-Īmn*, “He belongs to the face of Amun”, apparently not attested in Egyptian. However, this anthroponym probably does not refer to the Egyptian Amun, but to the Libyan god Ammon and, because of that, the vocalisation is ω and not $\omicron\upsilon$. On the other hand, the name Πάμωντος (SB XIV 11381, col. 2, 21), which has been considered as a transcription of *Pa-Īmn* (TM Nam 722) in the Trismegistos database, is actually the transcription of *Pa-Mnt*, “The one of Montu”, in genitive.

²¹³⁹ On the confusion of $\omicron\upsilon$, \omicron and ω , cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 211-216, 275-277.

m and *n* was pronounced as /ə/. In all the positions of *Īmn*, however, the *yod* is represented as α or ε according to the phonetic context and in some attestations it is even omitted. These differences in the representation of the vocalisation and the *yod* of *Īmn* show that the Egyptian accent of this period was strongly intensive. In the names containing the element *Īmn* in absolute and final positions, the stress was situated on -αμμον; when *Īmn* was in initial position (absolute or secondary), none of its syllables was accentuated. The rendering of final *Īmn* with ου in most attestations, and almost without exception, shows that the names in -άμμων/-άμων, which date from the Roman period onwards, do not transcribe *Īmn*: in some attestations, -άμμων/-άμων could allude to the Libyan god Ammon, but in most names it probably represents a grammaticalised ending whose meaning was already lost in the Roman period.


CHAPTER 2

3s.t/I s.t

$\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$


1. $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ IN ABSOLUTE POSITION

A. $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ in names without a morphological ending and the anthroponym Ἰσις and its variants

The name $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ ²¹⁴⁰, “Isis”, in absolute position is found in several variants in Greek transcription, which are attested more than 150 times²¹⁴¹. The best attested variants are Ἰσις²¹⁴² (84 attestations) and Ἰσεις (40 attestations). 5 different renderings are found in the Fayum, 2 in Lower Egypt and 4 in Upper Egypt. The variant Ἰσ- is the most frequent in all the geographical areas, and especially in the Fayum, where it represents 91.02 % of the attestations, and Oxyrhynchus (U19) (86.20 % of the transcriptions)²¹⁴³. Except the Coptic anthroponyms εἰσε²¹⁴⁴, εἰσει²¹⁴⁵, ισε²¹⁴⁶ and ισι²¹⁴⁷, and the name Ἑσε²¹⁴⁸, all the Greek renderings of $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ have been hellenised with the morphological ending -ις/-εις.

	00	L00	L01	L03	L11	U03	U04	U09	U10	U15	U17	U19	U20
Εἰσ-	3	1			2	1		3		1		3	1

²¹⁴⁰ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 74, *Ḳs.t iḳ.t*, n. 1.

²¹⁴¹ Cf. TM Nam 3447: 153 attestations in Greek rendering. The name $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ in absolute position is also attested in hieroglyph: cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 3.18: .

²¹⁴² The name Ἰσις is also listed in *LGPN I*, p. 239 (Delos, first century BD; and Lesbos, first century BC – first century AD).

²¹⁴³ The following attestations, which have been totally or partially reconstructed, have not been included here: [Ἰσι]τος (SB I 5247, col. 1, 2), [Ἰσις] (SB I 5247, col. 1, 15), [Ἰ]σιν (Stud. Pal. XX 11, 20), [Ἰ]σε[ι]τος (BGU IX 1891, col. 17, 507), καὶ Ἰσεις (P. Oxy. XIV 1637, 6), Ἑσε[ι] (PSI VIII 874, Ro. col. 2, 23).

²¹⁴⁴ In O. Crum 437, 6 and CPR XII 22, 5: εἰσε.

²¹⁴⁵ In CPR II 14, 1; 23, 2: εἰσει.

²¹⁴⁶ P. Lond. Copt. 681, 8: ισε.


²¹⁴⁷ In P. Lond. Copt. 1235, descr.: ισι.


²¹⁴⁸ This name is not completely sure. Cf. SB I 5097, 1: Εσε (?); it has been reconstructed in PSI VIII 874, Ro. col. 2, 23:

Ἑ[σε .

ⲉⲓⲥⲉ	1						1						
ⲉⲓⲥⲉⲓ	2												
ⲓⲥ-												1	
ⲓⲥ-	71	1	1	2			1		1	4	1	25	2
ⲓⲥⲉ	1												
ⲓⲥⲓ	1												
Total attestations	79	2	1	2	2	1	2	3	1	5	1	29	3

The first Egyptian phoneme – probably *aleph* or *yod* – contained in the name of ⲗⲥⲧⲓⲥ²¹⁴⁹ is represented as ⲓ-/ⲓ-/ in 93.58 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 57.14 % from Lower Egypt and 75.55 % from Upper Egypt. In 5 anthroponyms from the Fayum, 3 from Lower Egypt and 10 from Upper Egypt, it is rendered as ⲉⲓ-/ⲉⲓ-/ in Greek writing, and in one name from Oxyrhynchus²¹⁵⁰, it appears as ⲓⲥ- due to the iotacism characteristic of Koine Greek²¹⁵¹. In 100 % of the attestations, Egyptian *s* is represented as -ⲥ-/ⲥ-/. In Coptic attestations, which do not have a Greek morphological ending, contain a vowel after *s* that appears as as -ⲉⲓ-/ⲓ or -ⲉ²¹⁵². This vowel, presumably weak, is not visible in Greek transcriptions due to the addition of a morphological ending. The low number of Coptic attestations of this name do not allow to know if these different vowels represent dialectal features here²¹⁵³.

²¹⁴⁹ The first phoneme and the reading of the name are unknown. In hieroglyph, this name is generally represented as , with the same throne – an ideogram and phonogram representing the group *st* – that is also used to write the name of

“Osiris”: , *Wsir*. In Coptic this name generally appears as ⲙⲥⲉ (Sahidic, Old Coptic) or ⲙⲥⲓ (Bohairic). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 55: “La lecture donnée (*s.t*) de ce nom *n'est pas exacte*”; Cf. ERMAN, A., GRAPOW, H., *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache* V, p. 8.

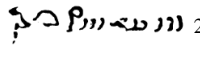
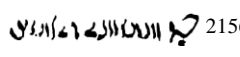
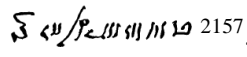
²¹⁵⁰ In the name ⲓⲥⲉⲓⲥ (P. Oxy. LXII 4340, Ro. 30): .

²¹⁵¹ On the itacistic confusion of ⲓ, ⲉⲓ and ⲓ, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 235-242.

²¹⁵² In Bohairic and Fayumic texts this vowel seems to be represented as -ⲓ, and in Sahidic, Akhmimic and Sub-Akhmimic, -ⲉ. Cf. TILL, W. C., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 10.44; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 55. On the other hand, on the confusion of ⲉ and ⲓ in Koine Greek, Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 249-256.

²¹⁵³ Cf. PESTMAN, P. W., *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*, p. 491.

B. Ἰσις in Greek derivations

More than 20 proper names with different Greek suffixes have been formed from Ἰσις²¹⁵⁴: of these, Ἰσίδωρος, Ἰσιδώρα, Ἰσίων, Ἰσᾶς and Ἰσάριον, with more than 100 attestations each, were the most popular in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The Demotic attestations of some of these anthroponyms, which have been written with uniteral signs and include the foreign determinative in some cases, indicate that scribes considered these anthroponyms as Greek and not as Egyptian and, as such, they transcribed them from Greek into Demotic: *Ysywn* (Ἰσίων)  ²¹⁵⁵, *Ȑysytȓtws* (Ἰσίδωτος)  ²¹⁵⁶, *Ȑysytwrs* (Ἰσίδωρος)  ²¹⁵⁷.

Greek name (most frequent variant)	Most frequent Demotic transcription	Attestations in Greek	TM Nam	LGNP (volume: page)
Εἰσαρεύς ²¹⁵⁸	---	1	21634	---
Ἰσάμμων	---	4	6946	---
Ἰσάρης + Ἰσαρίς ²¹⁵⁹	---	3 + 1	23983 + 16943	---
Ἰσάριον	---	116	34866	---
Ἰσαρίων	---	10	6947	---
Ἰσαροῦς	Hysr'	95	6948	---
Ἰσαρουτάριον ²¹⁶⁰	---	1	36939	---
Ἰσᾶς	---	146	3435	I: 238; II: 239; III.A: 224; IV: 177; V.A: 231; V.B: 218
Ἰσι...	---	8	6954	---


²¹⁵⁴ It is not easy to determine if the name Ἰσις is situated in absolute or initial position in names that were considered Greek and had suffixes with certain meanings (cf. Ἰσίδωτος, Ἰσίδωρος, Ἰσιόγονος...). This distinction, however, is not probably important in Greek names, in which, in general, there is no difference in the transcription of linguistic elements according to their position within the name as in Egyptian anthroponyms. Therefore, the Greek proper names containing the name Ἰσις are examined in this part.

²¹⁵⁵ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 93.

²¹⁵⁶ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1.


²¹⁵⁷ Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 2, n. 3.

²¹⁵⁸ In P. Oxy. III 492, 11: Εἰσαρεῦτος.

²¹⁵⁹ In P. Col. VII 130, Ro col. 1, 7: Ἰσαρίς .

²¹⁶⁰ In P. Thmouis I, col. 130, 15-16: Ἰσαρουταρίω.

<i>(incomplete names)</i>				
Ἰσιάδης ²¹⁶¹	---	2	3449	IV: 177
Ἰσίακος	---	3	30772	---
Ἰσιάς	Ἰsy3s, Yss	48	3448	I: 238; II: 239; III.A: 224; III.B: 211; IV: 177-178; V.A: 231; V.B: 218
Ἰσιδότη	Ἰsytt3	3	3450	I: 238; II: 239; III.B: 211; V.A: 232; V.B: 218
Ἰσιδοτος	Ἰsytt3tws	34	3455	I: 238; II: 239- 240; III.B: 211; IV: 178; V.A: 232; V.B: 218
Ἰσιδώρα	Ysytt' r3.t	726	3451	I: 238; II: 240; III.A: 224; III.B: 211; IV: 178; V.A: 232; V.B: 218
Ἰσιδωριανός	Ysyttwr3n	31	6959	IV: 178
Ἰσιδωρος	Ἰsytrs, Ἰstrs, Ἰsydwrs	2406 + 9 + 39	7950 + 30396 + 36922 <i>(incomplete names)</i>	I: 238-239; II: 240-241; III.A: 224; III.B: 211- 212; IV: 178; V.A: 232; V.B: 218-219
Ἰσιόγονος ²¹⁶²	---	1	27936	---
Ἰσιόνη/ Ἰσιώνη	---	4	18278	---
Ἰσιος ²¹⁶³	---	5	6960	---
Ἰσιών	Ἰsiwn	364	3458	I: 239; II: 242; III.A: 224; III.B: 212; IV: 178; V.A: 232; V.B: 219
Ἰσοῦς	---	5	9686	---
Ἰσως	---	4	22028	---

²¹⁶¹ In P. Baden II 2, Ro. script. ext. 36: Ἰσιάδ[ης]  ; and Vo. 46: [Ἰσ]ιάδο[υ].

²¹⁶² In P. Strasb. Gr. VI 671, 7: Ἰσιογόνου.

²¹⁶³ In P. Strasb. Gr. I 55, 11: Ἰσιού.

For the representation of the name Ἰσις in these names, 12 variants are attested in the Fayum, 5 in Lower Egypt and 14 in Upper Egypt. The variants Ἰσ-/Ἰσι- are the best attested in all the geographical areas²¹⁶⁴.

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L07	L11	L12	L14	L16	L18	L19
Εἰσ-	10	3		2							1	
Εἰσι-	20	3	2									
εἰσι-	2											
Ἡσ-	1											
Ἰ-	1											
Ἰσ-	503		8	4	2					1		
Ἰσει-	1											
Ἰσι-	1536	104	41	5	1	1	10	5	1	11	5	1
ισι-	1											
Ἰσιο-	1											
Ἰσο-	1	1										
Οἰσι-	1											
Σι-	1											
Total attestations	2079	111	51	11	3	1	10	5	1	12	6	1

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U06	U07	U08	U09
Εἰσει-									1
Εἰσ-				1				1	
Εἰσι-				3				1	1
εἰσι-				1					
εἰ-				3					
Ἰσ-	2			7					14
Ἰσι-	32	7	1	163	5	3	1	9	89
ισι-				15					
Ἰσο-			1						
Συ-									1
Total attestations	34	7	2	193	5	3	1	11	106

	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20	U22
Εἰσ-			1		6	1	
Εἰσι-			4		3	3	
εἰσι-			3				
Ἐσει-			1				
Ἰδι-			1				

²¹⁶⁴ The following names, which have been partially or totally reconstructed, have not been included here: [σίωνι(?)] (P. Aberdeen 38, 3), Ἰσιών (P. Grenf. II 20, col. 1, 4), [Ἰ]σίωνι (SB XIV 11381, col. 2, 9), [Ἰσι]ιάδο[υ] (P. Baden II 2, Vo. 46), Εἰ[σιδω]ρου (P. Leipz. 6 Vo., 4), [Ε]ἰσιδ[ω]ρου (I. Syr. 515, 6-7), Εἰ[σι]δ[ω]ρ[α]ς (Stud. Pal. XX 68 Vo II r, Fr1,2 10-11), Εἰ[σιδω]ρ[α] (P. Ant. I 33, Vo. 8), [Εἰσ(?)]ιδό[της(?)] (P. Iand. VII 139, Ro. 8), [Ἰσιδω]ρ[ος] (O. Edfou II 241, 1), Ἰσιδ[ω]ρ[α] (P. Lips. I 55, Ro. 1), Ἰσι[δω]ρ[ος] (P. Erl. Diospolis 1, 301), Ἰσιδ[ω]ρ[α] (P. Lips. I 50, Ro. 1), Ἰσιδ[ω]ρ(ου) (P. Lond. V 1661, 30).

Ἰσ-	2	3	6	1	56	11	
Ἰσσι-					1	1	
Ἰσι-	9	4	366	1	279	71	2
ισι-			6				
Total attestations	11	7	388	2	345	87	2

In 98.31 % of the anthroponyms from the Fayum, 94.81 % from Lower Egypt and 95.68 % from Upper Egypt, the name Ἰσις starts by Ἰ-/ι-. The beginning of the name appears as Εἰ-/εἰ- due to the iotacism in 32 anthroponyms from the Fayum (1.53 % of the attestations), 11 from Lower Egypt (5.18 %) and 29 from Upper Egypt (2.40 %); and presumably as Ἥ- in one attestation – the name Ἥσῳτρο[ς] from Tebtynis²¹⁶⁵ –. In one anthroponym, Εἰεσίδωρος²¹⁶⁶, an ε has been added between Εἰ- and -σ-. In addition, the confusion between the Greek phonemes /y/ and /i/ is reflected in the name Οἰσίτωρος²¹⁶⁷, in which οἰ, identified with υ²¹⁶⁸, has been interchanged with ι²¹⁶⁹. In one Greek and three Coptic attestations, the first letter of the name has been represented as ε-²¹⁷⁰. In two anthroponyms, Σίδωρος and Σύδωρος²¹⁷¹, no vowel has been written in Greek before -σ-.



P. Berl. Leihg. I 15, Ro. 4: Ἥσῳτρο[ς]

²¹⁶⁵ In P. Berl. Leihg. I 15, Ro. 4.

²¹⁶⁶ In SB XVI 12446, 1, probably from Sohag (U09).

²¹⁶⁷ In P. Col. VII 161, col. 1, 10.

²¹⁶⁸ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 197-199.

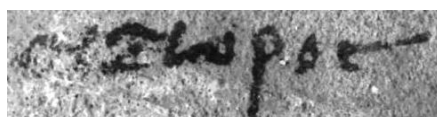
²¹⁶⁹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 267-273.

²¹⁷⁰ In the names Ἑσειδώρου (P. Lond. Copt. 1140, Greek part, 1), εἰσιτωρος (O. Crum 437, 2), εἰσιλωρος (P. KRU 47, 2) and εἰσιλρε (P. KRU 2, 28).

²¹⁷¹ In O. Mich. III 1091, 3: Σίδωρος; and *CRIPPEL* II 216 = C. Étiq. Mom. 2073, 2: Σύδωρος.



P. Col. VII 161, col. 1, 10: Οἰσίτωρος



O. Mich. III 1091, 3: Σίδωρος

The sibilant phoneme of Ἰσις is represented as -σ-/-ς- in all the attestations except in the name Ἰδ[ώ]ρα (Ἰ<σι>δ[ώ]ρα)²¹⁷², in which the omission of the group -σι- is probably due to a mistake of the scribe. In the names Ἰσιάδης, Ἰσίακος, Ἰσιάς, Ἰσιδότη Ἰσιδοτος, Ἰσιδώρα, Ἰσιδωριανός, Ἰσίδωρος, Ἰσιόγονος, Ἰσιόνη/Ἰσιώνη and Ἰσιος, a union vowel is added between the -σ-/-ς- of the root and the Greek suffix²¹⁷³. In 99.68 % of the attestations, this vowel is -ι-/-ι-, and in four names the itacistic variants -ει-/-ει- appear²¹⁷⁴. In the name Σύδωρος²¹⁷⁵, on the other hand, the phonetic confusion of /y/ and /i/ is reflected²¹⁷⁶. The timbre /i/ of the union vowel in most attestations is probably due to analogy with the morphological ending -ις of the anthroponym Ἰσις²¹⁷⁷. However, in the variants Ἰσόδωρος, Ἰσοδώρα and Ἰσόδοτος²¹⁷⁸ the union vowel has the timbre /o/, possibly owing to regressive assimilation with the o or ω of the next syllable.

²¹⁷² In P. Tebt. II 375, 2.

²¹⁷³ Only in one attestation this union vowel has been omitted, possibly because of an error of the scribe: Ἰσδωρος (P. Mich. IV 225, col. 59, 1477).

²¹⁷⁴ In the names Ἰσειῶς (P. Berl. Leihg. II 39 Vo., col. 6, 192), Ἰσειού (P. Oxy. VI 988 Vo. descr.), Ἰσειδωρον (CPR VIII 59, 2) and εσειδωροϋ (P. Lond. Copt. 1140).

²¹⁷⁵ In *CRIPEL* II, 216 = C. Étiq. Mom. 2073, 2.

²¹⁷⁶ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 267-273.

²¹⁷⁷ Cf., for example, the names Ἀρτεμίδωρος/Ἀρτεμιδώρα (TM Nam 2343 and 2340), but Ἀθηνόδωρος/Ἀθηνοδώρα (TM Nam 2175 and 2171), Διόδωρος/Διοδώρα (TM Nam 2821 and 2787), Ἡλιόδωρος/Ἡλιοδώρα (TM Nam 4530 and 4529), Θεόδωρος/Θεοδώρα (TM Nam 5490 and 5470),...

²¹⁷⁸ Cf. Ἰσοδώρου (P. Princ. II 16, col. 2, 1), Ἰσοδώρα (SB I 419, 1) and Ἰσόδοτος (I. Thèbes à Syène 29, 1).



P. Tebt. II 375, 2: Ἰ<σι>δ[ώ]ρα


2. *Ἰs.t/Ἰs.t* IN INITIAL POSITION

2.1. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

Ἰs.t/Ἰs.t in initial position appears in 5 Egyptian anthroponyms attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription; of these, *Ἰs.t-wr.t*, “Isis the great”, and *Ἰs.t-rpy/Ἰs.t-rnp.t*, “Isis is rejuvenation”, with more than 100 attestations in transcription each, were the most popular.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in Greek rendering	TM Nam
Ἰs.t-ī.īr-di-s	Isis is the one who has given him/her	Ἰσερτάεις, Σορταῖος	8	7882
Ἰs.t-wr.t	Isis the great	Σόηρις	486	190
		Σοήρους	85	19536
		Σουήρα	2	24088
Ἰs.t-m-Ḥb	Isis is in Chemmis	Ἰσένχηβις ²¹⁷⁹	1	177
Ἰs.t-(m/n)-rpy/ Ἰs.t-(m/n)-rnp.t ²¹⁸⁰	Isis is rejuvenation	Ἰσέρεμπις	112	178

²¹⁷⁹ Presumably in P. Count. 6, 563: Ἰσέλχηβις. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 78. Cf. also P. Count, p. 225 ; FORGEAU, A., “Aux origines du nom Harchébis. Le dieu « Horus dans Chemmis » existe-t-il ?”, p. 214.

²¹⁸⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 78: “Isis verjüngt sich”. The Egyptian prototype of the name Ἰσέρεμπις and other variants seems to be *Ἰs.t-(m/n)-rnp.t*, which appears to be equivalent to *Ἰs.t-(m/n)-rpy*. Both anthroponyms are attested in Demotic. This equivalence is confirmed by a bilingual mummy label (*CRIPÉL* III 435, 1-2), in which the name Αἰσονορονπε in transcription corresponds to Demotic *Ἰs.t-rpy.t* . Cf. QUAEGERBEUR, J., “Eseremphis. Une Isis de haute époque en vogue dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine”, p. 71: “De cette étude onomastique il résulte que la dénomination Eseremphis se compose du nom d’Isis et du terme *rnpj*, qui est en quelque sorte interchangeable avec *rnp.t*. Ceci ne doit pas nous surprendre puisque le mot *rnp.t* «année» dérive de la racine *rnp(i)* «être jeune, rajeunir, se renouveler» et signifie étymologiquement «ce qui se renouvelle (sc. annuellement)». Eseremphis peut donc se traduire par «Isis est rajeunissement» ou éventuellement «Isis est ce qui rajeunit, c.-à-d. l’année». Cf. also KOCKELMANN, H., *Praising the*

Ἰs.t-rḥ-s ²¹⁸¹	Isis is wise	Ἰεσόρχης	4	167
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2.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

Six variants of *Ἰs.t/Ἰs.t* in initial position are attested in the Fayum, five in Upper Egypt and one in Lower Egypt²¹⁸². The most frequent rendering of *Ἰs.t/Ἰs.t* is Σ-, which represents 69.69 % of the attestations.

	00	L00	L04	L16	L20	U01	U04	U06	U07	U09	U10	U15	U19	U20
Αἰσσο(ν)-										1				
Ἰεσ-	16					2	61	1		4			1	
Ἰεε-	91												2	
Ἰεε(ν)-	10													
Ἰεο-	6													
Ἰεο(ν)-	1									1				
Σ-	352	3	3	1	1	4			1	3	1	40	29	15
Total attestations	476	3	3	1	1	6	61	1	1	9	1	40	32	15

2.3. Linguistic characteristics

The first letter of the names starting by *Ἰs.t/Ἰs.t* in Greek transcription is rendered as Ἰ- in 26.05 % of the attestations from Lower Egypt and 43.37 % from Upper Egypt. In one transcription, Αἰσσονρονπε²¹⁸³, it has been represented as Αἰ-²¹⁸⁴. In 100 % of the transcriptions from Lower Egypt,

Goddess, p. 78; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 175; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 296-297.

²¹⁸¹ Cf. KOCKELMANN, H., *Praising the Goddess*, p. 81. Cf. also VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 253; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 541: *ἰ-/-ἰε-*: “impers vb, lit know, so be able, permitted (...) with pronom subj”. Greek transcriptions of this name, with the *r* preserved, seem to reflect a fossilized form of this verb.

²¹⁸² The following names, partially reconstructed, have been excluded: [Ἰεσ]υρεξ (P. Sakaon 18, 5), [Ἰε]έρο(ιτος) (O. Petrie Mus. 401, 2), [Σο]ήριος (P. Thmouis I 160, 1) and Σορ]ταίου (CPR XXIII 3, 3).

²¹⁸³ In *CRIPEL III* 435, 1-2.

²¹⁸⁴ On the interchange of α and ε in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, p. 191-193.

73.94 % from the Fayum and 56.02 % from Upper Egypt, no vowel is transcribed before the *s* of *ʒs.t/Ġs.t*. Most of the names with no representation of a vowel before Σ - are transcriptions of *Ġs.t-wr.t*, “Isis the great”. The only exception seems to be $\Sigma\omicron\tau[\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon]$ ²¹⁸⁵, which probably renders the Egyptian anthroponym *Ġs.t-i.ir-di-s*, “Isis is the one who has given him/her”. The omission of a vowel before σ in approximately 84 % of the renderings of *Ġs.t-wr.t*²¹⁸⁶ and the reduction of the representation of *ʒs.t/Ġs.t* to - σ - are probably due to the strength of Egyptian stress, which was probably situated on the adjective *wr.t*. In all the renderings, Egyptian *s* has been transcribed into Greek as simple σ , except in the anthroponym $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\rho\omicron\nu\pi\epsilon$, in which Egyptian *s* has been transcribed as geminated σ .

In the transcriptions of *Ġs.t-m-Hb*, *Ġs.t-(m/n)-rnpy* and *Ġs.t-rh-s*, an etymologically short vowel has been represented between the - σ - and next element of the anthroponym: in 103 attestations, this vowel is ϵ , and in 8 transcriptions it is \omicron . Even if there are some exceptions²¹⁸⁷, the timbre of the vowel represented seems to be influenced by the vowel of the next syllable (regressive assimilation): $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\rho\omicron\nu\pi\epsilon$, $\text{E}\sigma\omicron\nu\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\pi\epsilon$ ²¹⁸⁸, $\text{E}\sigma\omicron\rho\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ²¹⁸⁹; $\text{E}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\mu\pi\iota\varsigma$, $\text{E}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\rho\epsilon\mu\phi\iota\varsigma$, $\text{E}\sigma\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\phi\iota\varsigma$,... This etymologically short vowel represent the /ə/ pronounced as link between the two elements of the name.

In 13 (11.60 %) transcriptions of the name *Ġs.t-(m/n)-rnp.t/Ġs.t-(m/n)-rnpy*, a *v* has been written between the transcriptions of *Ġs.t* and *rnp.t/rnpy* as rendering of the Egyptian preposition *m/n* (cf. $\text{E}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\rho\epsilon\mu\phi\iota\varsigma$, $\text{E}\sigma\omicron\nu\rho\omicron\nu\pi\epsilon$, $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\rho\omicron\nu\pi\epsilon$). The low number of variants of this name with -*v*- and the lack of preposition in the Demotic attestations reveal that, in this anthroponym, the preposition *m/n* was not usually pronounced²¹⁹⁰.

²¹⁸⁵ In CPR XXIII 3, 8. The attestation $\Sigma\omicron\tau[\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon]$ (CPR XXIII 3, 3), found in the same text as the previous one, has not been considered here because its first part has been reconstructed.

²¹⁸⁶ In ciphers, approximately 87 transcriptions of *Ġs.t-wr.t* begin by $\text{E}\sigma$ - and 481 by Σ -.

²¹⁸⁷ Cf. $\text{E}\sigma\omicron\rho\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\omicron(\varsigma)$ (P. Ross. Georg. II 12, Ro. col. 2, 16). Three transcriptions of the name *Ġs.t-rh-s* have also been written with \omicron ($\text{E}\sigma\omicron\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$, in P. Count. 35, 44; P. Count. 49 Ro., 64 and 90), and one with ϵ ($\text{E}\sigma\epsilon\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$, in BGU X 1988, fr. A, 1). The names $\text{E}\sigma\omicron\nu\rho$ () (P. Petrie III 124, col. 2, 6) and $\text{E}\sigma\omicron\rho\rho\epsilon\mu$ () (P. Petrie III 124, col. 3, 6), which probably transcribe the prototype *Ġs.t-rnp.t/Ġs.t-rnpy*, are incomplete.

²¹⁸⁸ SB I 5464, Vo. 3.

²¹⁸⁹ In SB XIV 11266, col. 1, 11.

²¹⁹⁰ Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Eseremphis. Une Isis de haute époque en vogue dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine”, p. 69, note 32: “Dans les cas où *v* a disparu, ϵ ou \omicron témoignent encore souvent de la présence de *m/n* entre les deux éléments”. However, the ϵ or the \omicron that render /ə/ in Greek transcriptions do not only appear to connect two elements previously linked by a preposition: in some names, such as *Ġs.t-rh-s*, rendered into Greek as $\text{E}\sigma\omicron\rho\chi\eta\varsigma/\text{E}\sigma\epsilon\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$, the ϵ/\omicron seems to be the connecting element between both elements, between which there never was a preposition. Cf. also Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar*

3. *ʒs.t/Ġs.t* IN MIDDLE POSITION

3.1. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

ʒs.t/Ġs.t occurs in 6 Egyptian anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription, of which the best attested Ψενεσούηρις (< **Pʒ-šr-n-Ġs.t-wr.t*):

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
* <i>Pʒ-šr-n-Ġs.t-wr.t</i>	The son of Isis the great	Ψενεσούηρις	8	13002
<i>Pʒ-šr-n-ta-Ġs.t-ḥwʒ</i>	The son of the one of the generous Isis (?)	Ψεντασεύς, Ψεντασεύς ²¹⁹¹	6 3	25634 + 10337
* <i>Pʒ-di-Ġs.t-wr.t</i>	He who has been given by Isis the great	Πετεσούηρις ²¹⁹²	1	30607
* <i>Pa-Ġs.t-wr.t</i>	The one of Isis the great	Πασόηρις, Πεσούηρις	3 + 1	17341 + 24720
* <i>Ta-Ġs.t-rnp.t/rnpy</i>	Isis of the year/ The one of Isis of the year	Τεσέ[ρεμ]πις ²¹⁹³ , Τεσέρεμφις ²¹⁹⁴	1 + 1	26710 + 38795
* <i>Ta-Ġs.t-wr.t</i>	The one of Isis the great	Τεσούηρις	2	17834

of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I, p. 116-119 and especially 119: “The preconsonantal nasals could have simply been dropped in pronunciation or dropped with consequent nasalization of the preceding vowel. But evidence below for assimilation of nasals suggests that the nasal was sometimes assimilated completely to the following stop so that it did not merely change its own point of articulation but coincided with the following stop, perhaps voicing it”.

²¹⁹¹ On the equivalence of Greek Ψεντάσευτος, Ψεντασήνιος and Ψενταησύιος and Demotic *Pʒ-šr-n-ta-Ġs(.t)-ḥwʒ/Pʒ-šr-n-ta-Ġs.t-ḥwʒ*, cf. *Short Texts* II 698, A 3 and B 1; II 725 A 2 and B 1-2 and II 743 A 3 and B 3, respectively. Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 270. The word *ḥwʒ* is listed in JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter H, p. 62-66 and 68: “increase, excess”. The exact meaning of *Ġs.t-ḥwʒ* (“Isis is generous/profitable”?) is unknown.



²¹⁹² Presumably in O. Cairo 79, 2: Πε]τεσούηρις;



²¹⁹³ The name Τεσέρεπις, in P. Petaus 109, 2: [Τεσέρεμ]πις, is probably Τεσέρεμμις, since there is space to reconstruct also a μ in the text. This name should be corrected to Τεσε[ρέμ]πεως.

²¹⁹⁴ In P. Mich. IV 224, col. 111, 4317: Τεσερέμπεως.

3.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

The only common element that the anthroponyms in Greek characters with $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\acute{I}s.t$ in middle position appear to have is the σ of its root:

	00	U01	U04	U09	U19
-(α) σ -					3
-($\epsilon\iota$) σ -				1	
-(ϵ) σ -		1			
- $\epsilon\sigma$ -			7		
-(ϵ) $\sigma\epsilon$ -	2				
- σ -				1	
Total attestations	2	1	7	2	3

3.3. Linguistic characteristics

The Egyptian s of the name $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\acute{I}s.t$ is rendered into Greek as $-\sigma-$ in 100 % of the transcriptions. Except in the attestations of the name $\Psi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\eta\eta\rho\iota\varsigma$ ($< *P\mathcal{Z}-\acute{s}r-n-\acute{I}s.t-wr.t$), in which the second ϵ seems to render the first phoneme of $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\acute{I}s.t$, this is not clearly represented in any name due to the possible phonetic contractions with a preceding vowel (cf. $\Pi\alpha\sigma\acute{o}\eta\eta\rho\iota\varsigma < *Pa-\acute{I}s.t-wr.t$, $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\tau\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\eta\eta\rho\iota\varsigma < *P\mathcal{Z}-di-\acute{I}s.t-wr.t$, $\tau\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\phi\epsilon\omega\varsigma < *Ta-\acute{I}s.t-rnp.t/rnp\gamma$, $\tau\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\eta\eta\rho\iota\varsigma < *Ta-\acute{I}s.t-wr.t, \dots$). In the name $\tau\epsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\mu\phi\iota\varsigma/\tau\epsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\mu\pi\iota\varsigma$, an ϵ is written as a link between the σ the beginning of the next element ($rnp.t/rnp\gamma$). Like in the transcriptions of the name $\acute{I}s.t-(m/n)-rpy/rnp.t$ (cf. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\mu\pi\iota\varsigma$), this ϵ renders the $/\acute{a}/$ pronounced in the speech as phonetic connection of both elements. According to the Greek transcriptions, a reduced form of $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\acute{I}s.t$ was pronounced when it was situated in middle position and was, in all likelihood, unaccented.

4. *ʒs.t/Ġs.t* IN FINAL POSITION

4.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription

ʒs.t/Ġs.t appears at the end of more than 40 Egyptian anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription, of which the best attested names are *Pa-Ġs.t*, “The one of Isis”, *Ta-Ġs.t*, “The one of Isis”, and *Hr-pa-Ġs.t*, “Horos, the one of Isis” – with more than 1000 attestations each –, followed by *Pʒ-šr-n-Ġs.t*, “The son of Isis”, **Pʒ-šr-n-ta-Ġs.t*, “The son of the one of Isis”, *Pʒ-dī-Ġs.t*, “He who has been given by Isis”, *Pa-n-Ġs.t*, “The one of Isis”; and *Hr-sʒ-Ġs.t*, “Horos, son of Isis”, which are attested more than 100 times. The great number of attestations of containing the name of Isis in final position reveals the popularity of the goddess in Graeco-Egyptian onomastics.


Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*Wdʒ-Ġs.t	Isis is prosperous	Ότέησις ²¹⁹⁵	1	578
Pʒy-Ġs.t	This one of Isis	Παίησις, Πήησις, Φαίησις	7	4791
*Pʒ-ḥm-pʒ-dī-Ġs.t	The eagle of He who has been given by Isis	Παχομπετέησις	3	17404
*Pʒ-ḥm-ntr-Ġs.t	The prophet priest of Isis	Φέμνησις ²¹⁹⁶	14	901
Pʒ-šr-n-Ġs.t	The son of Isis	Ψένησις	401	976
*Pʒ-šr-n-pa-Ġs.t	The son of the one of Isis	Ψανπάησις ²¹⁹⁷	1	26195
*Pʒ-šr-n-Hr-sʒ-Ġs.t	The son of Horos, son of Isis	Ψεναρσίησις	2	23742
*Pʒ-šr-n-tʒ-šr.t-n-Ġs.t	The son of the daughter of Isis	Ψενσέννησις	4	23775
*Pʒ-šr-n-tʒ-šr.t-n-pʒ-dī-Ġs.t	The son of the daughter of He who has been given by Isis	Ψενσενπετέησις	1	25929
Pʒ-šr-n-tʒ-šr.t-n-Hr-pa-Ġs.t	The son of the daughter of Horos the one of Isis	Ψενσεναρπάησις	4	23773

²¹⁹⁵ In P. Count. 33, 6: Ότέησις. Cf. P. Count, p. 33: “If the reading is right, Oteesis should correspond to Wdʒ-ʒs.t, but neither the Greek nor the Demotic form is attested in the lexica”.

²¹⁹⁶ It is not completely sure if the name Φέμνασις derives from this prototype. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 783.

²¹⁹⁷ In O. Douch III 282, 6: Ψανπάησις.

*P3-šr-n-ta-Īs.t	The son of the one of Isis	Ψενθάησις	112	39406
P3-di-Īs.t	He who has been given by Isis	Πετέησις, Πετεήσης	512 + 2	846 + 33419
*P3-di-p3y-Īs.t	He who has been given by this one of Isis	Πετεπίησις	2	38390
P3-di-n=y-Īs.t	He who has been given to me by Isis	Πτενίησις	3	877
P3-di-Hr-p3-šr-n-Īs.t	He who has been given by Horos, son of Isis	Πτεαρψένησις	83	859
Pa-Īs.t	The one of Isis	Πέησις, Φάησις, Φάησις ²¹⁹⁸	12 + 1081 +	11432 + 685 +
		Παησοῦς	1	23627
*Pa-n-Īs.t	The one of Isis	Φάνησις, Πανήσις ²¹⁹⁹ (?), Πάνασις (?) ²²⁰⁰	268 + 1 + 2	17289 + 17294 + 11120
*Pa-t3-šr.t-n-Īs.t (?)	The one of the daughter of Isis (?)	Πασένασις (?) ²²⁰¹	1	11261
Ms-Īs.t ²²⁰²	Isis has been born	Μέσησις	8	467
Nhm-s-Īs.t ²²⁰³	Isis has saved him/her	Ναόμησησις	35	489

²¹⁹⁸ The name Φαήρη(ι)ος (P. Corn. 7, 6) has been identified as a ghostname for Φαήσεω(ς):  Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1286>; http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/zaw/papy/forschung/bullemendpap_3.1.pdf.

²¹⁹⁹ In O. Strasb. I 518, col. 1, 3: Πανήσις. If the reading is correct, the prototype of this name is uncertain. It could also be a hypocoristic of *P3-di-n=y-Īs.t*, “He who has been given to me by Isis”.

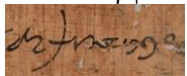
²²⁰⁰ In P. Oslo III 98, col. 2, 14: Πανάσεω(ς); P. Achmim 7, col. 2, 28: Ὡρος Πανάσιος. These names could also render **Pa-nhs*, “The son of the Aethiopian”.

²²⁰¹ In O. Eleph. DAIK 16, 3: Πασενάσεω(ς). This anthroponym could also render **Pa-t3-šr.t-n-nhs*, “The one of the daughter of the Aethiopian”.

²²⁰² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 604-605: *Ms-Īs.t* = *Ms=w-Īs.t*, “They have brought Isis”. The translation “das Kind der Isis (?)” in RANKE, H., *PN* II, p. 292.16 is uncertain. The *wau* between *ms* and *Īs.t* is reflected in some variants: Μεσίγησις (P. Count. 50 Ro., 232), Μεσιούησι (O. Strasb. I 578, 4). Cf. also VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 121; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 184-186; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter M, p. 224-230.

²²⁰³ On the meaning of *nhm*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter N, p. 104-106: “to seize, save”. Cf. also VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 152; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 243-245: ΝΟΥΖΜ (Sahidic; Sub-Achmimic), ΝΟΥΖΜ (Bohairic); LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 643.

Nḥt-Is.t	Isis is strong	Νέχθης	14	517
Hr-p3-šr-n-Is.t	Horos, the son of Isis	Ἀρψένης ²²⁰⁴	3	20213
Hr-p3-di-Is.t	Horos, he who has been given by Isis	Ἀρπιτεῖσιος ²²⁰⁵	1	28959
Hr-pa-Is.t	Horos, the one of Isis	Ἀρφάης,	1118 +	284 +
		Ἀρφάης ²²⁰⁶ ,	1 +	21309 +
		Ἀ<ρ>φάης ²²⁰⁷ ,	1 +	8909 +
		Ἀρφά[ης] ²²⁰⁸ ,	1 +	24741 +
		Ἀρπά{σ}ης	1	35542
		Ἀρπαίης	2	18727
		Ἀρπαήσιμος	1	28137
		Ἀρπαησίων	19	4415
		Ἀρπᾶσις, Ἄρφαῖσις (probably hypocoristics)	2	21310
		Ὀρπᾶς (hypocoristic)	1	22697
Hr-s3-Is.t	Horos, son of Isis	Ἀρσίης, Ἀρσίης ²²⁰⁹	379 + 3	298 + 26786
Hr-qn-Is.t	Horos, the one who Isis embraces	Ἀρκόννης ²²¹⁰	18	266
Htp-Is.t	Isis is pleased	Ἑπείης ²²¹¹	3	347

²²⁰⁴ In P. Oslo III 98, col. 2, 23, the name Ἀρψεντήσιο(ς) has been read by the editor. The *tau* between the *nu* and the *eta* is not, however, completely sure: .

²²⁰⁵ In P. Cornell 33, 22: Ἀρπιτεῖσιου. No image of this text is currently available, but this anthroponym seems to be a ghostname for Ἀρπετεῖσιου.

²²⁰⁶ The name Ἀρφαῖσιος(ς) (P. Berl. Leihg. I 8, col. 2, 30) that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.berl.leihg;1;8> is a mistake for Ἀρφαῖσιος(ς), which is the name that appears in the edition.

²²⁰⁷ On Ἀφάης[ς] (SB XXII 15216, 4), cf. SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., “Lists of Names from Karanis”, p. 15: “This name is not yet attested. Perhaps Ἀ<ρ>φαῖσις or Ἀφ<ρ>αῖσις was meant”.

²²⁰⁸ The name Ἀρφάκιο(ς), which has been read by the editor of P. Corn. 23, fr. b 9, has been identified as a ghostname for Ἀρφα[ης]ιο(ς). Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

²²⁰⁹ Cf. the name Hr-s3-Is.t in the list of the element Hr.

²²¹⁰ On the equivalence of the Demotic and the Greek forms, cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 863. Cf. also RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 248.15; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Q, p. 38: “bosom, breast”. Cf. Coptic ⲕⲟϣⲛ= in VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 82; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 111.

²²¹¹ All the Greek transcriptions of this name are in the same text: P. Adler Gr. 21, col. 1, 3; col. 2, 3 and 11.

Šp-n-Is.t ²²¹²	Gift of Isis	Σπένησις, Σπόννησις	2	1144
Gl-Is.t ²²¹³	He who betakes himself to Isis	Κελέησις	31	399
*T3-ir-Is.t	The one whom Isis has made	Τελέησις	15	1297
T3-rmt.t-n-Is.t	The woman of Isis	Τρεμένησις	31	1444
T3-šr.t-n-Is.t	The daughter of Isis	Σέννησις	72	1065
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-ḥm-ntr-Is.t	The daughter of the prophet priest of Isis	Θενφέμνασις	1	37620
T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Is.t	The daughter of the son of Isis	Σενψέννησις	7	13644
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Is.t	The daughter of He who has been given by Isis	Σενπέτησις	12	13679
T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-pa-Is.t	The daughter of Horos, the one of Isis	Σεναρπάησις, Σε<v>αρπάησις ²²¹⁴	8 1	13802 + 30108
T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-s3-Is.t	The daughter of Horos, son of Isis	Σεναρσίησις, Τιναρσιέγετις	11 + 1	15713 + 34155
T3-di-Is.t	She who has been given by Isis	Τατέησις, Τετέητις ²²¹⁵ , Τέτησις, Τάτισις	4	1360
*T3-di-p3-šr-n-ta-Is.t	She who has been given by the son of the one of Isis	Τατεψενθάησις	1	23519
Ta-Is.t ²²¹⁶	The one of Isis	Θαήσα ²²¹⁷	2	24072

²²¹² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), p. 964; RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 325.17; KOCKELMANN, H., *Praising the Goddess*, p. 78. On the meaning of Šp, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Š, p- 86-100.

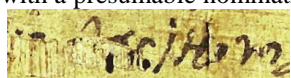
²²¹³ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1016: “Der, der bei Isis Zuflucht nimmt”; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter G, p. 53: *Gl*: “to entrust”. Cf. also VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 336-337; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 807-809; KOCKELMANN, H., *Praising the Goddess*, p. 75.

²²¹⁴ In I. Akôris 95, 1: Σεαρπάησις.

²²¹⁵ The reading of the name Τετέητις in P. Heid. Gr. VIII 420, C col. 2, 11 is doubtful; it is probably Τετέησις:



²²¹⁶ The reading of Ταίσειο(υ) (with a presumable nominative Ταίσειος) (TM Nam 29150) in P. Laur. II 22, 13 is doubtful



and has not been included here:

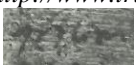
²²¹⁷ The name Θαισῶτο(ς) (SB 6 9428, 7), which has also been included in TM Nam 24072 along with Θαήσα, has been considered as a Greek derivation and is not considered in this part.

		Θαήσιον, Ταήσιον	18	14019
		Θάησις	1471	1237
*Ta-p3-di-Is.t	The one of He who has been given by Isis	Ταπετέησις	1	38748
*Ta-pa-Is.t	The one of the one of Isis	Ταφάησις, Ταπάησις ²²¹⁸ , Ταπαήσεις	3	35984
*Ta-n-Is.t	The one of Isis	Θάνησις, Τάνησις	2	6059
*Ta-nht-Is.t	The one of Isis is strong	Τανεχθένησις, Τανέχθησις	2	19419
*Ta-Hr-pa-Is.t	The one of Horos, son of Isis	Τααρπάησις	57	5995
		Τάαρφασις (hypocoristic)	1	23453
*Ta-Hr-s3-Is.t	The one of Horos, son of Isis	Τααρσιῶς (hypocoristic)	1	19225

B. The name Ἰσις in Greek derivations

Some Greek names derived from Ἰσις have been formed with the Egyptian pronoun *Ta-* in initial position. All of them date from the Roman period. These names can be distinguished from the Egyptian names with *Is.t* at the end and a Greek suffix (cf. Ἀρπαήσιμος or Ἀρπαησιών) because the base names existed (e. g. Ἰσάριον for Θαισάριον vs. **Ἰσιμος for Ἀρπαήσιμος) and were considered as Greek (cf. *supra*, “B. The name Ἰσις in other Greek derivations”)²²¹⁹:

²²¹⁸ In O. Ont. Mus. II 254, 11; in p. 85 the editor alludes to the name in P. Oxy. 2338. However, in P. Oxy. 2338, 41, the name Τανήσις has been identified as a ghostname for Ταπάησις. Cf. COLES, R., “The Naucratis and Their Ghost-Names: P. Oxy. 2338 Revised”, p. 203; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=1102>. The image

available in the edition does not really help: .

²²¹⁹ In some cases, and due to the itacistic variants, it is not easy to know if a name was considered as Egyptian with Greek morphological ending or as Greek with Egyptian elements. Cf., for example, the name Παησοῦς, which may have been formed from the Egyptian rendering Παησ- (< *Pa-Is.t*) plus the Greek suffix -οῦς, or from the Greek name Ἰσοῦς and the Egyptian element Πα- (and with an itacistic variant with η instead of ι). Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 235-242.

Most frequent Greek variant	Base name	Attestations	TM Nam
Θαιισᾶς, Θαιισᾶς ²²²⁰ , Ταιισᾶς	Ἰσᾶς/Εἰσᾶς	17 + 1 + 1	6023 + 24072 + 19236
Θαισάριον	Ἰσάριον	178	5391
Θαισοῦς	Ἰσοῦς	63	9466

In this type of anthroponyms, four variants are found for the writing of the name of Isis in final position, of which -ισ-, contained in 91.77 % of the attestations, is the best attested. In 16 attestations (6.92 %), the itacistic variant -εισ- has been written. On the other hand, the variant -(α)σ- occurs in the name Θασαρίον/Θασαρείον²²²¹; in these anthroponyms, the α is the result of the contraction of the vowel of the pronoun *Ta-* and the first phoneme of the name of Isis.

	00	L00	L04	L10	U19	U20
-(α)σ-	3					
-εισ-	14				2	
-ισ-	164	2	1	2	42	1
Total attestations	181	2	1	2	44	1

C. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown

Some Egyptian names attested in Greek transcription probably end by *ʒs.t/ʕs.t*, which appears as -ησ- in final position, but their complete Egyptian prototype is unknown:

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Νέησις	4	4239
Νωσθάησις	1	22647
Πεμπετεήσιος	1	23048
Πετεμψένησις	1	23099
Πευνέησις	1	5116

²²²⁰ TM Nam 24072 contains two different names: Θαῖσα and Θαισᾶς, which is attested in SB VI 9428, 7: Θαισᾶτο(ς).

²²²¹ Attested three times in P. Mich. IV 224, col. 23, 996: Θασαρείου; and P. Soter. 25, Ro. 31 and 34: Θασαρίου.

Ψάησις	3	25893
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In some of these anthroponyms, other elements apart from *Ḫst/Is.t* can be recognized. Thus, the name Πετεμψένησις²²²² probably starts by *Pḫ-di-* and ends by *-pḫ-šr-n-Is.t*. The middle element, represented as *-(ε)μ-*, cannot be identified. However, the possibility of a mistake of the scribe or an incorrect reading of the anthroponym, for which no photograph is available, should not be dismissed. Likewise, in the name Πεμπτετήσιος²²²³, which has been edited with a dot under the first *epsilon*, *pḫ-di* has been transcribed in middle position, but the previous part of the name poses a problem of interpretation. At first sight, since the first part of the name is slightly damaged in the papyrus, the impression is that it is probably a ghostname for Τσενπετεήσιος (*< Tḫ-šr.t-n-pḫ-di-Is.t*), “The daughter of He who has been given by Isis”, whose prototype is attested in Demotic. However, this interpretation does not seem to fit with the context mentioned in the text (cf. P. Brem. 41, 32-33: τοῦ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων υἱοῦ Πεμπτετήσιος): this anthroponym appears to be male.



P. Brem. 41, 33: Πεμπτετήσιος

In the name Νωσθάησις²²²⁴, on the other hand, the transcription of *Ḫst/Is.t* seems to be preceded by the pronoun *ta-*, “...the one of Isis”, but the prototype of the initial part of the anthroponym is unknown. In Ψάησις²²²⁵, only the last part is recognisable, but the impression is that it might be a ghostname for Φάησις (*< Pa-Is.t*, “The one of Isis”): in P. Ryl. Gr. II 126, 11, in fact, it has been edited

²²²² In P. Lond. II 259 Ro., col. 1, 13.

²²²³ In P. Brem. 41, 33: Πεμπτετήσιος.

²²²⁴ In P. Leipz. 26 Vo. 3: Νωσθάησιος.

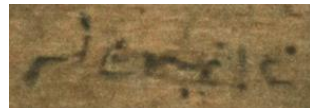
²²²⁵ In SB XVIII 13619, 9: Ψάησι; P. Ryl. Gr. II 126, 11: Ψάησι[ος]; and O. Bodl. II 2264 descr., 5: Ψάησιως. This name might be considered as a ghostname for Φάησις.

with a dot under the *psi*: Ψᾰήσι[ος]. Since there are no images available in the editions, it is not possible to confirm this reading.

In the names Πευνέησις²²²⁶ and Νέησις – a well-attested anthroponym –²²²⁷, only the last part, which might render *3st/Is.t*, can be recognised.



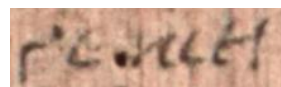
P. Col. Zen. I 52, Ro. 1: Νέησις



P. Cairo Zen. II 59271, Vo. 11: Νέησις



P. Cairo Zen. III 59471, 1: Νέησις

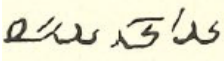


P. Cairo Zen. IV 59742, Vo. 26: Νεήσει

²²²⁶ In P. Hibeh I 53, 16.

²²²⁷ The reading of Νέησις is correct and well attested. Cf. P. Col. Zen. I 52, Ro. 1: Νέησις; P. Cairo Zen. II 59271, Vo. 11: Νέησις; P. Cairo Zen. III 59471, 1: Νέησις; P. Cairo Zen. IV 59742, Vo. 26: Νεήσει.

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἄρνασις,	1 +	8781
Ἄρνησις,	2 +	4407 +
Ἀρόννης,	1 +	37237 +
Ἀρόννησις	25	16655
Τααρόννησις	2	17872
Τιθοέννησις	8	18006

J. Vergote²²²⁸ proposed, on the other hand, a prototype **Hr-n-Īs.t*, “Horos, (son) of Isis”, for the names Ἀρόννησις, Ἄρνησις and Ἄρνασις. This prototype would also be contained in Τααρόννησις, which would derive from **Ta-Hr-n-Īs.t*, “The one of Horos, son (of) Isis”²²²⁹. However, the bilingual text O. Deiss. 46, 2: Ἄρνασις; and 4: *Hr-n št*  reveals the prototype of the name, which does not seem to allude to Isis²²³⁰. The word *n št*, “power, strength”²²³¹, is etymologically related to *n3-nḥt*: the anthroponym *Hr-n št* would consequently mean “Horos is strength” or “Horos is protector”. The names Ἄρνασις, Ἄρνησις, Ἀρόννης and Ἀρόννησις seem to derive from this prototype, and Τααρόννησις from **Ta-Hr-n št*, “The one of Horos is strength”. The alternation of α and η appears to occur in *nḥt* in final position (cf., for example Ψενπνῆχθις < **P3-šr-n-p3-nḥt*, “The son of the strong one”²²³², and Πατνάχθις < **P3-di-nḥt*, “He who has been given by the strong”²²³³), and the o between the representations of *Hr* and *n št* in the variants Ἀρόννης, Ἀρόννησις and Τααρόννησις would render the /ə/, which was in all likelihood pronounced as link of both elements. Likewise, the name Τιθοέννησις would not derive from a prototype **Twtw-n-Īs.t*, “Totoes, (son) of Isis”²²³⁴, but from **Twtw-n št*, “Totoes is strength” or “Totoes is protector”.

²²²⁸ VERGOTE, J., *Les noms propres du P.Bruxelles inv. E. 7616. Essai d'interprétation*, p. 7, n. 13.

²²²⁹ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Les noms propres du P.Bruxelles inv. E. 7616. Essai d'interprétation*, p. 18, n. 117.

²²³⁰ Ἄρνασις does not therefore derive from *Hr-(p3)-Nḥs* as it is found in WINNICKI, J. K. “Völkernamen als Personennamen im spätpharaonischen und griechisch-römischen Ägypten”, p. 175.

²²³¹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter N, p. 28 and 115. Cf. also VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 148-149, who gives the translations “force, protection”, “protecteur”, “victoire”; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 237-238: “strength, strengthener, protector”.

²²³² TM Nam 13035.

²²³³ TM Nam 22980.

²²³⁴ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Les noms propres du P.Bruxelles inv. E. 7616. Essai d'interprétation*, p. 19-20, n. 125.

4.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread of Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription

Approximately 15 variants for $\mathcal{J}s.t/\mathcal{L}s.t$ in final position are found in the Fayum and Upper Egypt and 6 in Lower Egypt²²³⁵. The transcription -ησ/-ης is the best attested variant in all the geographical areas.

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L09	L11	L14	L16	L20	L21
-αισ-	3										
-(α)σ/- (α)ς (?)	6										
-ασ- (?)	30										
-γησ-	4	1									
-(ει)σ-	2										
-εισ-	1	1	1								
-(ε)σ-	23		1						1		
-εσ-	3										
-η-	1										
-(η)σ-	73	6	13		1						
-ησ/-ης	3537	11	31	9	37	1	2	1	24	3	1
-ησε	1	2									
-ησι	1										
-ητ-	1										
-(ι)σ-	12										
-ισ-	6										
Total attestations	3704	21	46	9	38	1	2	1	25	3	1

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U07	U08	U09	U10	U12	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
-(α)σ/- (α)ς (?)								3	2					13	1
-ασ- (?)	1							3							2
-(α)σε														3	
-(ει)σ-				1											
-(ε)σ-				1										2	
-εσ-	1			4				1							
-(η)σ-	2			1	2	2		21	2			1		2	
-ησ/-ης	149	31	15	495	3	5	16	108	60	1	16	186	9	360	123
-(η)σε												1			
-ησε		1		1				1				1		1	
-(η)σε				1											

²²³⁵ The following names, which are totally or partially reconstructed, abbreviated or incomplete, have been excluded: Ἀ[ρσῶτος] (SB V 7634, Ro. 4), Φομνάσιο[ς] (P. Mil. Vogl. III 194 b, B 15), Φομνά(σ)ιος (SB VI 9370, col. 3, 13), Φεμνά(σεως) (P. Mich. II 124, Vo. col. 1, 18), Παει[σ]ί[ου] (BGU II 608, col. 1, 18), Πετε. σ[ο]ς (BGU II 515, 14-15), Π[έ]τ[ε]ς (BGU VII 1615, 22), [Πετ]εσί[ου] (P. Enteux. 58, Ro. 1), Πε[τ]ή[σ]ιος (P. Lips. I 28, 7), Ψενγή(σ)ιος (STERN, M., “Einblicke in die ptolemäische Verwaltungspraxis Nochmals BGU VI 1242 und BGU VI 1311”, p. 84, n. 2, 3), Πάησις] (P. NYU I 15, col. 1, 17), Πάτισ]ις (P. NYU I 15, col. 1, 18), Πάτι]σις (P. NYU I 15, col. 1, 24), [Θαισαρίω] (P. Mich. VIII 492, Vo. 26), [Τ(?)αῖ[σ]ος] (P. Adler Gr. 4, 8), [Ταισῶτος] (P. Graux II 18, 3), [Ἀρσιγήσιος] (P. Tebt. IV 1110, col. 1, 8), Τααρφαη() (BGU IX 1892, col. 1, 18).

-ΗCε				1		2	1		3		2	8			
-ησει	1														
-ησι	1														1
-ΗCΙ												1			
-ητ-															1
-ισ-	1			1				1	1					1	
-σησ-	1														
Total attestations	157	32	15	506	5	9	17	138	68	1	18	198	9	382	128

4.3. Linguistic characteristics

In 95.70 % of the transcriptions from the Fayum, 83.67 % from Lower Egypt and 95 % from Upper Egypt, the first phoneme of $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ has been rendered as η/ι. However, in 3 proper names from the Fayum²²³⁶ (0.08 % of the attestations of this area) and 6 from Upper Egypt²²³⁷ (0.35 %), the first letter of $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ in transcription is ε, and in 3 attestations from the Fayum it has been represented as αι²²³⁸. In addition, in 6 anthroponyms from the Fayum²²³⁹ (0.21 % of the attestations) and 5 from Upper Egypt²²⁴⁰ (0.29 %), the first letter of $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ in transcription is ι. It is not possible to know if these variants are due to a itacistic confusion or caused by the influence of Greek names derived from the name of Isis, which were mainly written with the vowel ι. In one attestation from the Fayum²²⁴¹ and two from Lower Egypt²²⁴², it appears with the itacistic variant εις. On the other hand, all the names with a contraction between the first phoneme of $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ and the last vowel of the precedent element resulting in ει, ε, η and in some attestations α are renderings of the prototype $P\mathcal{Z}-di-\dot{I}s.t$ (cf. Πέτησις,

²²³⁶ The anthroponyms Φάνεσις (P. Cairo Zen. III 59499 Vo. 63-64 and 95) and Πάνεσις (P. Customs 691-732, col. 2, 32).

²²³⁷ Ἡρσίεσις (I. Thèbes à Syène 89, 1), Ψένεσης (I. Syr. 1772, 2), [Ψέ(?)]νεσις (I. Syr. 1878, 1), Ἀρσίεσις (O. Leiden Gr. 24, 11 and 17), Ἀρσεέσεις (CRIPEL II 215, 2).

²²³⁸ In the names Φόμναισις (SB XIV 11569, 10), Φομναΐσιος (P. Mil. Vogl. II 88, 1) and Φομναΐσι[ο]ς (P. Kron. 45, 1). On the confusion of ε (αι) and η in the κοινή, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 242-249; CLARYSSE, W., “Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek”, p. 197.

²²³⁹ Ψ[έν]ισι (P. Hamb. I 117, 9), Ἀρπαΐσις (O. Mich. I 82, 8), Πάισις (P. Hamb. III 224, 22), Πάνισις (WINKLER, A., ZELLMANN-ROHRER, M., “A Bilingual Petition from the Priests of Roman Tebtynis: P. Mich. V 226 Once Again”, p. 197, l. 43), Ἀρπαΐσε[ως] (P. Lond. II 257 Ro., col. 4, 124) and, probably, Πάισ[ι]ς (P. Cairo Isid. 130, 4).

²²⁴⁰ Ἀρπαΐσις (P. Paris 12, 3), Ἀρπαΐσιος (O. Wilcken II 314, 3), Πανίσση (SB I 4170, Ro. 5), Παΐσις (SB III 6660, 1), Ταισεῖς (P. Oxy. XII 1515 descr., col. 2, 19).

²²⁴¹ Παεισίου (BGU II 608, col. 1, 19).

²²⁴² Φάνεισις (P. Cairo Zen. III 59519, Ro. 1), Ψενείσιος (P. Gurob 22, col. 2, 25).

Πέτεσις, Πέτεισις, Πάτισις); of these names, 73.56 % have η as result of the phonetic contraction. Therefore, in the contractions of *Pz-di-* and *-Īs.t*, the most usual rendering of the first phoneme of *Īs.t* – η – seems to prevail.

On the other hand, in approximately 25 transcriptions of the names *Hr-pa-Īs.t* and *Hr-sz-Īs.t* and their derivatives (cf. *Ta-Hr-pa-Īs.t*), the vowel of *sz.t/Īs.t* seems to be represented as α: Ἄρπασις/Ἀρφασις (< *Hr-pa-Īs.t*), Ὀρπᾶς (< *Hr-pa-Īs.t*), Ἀρσᾶς (< *Hr-sz-Īs.t*). This α also appears to be part of the ending -ᾶς characteristic of Greek hypocoristics: it is not possible to know to what extent α represents the vowel of *sz.t/Īs.t* or the morphological ending in these names: *Hr-pa-Īs.t* > Ἀρφάησις > *Ἀρφᾶς > Ἀρφᾶσις (with morphological re-characterization); *Hr-sz-Īs.t* > Ἀρσίησις > Ἀρσᾶς²²⁴³ > Ἀρσᾶσις²²⁴⁴ (with morphological re-characterization). In addition, in 30 anthroponyms from the Fayum and 9 from Upper Egypt, *sz.t/Īs.t* might have been transcribed as -ασ- at the end of the name. These rendering appears in names such as Πετέασις²²⁴⁵ (< *Pz-di-Īs.t* ?), Πάνασις²²⁴⁶ (< **Pa-n-Īs.t* ?), Πασένασις²²⁴⁷ (< **Pa-tz-šr.t-n-Īs.t* ?) and Φέμνασις/Φόμνασις/Φώμνασις²²⁴⁸ (< **Pz-ḥm-ntr-Īs.t* ?) Θενφέμνασις²²⁴⁹ (< **Tz-šr.t-n-pz-ḥm-ntr-Īs.t* ?), which date all from the Roman period. Since these renderings with -ασ- cannot be explained by any dialectal reason, if they render the element *Īs.t*, they might be due to the analogy with the hypocoristics containing the name *sz.t/Īs.t* and ending in -ᾶς that have been mentioned above.

²²⁴³ Cf. the names Ἀρσίησις καὶ Ἀρσᾶ, both sons of Petosiris (ἀμφοτέρων Πετοσίριος) in P. Oxy. XXXVI 2768, 1, 9-10, 13-14, 26-27, 29, 35. One brother seems to be called Ἀρσίησις and the other one's name appears to be Ἀρσᾶς, probably a hypocoristic also derived from Ἀρσίησις; both anthroponyms had probably the same etymology, but a differentiation was needed to distinguish each brother.

²²⁴⁴ The name Ἀρσᾶσι<ο>ς is attested in the bilingual text *CRIPPEL* III 364, A 1. Unfortunately, the Demotic part is unpublished.

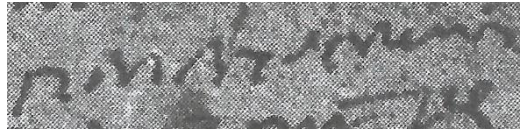
²²⁴⁵ TM Nam 846.

²²⁴⁶ TM Nam 11120. If the readings are correct, this name could also be the transcription of **Pa-nḥs*, “The one of the Aethiopian”.

²²⁴⁷ TM Nam 11261. If the reading is right, this anthroponym could also represent *Pa-tz-šr.t-n-nḥs*, “The one of the daughter of the Aethiopian”.

²²⁴⁸ TM Nam 901.

²²⁴⁹ TM Nam 37620.



O. Eleph. DAIK 16: Πασενάσεως

In 4 attestations from the Fayum²²⁵⁰ and one from Lower Egypt²²⁵¹, a γ is represented between the previous element and the η of *Ἰs.t* (cf. -γησ-); these variants probably indicate that the first phoneme of *Ἰs.t* was (semi)-consonantal. Since Egyptian *yod* and *wau* but not *aleph* are occasionally transcribed as γ in Greek renderings, the writing of γ in these variants leads to think that the Egyptian name of Isis probably started by *yod* and not by *aleph*²²⁵². In O. Wilcken II 303, 3, for which there is no image available, the variant Ἀρπάσησι is found. It is probably a mistake of the scribe for Ἀρπάησι or a ghostname for Ἀρπάγησι.

Egyptian *s* has been rendered as -σ-/-ς- in at least 99 % of the attestations²²⁵³. In one attestation from the Fayum²²⁵⁴, no *s* has been represented²²⁵⁵, and in two attestations, Ἀρσίητις (BGU VII 1532, 17) (*Hr-sḏ-Ḳs.t*) and Τετέητις (P. Heid. Gr. VIII 420, C col. 2, 11) (< *Tḏ-di-Ḳs.t*) – whose reading is not easy due to the faded ink –, Egyptian *s* seems to have been represented as τ²²⁵⁶. Both the omission of *s* and its representation as τ instead of σ are probably mistakes of the scribes.

²²⁵⁰ In the name Ἀρσίγησις, in P. Tebt. I 63, col. 1, 8; P. Tebt. I 64, col. 1, 5; P. Tebt. I 73, col. 2, 31 and P. Tebt. I 85, col. 3, 56.

²²⁵¹ In Ἀρσιγήσιος (P. Tebt. I 43, col. 1, 17).

²²⁵² Cf. ERMAN, A., GRAPOW, H., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* V, p. 8; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 55.

²²⁵³ The name Ταήζιτος, which has been read by the editor of SB XXIV 16000, col. 23, 694, is doubtful: This name has been considered as a rendering of Ta-Ḳs.t and included in TM Nam 1237 in the Trismegistos database.

²²⁵⁴ The name Θαήεως (P. L. Bat. VI 9, 24).

²²⁵⁵ On omission of σ in medial position in the κοινή, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 130-131.

²²⁵⁶ Cf. also O. Florida 14, 1: Τίναρσιέγετι (< *Tḏ-ḡr.t-n-Hr-sḏ-Ḳs.t*), which has not been included here because its place of provenance is unknown.



BGU VII 1532, 17: Ἀρσίητις



P. Heid. Gr. VIII 420, C col. 2, 11: Τετέητις

In some transcriptions representing *ʒs.t/ĭs.t* in final position, no Greek morphological ending has been added; instead, a vowel is represented in Greek or Coptic writing. Thus, one attestation from the Fayum, two from Lower Egypt and 27 from Upper Egypt end by -ε/-ε²²⁵⁷; one from the Fayum and three from Upper Egypt by -ι/-ι²²⁵⁸, and one from Upper Egypt by -ει²²⁵⁹. The dialectal distribution of the forms **ησε** (Sahidic) and **ησι** (Bohairic)²²⁶⁰ does not seem to fit with the distribution of the onomastic variants, possibly because of the itacistic confusion of ει, ε and ι in Koine Greek²²⁶¹.

5. CONCLUSION

ʒs.t/ĭs.t is differently represented in Greek transcriptions depending on its position within the names. In absolute position, the variant ἴσις is the best attested. In initial and middle positions, reduced forms

²²⁵⁷ Cf. Πατασε, Πετησε or παΔησε (< *Pʒ-di-ĭs.t*) (TM Nam 846), Ταησε/Τεησε and τΔησε (< *Ta-ĭs.t*) (TM Nam 1237), Παησε and παησε (< *Ta-ĭs.t*) (TM Nam 685), Πησε and πησε (< *Pʒy-ĭs.t*) (TM Nam 4791 and 685), ωρηΔησε (< *Hr-pa-ĭs.t*) (TM Nam 284) and ρωρσινησε, ρερσινησε (< *Hr-sʒ-ĭs.t*) (TM Nam 298).

²²⁵⁸ τΔησι (< *Ta-ĭs.t*) (P. Lond. Copt. 1059, 24 and P. Lond. Copt. 1252, 19) and Ὀρσαησι (< *Hr-sʒ-ĭs.t*) (BGU XVI 2674, fr. A col. 2, 35) and Ἀρπαησι (< *Hr-pa-ĭs.t*) (O. Eleph. DAIK 113, 7), which are probably in nominative.

²²⁵⁹ In the name Ψενθαησει (**Pʒ-šr-n-pa-ĭs.t*) (O. Eleph. DAIK 113, 5), which seems a nominative.

²²⁶⁰ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 55.

²²⁶¹ In fact, *epsilon* and *iota* sometimes seem to be interchangeable in the same text. Cf. P. Lond. Copt. 1059, 1 and 25: τΔησε; 24: τΔησι.

without a vowel preceding the σ are found. In approximately 90 % of the anthroponyms, $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ is rendered as $-\eta\sigma-$ in final position. The reduced forms that are found at the beginning and in the middle of the names probably indicate that those syllables were unstressed; however, when an anthroponym contained the element $\mathcal{Z}s.t/\dot{I}s.t$ in final position, the stress was probably situated on $-\eta\sigma-$, as the non-reduced forms and the use of the etymologically long vowel η show. On the other hand, in Greek derivations the representation of the name does not seem to differ according to the position and most attestations contain a ι before the σ (cf. Ἰσάριον and Θαισάριον): the vocalism of the Greek derivations appears to correspond to the vocalisation of most attestations in absolute position. The number of mistakes made by the scribes and the itacistic variants in Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription is not high: less than 1 % of the attestations containing the name Isis in final position have been written with an itacistic variant different from η . This reveals the use of model patterns to write Egyptian names in Greek transcription by the scribes of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

CHAPTER 3

Hr

Hr

1. *HR* IN ABSOLUTE POSITION

The name *Hr* ²²⁶² appears in approximately 10 anthroponyms in absolute position²²⁶³, of which Ὡρος and its variants – with more than 6000 attestations –, Ὡρίων – with more than 2000 – and Ὡριγένης – with more than 200 – are the best attested:

Egyptian base name (prototype)	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam	LGNP (volume: page)
Hr	Ὡλος, Ὡρος, Ὡρος ²²⁶⁴	4 6535 3	26179 + 356 + 30644	I: 488; III.A: 482; III.B: 445; IV: 360; V.A: 469
	Ὡραμμω() (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	1	39051	---
	Ὡρᾶς ²²⁶⁵	6	4673	---
	Ὡριαίνα ²²⁶⁶	1	25968	---
	Ὡριγ() (<i>abbreviated name</i>)	1	39052	---
	Ὡριγᾶς, Ὡριγᾶς ²²⁶⁷ (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	9 1	13121 + 23812	---

²²⁶² Image from LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), DN, *Hr*, p. 786-787, n. 64.

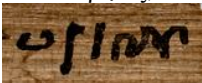
²²⁶³ It is not easy to decide if in names such as Ὡριγένης Horos is situated in absolute position with a Greek ending -γένης or at the beginning of the name, since suffixes as -γένης have indeed a meaning in Greek. Given that suffixes like -άμμων, -γᾶς, γένης, -γενία seem to be grammaticalized and were used for the creation of proper names rather than as names by themselves, we have considered that, in these anthroponyms, the element *Hr* is situated in absolute position. In other names, such as Ὡραπόλλωζ/ Ὡραπόλλων (TM Nam 13119), Ὡρηπιόδορος (TM Nam 25120), Ὡρόθεος (TM Nam 13125), Ὡρολέων (TM Nam 19045) or Ὡροπτολέεις (TM Nam 34290), we have considered that *Hr* is situated in initial position.

²²⁶⁴ The name Ὡροι as it appears in TM Nam 30644 is in fact in plural. Cf. O. Bodl. II 640, 1; 864, 1; 865, 1: Ὡροι β πράκ(τορες).

²²⁶⁵ The name Ὡρα is reconstructed and has not been included here as an attestation of Ὡρᾶς as it has been in the Trismegistos database. Cf. P. Strasb. Gr. VIII 785, 5: ἀμπ[ε]λῶ[νος] Ὡρα.

²²⁶⁶ In SB I 5995, 1: Ὡριαίνα.

²²⁶⁷ The name Ὡριγᾶς, in P. Rein. Gr. I 44, 22, edited with a dot under the *sigma*, has been identified as a ghostname for

Ὡριγᾶς: . The *gamma* of the anthroponym is in fact well visible.

	Ὠριγένης	408	4745	I: 488
	Ὠριγενία	17	4744	---
	Ὠριον ²²⁶⁸ , Ὠρίων	5 2602	26996 + 4746	Ὠρίων: I: 488; II: 481; III.A: 481-482; IV: 360; V.A: 469; V.B: 443
	Ὠρις	57	6925	---
	Ὠροῦς	2	24235	---
	Ὠρων	8	13127	---

Most of the names with *Hr* in absolute position have been graecised with a morphological ending (-αίνα, -άμμων, -ᾶς, -γάς, γένης, -γενία, -ις, -ίων, -ος, -οῦς, -ων,...). Given the impossibility to know at first sight in which of these names the name Horos is a Greek derivation and not a real rendering of Egyptian *Hr*, the variants of the anthroponyms without a Greek morphological ending²²⁶⁹ and those appearing in names with a Greek ending have been considered separately.

1.1. Anthroponyms without a Greek morphological ending

Egyptian *Hr* appears transcribed in Greek and Coptic characters without a Greek morphological ending in 8 different variants attested in the Fayum and Lower and Upper Egypt. The variant Ὠρ is the only one attested throughout Egypt, even if in some areas like the Fayum other variants (cf. Ὀλ, Ὠλ) have more attestations²²⁷⁰:

	00	L00	L01	U01	U04	U09	U10	U15	U19	U20
Ὀλ	151							2		4
Ὀρ	1	1								
Ὠλ	21								1	6
ωλ										2
Ὠρ	16	1	14	3	9	1	4	4	11	1
ϩωλ	1									
ϩωρ			1		2		7	12		
ϩωρε					1					

²²⁶⁸ The name Ὠριον is probably the same as Ὠρίων with confusion of ο and ω (cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 275-277). The variant Ὠριον occurs presumably in SB XXII 15824, 13: [Ὠ]ρίων; and in P. Prag II 136, col. 2, 13: Ὠρίων Θελά; 16: Ἑρμία Ὠριον; 20: Μηνᾶ Ὠρίων; 27: Ὠρίων Κογστάντιος.

²²⁶⁹ They are included in TM Nam 356 together with other renderings of Horos with morphological endings such as -ος or -ις.

²²⁷⁰ The following names, which have been partially or totally reconstructed by the editors, have not been included here: Ἀ[πα Ὀ]λ (Stud. Pal. X 297, 17), Ἀπα Ὀ[λ] (Stud. Pal. X 299, 4), [Ὀλ (P. Ross. Georg. V 61, Ro. fr. D 9, 12 and 15; and Vo. fr. C 14), Ὠρ (P. Strasb. Gr. VII 693, 7), Ἀπα Ὠ[λ] (Stud. Pal. XX 242, 29).

Total attestations	190	2	15	3	12	1	11	18	12	13
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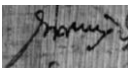

Egyptian aspiration *h* has been represented as 2 in all the Coptic attestations except in two, in which it has not been rendered²²⁷¹. The vocalization of *Hr* is represented as o in 152 attestations from the Fayum (80 %), 1 from Lower Egypt (5.8 %) and 6 from Upper Egypt (8.57 %), and as ω/ω in 38 names from the Fayum (20 %), 16 from Lower Egypt (94.11 %) and 64 from Upper Egypt (91.42 %). Although the alternance of o and ω is frequent in Koine Greek in all phonetic contexes²²⁷², the high rate of names in the Fayum written with o (80 %) instead of ω/ω (20 %) leads to think that the representation of the vocalisation of *Hr* mostly as o in this area may be dialectal. W. Vycichl²²⁷³ considers, in fact, the form 2ωρ as Sahidic. The λ/λ for the notation of Egyptian *r*, which appears in 173 attestations from the Fayum (91.05 %) is, on the other hand, certainly dialectal²²⁷⁴. The lambdacism is also found in 12 attestations from the Herakleopolites (U20) – an area close to the Fayum –, one from Oxyrhynchus (U19)²²⁷⁵ and presumably two from the Hermopolites (U15)²²⁷⁶. As it can be seen in the graph below, all the attestations with the lambacistic variant λ/λ date from the


²²⁷¹ In the name ωλ in CPR IV 50, 5 and 8.

²²⁷² Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 275-277, and especially p. 277: “The confusion of o and ω indicates that the sounds originally represented by these symbols became identified in /o/ after the loss of quantitative distinction. This identification came about elsewhere in the Koine by the beginning of the Roman period”.

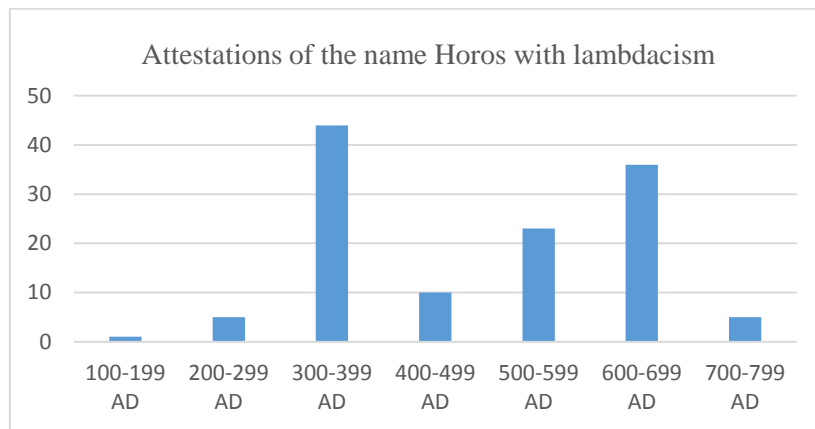
²²⁷³ Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 307.

²²⁷⁴ Cf. TILL, W., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 7.

²²⁷⁵ In P. Oxy. XVI 1917, Vo. 40: ἄπα ῥλ . The notation of this name with ρ in the other cases (cf. Ro. 76: ῥρ ; cf. also Vo. 109: ῥρρ) leads to think that the person mentioned in Vo. 40 probably came from the Fayum.

²²⁷⁶ In Stud. Pal. VIII 1171, 1: ἄπα ῥλ, whose provenance is not certainly known; and BGU XVII 2722, 12, where the reading ῥλ Στινίου proposed by the editor is not sure: . On the second name read, cf. BGU XVII, p. 127: “Lesung des Vatersnamens unsicher, dieser nicht in den papyrologischen Onomastika”.

Roman period onwards²²⁷⁷. One Coptic attestation – the name ⲥⲱⲣⲉ²²⁷⁸ – ends by ⲉ, possibly due to the analogy with other Coptic anthroponyms (cf. ⲉⲓⲉ/ⲓⲉ²²⁷⁹, ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲱⲉ²²⁸⁰, ⲧⲧⲟⲩⲉ²²⁸¹, ...).



1.2. Anthroponyms with a Greek morphological ending

In personal names with a Greek morphological ending, Egyptian *Hr* is represented in some different variants, of which Ⲭⲣ(ⲓ)- is the best attested in all the geographical areas²²⁸².

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L05	L10	L11	L13	L16	L19	L20	L21
Ⲭⲣ-	15		1										
Ⲭⲣⲉⲓ-													
Ⲭⲣⲓ-	1												
Ⲭⲣⲓ-		1											
Ⲭⲣ-													
Ⲭⲣ-		4											
Ⲭⲣ-													
Ⲭⲣ-	4872	40	62	4	5		2	6	4	35	1	2	12
ⲱⲣ-	1												

²²⁷⁷ One attestation – in P. Petaus 100, Vo. 47: Ⲭⲣ – dates from the period 100-199 AD; 5 from 200-299 AD; 44 from 300-399 AD; 10 from 400-499 AD; 23 from 500-599 AD; 36 from 600-699 AD and 5 from 700-799 AD.

²²⁷⁸ In O. Vind. Copt. 40, 7.

²²⁷⁹ Cf. TM Nam 3447.

²²⁸⁰ Cf. TM Nam 403.

²²⁸¹ Cf. TM Nam 1436.

²²⁸² The following names, which have been partially or totally reconstructed by the editors, have not been included here: Ⲭⲣⲟⲓ (PREISIGKE, F., “Zur Buchführung der Banken”, p. 96, Ro. col. 2, 2), Ⲭⲣⲓⲱⲩⲱⲓⲱⲓ (P. Oxy. I 61, 28-29). In addition, the name Ⲭⲣⲓⲱⲩⲱⲓ (Stud. Pal. III 119, 2) (ref_id: 547558) that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/cpr;1;105> should be corrected to Ⲭⲣⲓⲱⲩⲱⲓ, as it appears in the edition. Likewise, Coptic anthroponym ⲥⲱⲣⲓⲱⲩⲱⲓ, in O. Crum ST 176, 2 (ref_id: 170810), should be corrected to ⲥⲱⲣⲓⲱⲩⲱⲓ.

Ῥρει-													
Ῥρι-	133	6	2			1		2		1			
ωρι-													
Ῥρρ-													
Ῥρωρ-	1												
Ῥωρ-	1												
Ϡογρ-													
Ϡωρ-	1		2										
Ϡωρι-													
Total attestations	5025	51	67	4	5	1	2	8	4	36	1	2	12

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U06	U07	U08	U09	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20	U22
Ῥρ-				1	5							2				
Ῥρει-												1				
Ῥρι-								1				2				
Οῦρ-																
Υρ-				1												
Ῥλ-																
Ῥνρ-				1												
Ῥρ-	22	13	23	1242	11	2	13	15	142	44	16	502	11	777	279	1
Ῥρει-														2		
Ῥρι-		1		9	1			1	4	4	1	76	3	59	17	
ωρι-				1												
Ῥρρ-	1															
Ῥρωρ-																
Ῥωρ-				1												
Ϡογρ-											1					
Ϡωρ-				1												
Ϡωρι-										1						
Total attestations	23	14	23	1257	17	2	13	17	146	49	18	583	14	838	296	1

Egyptian *h* has been transcribed as 2 in all the Coptic names except in two attestations, in which no aspiration has been rendered²²⁸³. In most attestations the vocalization of *Hr* is represented as ω/ω; however, in 16 attestations from the Fayum (0.31 %), one from Lower Egypt (0.51 %) and 12 from Upper Egypt (0.36 %), it appears as o. On the other hand, in two anthroponyms, the vocalization has been represented as ου/ογ²²⁸⁴, and in one name from Thebes as υ²²⁸⁵. In addition, in two attestations the vocalization has been rendered with dittography of ω²²⁸⁶.

²²⁸³ The names ωριων (P. Lond. Copt. 675, 1), from the Arsinoites, and ωριγενη (P. KRU 93, 56), from Thebes.

²²⁸⁴ In P. Neph. 6, 12-13: Οὔρειωνος; and P. Bal. II 165, 19: Ϡογρων. On the interchange of ου and ω in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 208-211.

²²⁸⁵ In O. Wilcken II 1188, 2: Ὑρος.

²²⁸⁶ In SB I 3537, 3: Ὡ{ω}ρίων Ὡνρί(ωνος), from Thebes; and P. Mich. IV 223 Ro. col. 4, 49: Ὡ{ω}ρίων, from the Fayum.



P. Neph. 6, 12-13: Ούρείωνος



O. Wilcken II 1188, 2: Υρος

Except in four attestations with lambdacism from Alexandria²²⁸⁷, Egyptian *r* has been represented as ρ. In one name from the Fayum, *r* appears as double ρ²²⁸⁸, and in other anthroponym from the Fayum the sequence ωρ has been written with dittography²²⁸⁹. In one attestation from Thebes, a ν has presumably been written between ω and ρ²²⁹⁰, probably due to a mistake of the scribe. The vowel linking the element Horos and the Greek suffix -γένης appears as ι in most anthroponyms²²⁹¹; only in three attestations²²⁹², the itacistic variant ει is found²²⁹³.



²²⁸⁷ In BGU IV 1158, 6: Ὡλλωι; 12: ὁ Ὡλλος; 20: Ὡλλον; 20: Ὡλου. BGU IV 1158 is a document dated from 9 BC. It is not possible to know if the person mentioned came from the Fayum, but, if he did, this is one of the first documents reflecting Fayumic lambdacism. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 102-107, and especially p. 107: “There is also evidence from Coptic documents of a fluctuation between λ and ρ in other dialect areas [than Fayumic]”.

²²⁸⁸ In I. Thèbes à Syène 230, 2: Ὡρρου.

²²⁸⁹ In P. Mich. III 198, 27: Ὡρωρς Ὡρ{ωρ}ου.

²²⁹⁰ In SB I 3537, 3: Ὡ{ω}ρίων Ὡνρί(ωνος). There is no image available of this document to confirm this reading.

²²⁹¹ Cf. also the Coptic names ωριγενη (P. KRU 93, 56) and ωρικεν (CRUM, W. E., BELL, H. I., *Wadi Sarga* 157, 6).

²²⁹² In PSI XII 1227, 4: Ὡρεγένου; P. Oxy. XLI 2986, 9-10: Ὡρεγένους  ; P. Oxy. XLVII

3365, col. 1, 12: Ὡρεγένους .

²²⁹³ The name in CPR I 105, 2 appears as Ὡριγένης  in the edition. The name Ὡρογένος[υς] that is found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/cpr;1;105> is erroneous and should consequently be corrected.

1.3. Conclusion: Greek 'Op-/Ωp- as renderings of Egyptian Ḥr in absolute position?

In both types of anthroponyms – without and with Greek morphological ending –, what seems to be the vocalization of Ḥr has been represented as ω in more than 90 % of the attestations from Lower and Upper Egypt. However, dialectal characteristics of Fayumic, such as the lambdacism and possibly the representation of o instead of ω, do not appear in anthroponyms with a Greek morphological ending. Even though the alternation between o and ω occur more frequently in the Fayum, it is also found in the other geographical areas and leads to think that it may be due to the confusion of both sounds owing to the loss of quantitative difference²²⁹⁴. The variant 'Op(ι/ει)- occurs throughout Egypt, and it is also the best attested in Coptic anthroponyms. However, in the transcriptions of Ḥr in other languages, the vocalization o/ω does not seem to be found. Thus, in Assyrian Ḥr in absolute position is attested as Ḥūru²²⁹⁵, and in Aramaic as Hur²²⁹⁶. These representations seem in fact to be in agreement with the most frequent Greek transcription of Ḥr in final position: -υρ-. This variant probably renders the real vocalization of Egyptian Ḥr in absolute position, whereas 'Op-/Ωp- probably represent the Greek derivations of the name²²⁹⁷. In this respect, it is not possible to know whether or not the variant Ὑρος²²⁹⁸ reflects the vocalisation or if it is due to the confusion of υ, ου, o and ω in Koine Greek²²⁹⁹.

2. ḤR IN INITIAL POSITION

²²⁹⁴ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, p. 275-277.

²²⁹⁵ Cf. RANKE, H., *PN II*, p. 377, with reference to p. 345.18. Cf. also VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 307.

²²⁹⁶ Cf. PETRIE, W. M. F., *Anthedon: Sinai*, p. 13, n. 575.

²²⁹⁷ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte Ib*, p. 58: “Étant donné que l’assyrien ne peut rendre /ô:/ que par *u*, aucun indice ne nous permet de dire quand eut lieu le changement /ô:/ > /u:/ après *m*, *n*. Les transcriptions grecques semblent indiquer que le /ô:/ existait encore au moment où les premières d’entre elles furent établies mais que /u:/ s’y substitua bien vite (...). Or υ représente normalement /ô:/, p.ex. dans Ψεν-υρις, Πα-υρις, et il est remplacé par ω dans des graphies plus tardives : Ψεν-ωρος, Πα-ωρος”.

²²⁹⁸ In O. Wilcken II 1188, 2. A precise date for this document is unknown.

²²⁹⁹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, p. 208-216.


2.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian attestations in Greek transcription

Egyptian *Hr* occurs in more than 100 anthroponyms attested in transcription²³⁰⁰. The best attested names are: *Hr-pa-Is.t*, “Horos, the one of Isis”; *Hr-wd3*, “Horos is prosperous”; *Hr-p3-hrd*, “Horos the child”; and *Hr-m3y-hs*, “Horos, the fierce looking lion”, which have more than 500 attestations in transcription each.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*Hr-...	Horos... (incomplete and abbreviated names)	Ἄρ...	4	4373
		Ἄρεμ...	1	32802
		Ἄρεν...	1	37217
		Ἄρ...εὐς, Ἄρ...υς	2	4372
		Ἄρεψ...	1	35524
		Ἄρθω...	2	37220
		Ἄρλ...ους	1	37226
		Ἄρμ...	10	4398
		Ἄρμιχε...	1	37229
		Ἄρομνω...	1	37236
		Ἄροννο...	1	37238
		Ἄρπ...	39	4413
		Ἄρποσα...	1	37243
		Ἄρσ...	5	4427
		Ἄρυ...	2	4431
		Ἄρφ...	4	4385
		Ἄρψη...	1	37263

²³⁰⁰ The name Ἄσως (< *Hr-s3*) (TM Nam 312) does not seem to be related to Horos; as the Demotic spellings and the Greek renderings show, the etymology of this name cannot mean “Horos the son” as it is proposed in the Trismegistos database. The meaning of the anthroponym is uncertain; cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 83, who does not give any translation. The equivalence between Demotic *Hr-s3* and Greek Ἄσως seems to be certain according to the bilingual texts. Cf., for example, P. Schreibertrad. 47, 3: *Nḥt=f s3 Hr-s3*; and UPZ II 169, 4: Νεχούθου τοῦ Ἄσωτος. Cf. also: Tor. Choach. 10, 10:


Hr-s3 s3 Hr ; Tor. Choach. 11 bis, col. 2, 44: Νεχούθου καὶ Ἄ[σωτος]; 44-45: Νεχούθιος πατὴρ Ἄσως; P. Tor. Choach. 12, col. 5, 11: Νεχούθου καὶ Ἄσωτος; 12: Νεχούθιος πατὴρ Ἄσως.


*Hr-3h.ty	Horos of both horizons	Ἀράχθης	51	4375
Hr-izbty	Horos of the Eastern	Ἐρέγεβθις	6	328
Hr-ly-m-htp	Horos-Imhotep	Ἀριμούθης, Ἀρείμουτος ²³⁰¹	29 1	265 + 21242
Hr-iw	Horos has come	Ἀρεύς, Ὀρεύς	55 5	263 + 7227
Hr-Imn	Horos-Amun	Ἀρέμουνης ²³⁰²	1	21244
Hr-in-wwy ²³⁰³	Horos the counsellor	Ἀρογγοῦς, Ἀρομγοῦς	2	282
Hr-In-hr.t ²³⁰⁴	Horos-Onuris	Ἄρνουρις ²³⁰⁵ , Ἄρνουρις ²³⁰⁶	8 1	16747 + 16571
Hr-Īkš	Horos the Kushite	Ὠρόκυσις ²³⁰⁷	1	256
Hr-ʿ3-phṯ	Horos, great of strength	Ἀραπάθης	9	246
Hr-ʿnh	Horos is living	Ἀράνχως ²³⁰⁸	3	21229
		Ὀρυχις ²³⁰⁹ , Ὠρουώγκιος	1 91	29699 + 15351
Hr-ʿš3-ihy	Horos-Asychis	Ἐράσυχις	5	247
Hr-wʿb	Horos the priest	Ἀρούηβις ²³¹⁰	4	13373
Hr-Wn-nfr	Horos-Onnophris	Ἀρόννωφρις	95	283


²³⁰¹ In P. Leipz. 13, Vo. 3: Ἀρείμουτος.

²³⁰² In P. Giss. I 59, col. 4, 14: Ἀρεμούνιο(ς) . The name Hr-Imn is attested in Demotic. Cf. TM Nam 226.

²³⁰³ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 791: “Horus (der) Ratbringer”. Cf. also LACAU, P., *Phonétique égyptienne ancienne*, p. 50; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Ī, p. 149; Letter W, p. 58.

²³⁰⁴ The name Hr-In-hr.t is attested in hieroglyph. Cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 246.1: .


²³⁰⁵ In O. Wilcken II 426, 1: Ἄρν[ου]ρι; 451, 1: Ἀρνούριο(ς); 467, 1: Ἀρνούριος; 471, 1: Ἀρνούριος; ; 477,

1: Ἀρνούριος ; 478, 1: Ἀρνούριο(ς); 493, 1: Ἀρνούριος; 669, 1: Ἄρνουρις.

²³⁰⁶ In O. Wilcken II 668, 1: Ἄρνουρις. The name Ἄρμουρις that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;;668> is incorrect and should be corrected according to the edition.

²³⁰⁷ In *CRIPPEL* III 602, A 1: Ὠρόκυσις. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 791; RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 246.8. In TM Nam 256 both the names Hr-Īkš and Hr-p3-Īkš, without and with masculine article, and their transcriptions appear together. Cf. *infra* for the name Hr-p3-Īkš.

²³⁰⁸ In O. Strasb. I 625, col. 1, 11: Ἀράνχως; O. Strasb. I 626, 8: Ἀράνχως; O. Bodl. II 1826, 3-4: Ἀράνχω(τος).

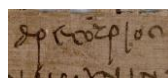
²³⁰⁹ In O. Narm. Gr. I 38, 2: Ὀρυχέως. The last letters are not visible in the ostrakon: . If the reading proposed by the editors is right, a *gamma* has been omitted before the *chi*.

²³¹⁰ On the equivalence of the Demotic and the Greek forms, cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 590, A 2 and B1.

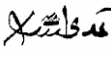
Hr-wr	Horos the great	Ἀρόηρις, Ἀρίοιρις ²³¹¹	15 1	281 + 4391
		Ἀροηρίων ²³¹² , Ἀροηρίων	2	8784
*Hr-Wsir	Horos-Osiris	Ἀρέσουρις ²³¹³	1	21249
Hr-wty ²³¹⁴	Horos of lightning (?)	Ἀρουέτιος, Ἀρούητις, Ἀρούητος	3	13374
Hr-wd3	Horos is prosperous	Ἀρυώτης,	949	310 +
		Ἀρέως (?),	9	8744 +
		Ἀρύως,	6	8809 +
		Ἀρούως ²³¹⁵ ,	1	21280 +
		Ἀρόθεις (?) ²³¹⁶	1	32686
Hr-byk	Horos, the falcon	Ἄρβηχις ²³¹⁷	176	286
Hr-bl	Horos, the blind one	Ἄρβελλῆς, Ἐρβελλῆς	4	249
*Hr-bnpy	Horos, metal of the sky (?)	Ὠρβανίτης ²³¹⁸	2	23811
Hr-Bht ²³¹⁹	Horos of Behdet	Ἀρβαίθης	31	8731
		Ἀρβαιθίων	3	21235

²³¹¹ In P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro. 6-7: Ἀριοίριος.

²³¹² In SB XX 14392 (2), col. 2, 5: Ἀροηρίωνος and SB XX 14392 (2), col. 2, 14: Ἀροηρίω[νο]ς. Cf. also PINTAUDI, R., “Dichiarazione di proprietà in un papiro di Memphis (PSaqqara inv. nr. 539 A)”, p. 323-329.



²³¹³ In P. Oxy. XLIII 3130, Ro. 2: Ἀρεσούριος

²³¹⁴ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 796: Hr-wty . On the possible meanings of this term, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter W, p. 197-198. Some Coptic terms derived from several words represented as wty in Demotic fit well with the forms represented in Greek characters, but the determinative of the Demotic name seems to point in a meaning “destruction”, “calamity” or “lightening”. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 493: οὔοειτ, “pillar”; p. 495: οὔητε, “lightning (?)”, calamity”; and οὔητε, “remit, abandon”.

²³¹⁵ In SB XIV 11683, 1: Ἐρμῆς Ἀρούτω[ς]. Cf. SIJPESTEIJN, S. P., “Inscriptions on Linen Mummy-Wrappings”, p. 48, n. 16.



²³¹⁶ In P. Erl. 128 descr., 2: Ἀρόθει

²³¹⁷ On the Trismegistos database, the names Hr-byk and Hr-p3-byk, without and with masculine article, appear together in TM Nam 286. Cf. *infra*, the name Hr-p3-byk.



²³¹⁸ In P. Cairo Masp. II 67143, Ro. 15: Ὠρβανίτης; and P. Cairo Masp. II 67225 descr., 4: Ὠρβανίτης. Cf. the name Βένιτις and other transcriptional variants in TM Nam 8991. The Greek renderings seem to fit well with Coptic βανιη (Sahidic, Achmimic, Lycopolitan), βενιη (Sahidic), βενιη (Bohairic), from *b n py*, “iron, metal of the sky”. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter, B, p. 52; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 29-30. On this word and its use as anthroponym, cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 41.

²³¹⁹ Cf TM Nam 20563.



Hr-Bs ²³²⁰	Horos-Bes	Ἀρβῆς	21	250
*Hr-p3-(i)my ²³²¹	Horos the cat	Ἀρπαμοῦς, Ἑρπαμῖς ²³²²	50 1	7906 16820
Hr-p3-Īkš ²³²³	Horos the Kushite	Ἀρπάकुσι	40	256
Hr-p3y-k3	Horos, this one of the bull	Ἀρπίκως	3	13787
*Hr-p3-ʿ3	Horos the great	Ἄρπως	20	4424
Hr-p3-wnš	Horos the wolf	Ἀρπούωνσις	1	20200
Hr-p3-wr	Horos the great	Ἀρπώρις	3	8794
Hr-p3-byk	Horos the falcon	Ἄρπβηκίς	13	286
Hr-p3-m3y	Horos the lion	Ἀρφομίς	47	7906
Hr-p3-Nhs	Horos the Aethiopian	Ἑρφνᾶς ²³²⁴	1	9310
Hr-p3-ntr	Horos the god	Ἄρπνουτις, ἈΡΟΠΝΟΥΤΕ	2	292
Hr-p3-Rʿ	Horos-Ra	Ἀραπρῆς ²³²⁵ ,	1	35540 +
		Ὀρπρῆς ²³²⁶	1	295
		Ἀρφρίων ²³²⁷	1	18962

²³²⁰ On this name and the syncretism between Horos and Bes, cf. MALAISE, M., “Bès et la famille isiaque”, p. 271.

²³²¹ The name *Hr-p3-m3y*, with the masculine article, is, however, attested.

²³²² Cf. the name *Pa-my* > Πάμυς (TM Nam 7275).

The Egyptian element transcribed in the last part of the name would be *(i)my*, “cat”, which appears as εμοϣ (Sahidic, Ackmimic, Fayumic) or αμοϣ (Sahidic), representing with an onomatopoeia the sound of the cat. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 42-43; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 55; DE VARTAVAN, C., *Vocalized Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian*, p. 18. *M3y*, on the other hand, appears mainly as μοϣι, but the forms मिह, मिε, मृगे and मोयिह are also attested. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 109; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 160. As *(i)my*, this name reflects phonetically the roar of the lion. Cf. DE VARTAVAN, C., *Vocalized Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian*, p. 19. On the differences of both names, cf. YOYOTTE, J., “Des lions et des chats. Contribution à la prosopographie de l’époque lybienne”, p. 156-158. Cf. *Short Texts* II, p. 939, n. 3: “Since there seems to be no female Min known, the apparent interpretation of *T3-Mn.t* ~ Θαμῖς in 827.4 as ‘The-female-Min’ seems less likely, so we take it as an error for *Ta-Mn*. However, the regular Greek equivalent of this is Θαμῖνις, so Θαμῖς should


be an abbreviation of Θαμῖνις; cf. *Pa-my* ~ Παμῖς (763.3)”. 827, A4: *T3-Mn.t*  ; B3: Θαμῖδος; 763, A3: *Pa-My*  ; B1-2: Παμῖτος.

²³²³ Cf. *supra* for the name *Hr-Īkš* without article.

²³²⁴ Cf. WINNICKI, J. K. “Völkernamen als Personennamen im spätpharaonischen und griechisch-römischen Ägypten”, p. 171-177.

²³²⁵ In SB X 10509, 2-3: Ἀραπρῆ . On the Egyptian prototype *Hr-p3-Rʿ*, cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 803.

²³²⁶ In P. Count. 30, 38: Ὀρπρῆς.

²³²⁷ P. Tebt. III 833, col. 2, 41: Ἀρφρίων .

*Hr-p3-R'-hsy	Horos-Ra, the blessed one	Ἀρρεσιῆς ²³²⁸	2	18728
*Hr-p3-hb	Horos the ibis	Ἄρπιβις	1	8811
Hr-p3-hpš ²³²⁹	Horos of the sword	Ἄρχυσις	42	255
Hr-p3-hm	Horos the younger	Ἄρψημις	56	287
Hr-p3-hrd ²³³⁰	Horos the child	Ἀποκράμμων, Ἀποκρατάμμων ²³³¹	4	21288
		Ἀποκράτης	51	293
		Ἀποκρατίανα	26	8796
		Ἀποκρατίος ²³³²	1	21290
		Ἀποκρατίς ²³³³	1	21290
		Ἀποκρατίππη ²³³⁴	1	21289
		Ἀποκρατίων ²³³⁵	718	4423
		Ἀποκράς, Ἀρπᾶς (hypocoristic)	248 14	4422 + 8789
		Ἄρποκρις ²³³⁶	1	32632
		Ἀποκροῦς ²³³⁷	2	6879
*Hr-p3-syf	Horos the child	Ἄρψοιφίς ²³³⁸	2	16622

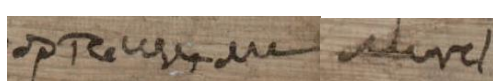
²³²⁸ One of the attestations is partially reconstructed. Cf. P. Ryl. Gr. II 222, 2: Ἀρρε]σιῆς Ἀρρεσιῆ[ους.

²³²⁹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 804; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Η, p. 67; VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 269.

²³³⁰ Ἀποχρατία (TM Nam 37244), included in the Trismegistos database as an anthroponym, is not a personal name, but it refers to the festival of Harpokrates, as the article indicates. Cf. P. Fay. 117, Ro. 11: τὰ Ἀποχράτια

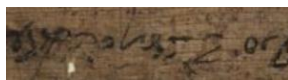


²³³¹ In P. Oxy. LVII 3912, 1-2: Ἀποκρατάμμωνι



²³³² In I. Syr. 1649, 4: Ἀποκρατί(ο)ν.

²³³³ In CPR XVII.2 12, 1: Ἀποκρατίδος



²³³⁴ In PSI III 230, 13: Ἀρ]ποκρατίππης



The name is badly visible in the image available.

²³³⁵ P. Mil. Vogl. II 105, 12 the name found is Ἀρ[ο]χρατίωνος and not Ἀπρ[ο]χρατίωνος as it appears in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.mil.vogl;2;105>. This name should consequently be corrected.

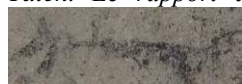
²³³⁶ In P. Cairo Goodspeed 30, col. 39, 11: Ἄ[ρ]ποκρι.

²³³⁷ In P. Ross. Georg. II 18, 345: Ἀποκροῦτι; and presumably in 349: Ἀρ[πο]κροῦτι.

²³³⁸ In PSI Congr. XXI 12, col. 4, 5: Ἄρψοιφι and PSI Congr. XXI 12, col. 5, 12: Ἄρψοίφιος. On the meaning of syf, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter S, p. 46. Cf. Ψοῖφίς as rendering of P3-syf, “The child” (TM Nam 1000); LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 215.

Hr-p3-šr-n-Is.t	Horos, the son of Isis	Ἀρψένησις	3	20213
*Hr-p3-št3	Horos the mysterious	Ἀρψηθις, Ἀρψότη Ἀρψωτ ²³³⁹	13 2	4433 + 8822
*Hr-p3-k3	Horos the bull	Ὀρpkᾱς ²³⁴⁰	1	29984
*Hr-p3-t3	Horos of the land	Ἀρpkτος ²³⁴¹	1	35216
*Hr-p3-tš	Horos the red/ Horos-Mars	Ἀρpkτυσις ²³⁴²	1	16602
Hr-p3-di-Is.t ²³⁴³	Horos, he who has been given by Isis	Ἀρpkτεήσιος ²³⁴⁴	1	28959
Hr-Pyt	Horos the Libyan	Ἀρπαγάθης ²³⁴⁵ , Ἀρπαπάθης ²³⁴⁶	481 1	285 + 30567
		Ἑρpkαιτις ²³⁴⁷	1	16819
*Hr-pa-... (incomplete names)	Horos, the one of ... (incomplete names)	Ἀρpkα...	3	37257
		Ὀρpkα...	1	4747

²³³⁹ This name appears in Old Coptic as ⲁⲣⲡⲱⲩⲧ. On the equivalence of Egyptian and Greek forms, cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 310; VERGOTE, J., *De Verhouding van het Egyptisch tot de semietische Talen. Le rapport de l'égyptien avec les langues sémitiques*, p. 63. Cf. also O. Douch IV 470, 2: Ἀρψωτ



, where the editor points out (p. 85): “Ἀρψωτ doit être le nom au nominative, non grécisé ; il ne figure pas dans les *onomastica* qui recensent Ἀρψηθις (NB 59), une variante ; son sens est « Horus le mystérieux » et on le trouve en copte, ⲁⲣⲡⲱⲩⲧ”.

²³⁴⁰ In CPR XV 34, col. 1, 6: Ὀρpkᾱ. Cf. CPR XV, p. 87: “Ὀρpkα è sicuro dal punto di vista della lettura e non pare abbreviato; il nome sarà da avvicinare ad Ὀρpkᾱς/Ὀρβᾱς”.

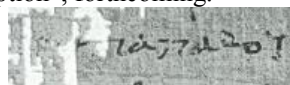
²³⁴¹ In P. Flor. III 329, col. 4, 28: Ἀρpkτου. The name Hr-t3, without article, is attested in Demotic (cf. TM Nam 244).

²³⁴² The name Ἀρpkτυσις, in P. Hibeh II 218, col. 2, 15, has been identified as a ghostname for Ἀρpkτυσις. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming. The name Ἀρpkτυσις/Ἀρpkτωσις, without the representation of the masculine article p3, is also attested (cf. TM Nam 16595). Cf. WINNICKI, J. K., “Hartysis und Ares (planet Mars) als Personennamen im griechisch-römischen Ägypten”, p. 321-325; NEUGEBAUER, O., PARKER, R. A., *Egyptian Astronomical Texts III. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*, p. 179. The Egyptian word tš appears as ⲧⲱⲣⲱ in Sahidic and Achmimic. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 221; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 432.

²³⁴³ On the Demotic name, cf. TM Nam 20523.

²³⁴⁴ In P. Cornell 33, 22: Ἀρpkτεήσιου. Since no image of the text is available, it is not possible to know if instead of the first *iota*, an *epsilon* should be read.

²³⁴⁵ The name Ἀρπαγάθου, in BGU I 258, 3, is due to a printing error for Ἀρπαπάθου. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.



²³⁴⁶ The reading Ἀρπαπάθου in SB XX 14683, 3 is correct: BASTIANINI, G., “Una dichiarazione di un cammello. SPP XXII 97 riconsiderato”, p. 2, considers that this spelling is an error for Ἀρπαγάθου. Several attestations of the name Ἀρπαγάθης occur, in fact, in the text.

²³⁴⁷ In CPR XV 52, 10: Ἑρpkαιτις. Cf. CPR XV, p. 118: “altra variante grafico-fonetica del nome Ἀρπαῖσις/Ἀρπαῖσις/Ἑρπαῖσις”.

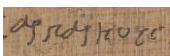

Hr-pa-Is.t	Horos, the one of Isis	Ἀρφάησις,	1119	284 +
		Ἀρφάησις ²³⁴⁸ ,	1	21309 +
		Ἀ<ρ>φάησις ²³⁴⁹ ,	1	8909 +
		Ἀρφά[ησ]ις ²³⁵⁰ ,	1	24741
		Ἀρπά{σ}ησις ²³⁵¹	1	35542
		Ἀρπαίης ²³⁵²	2	18727
		Ἀρπαήσιμος ²³⁵³	1	28137
		Ἀρπαησίων	19	4415
		Ἀρπᾶσις, Ἀρφᾶσις (probably hypocoristics)	2	21310
		Ὀρπᾶς ²³⁵⁴ (hypocoristic)	1	22697
*Hr-pa-p3-lyn	Horos, the one of the smith	Ἀρπάπληνις	1	16589
*Hr-pa-R'	Horos, the one of Ra	Ἀρπαρή ²³⁵⁵	2	21282
*Hr-pa-t3-wmt.t	Horos, the one of the tower	Ἀρπτούομοος,	1	29064 +
		Ἀρπατουώμης	1	29591
*Hr-pa-Twtw	Horos, the one of Totoes	Ἀρπατοθοῆς	5	6872
*Hr-pa-Dḥwty	Horos, the one of Thoth	Ἀρπαθώτης	1	26494
Hr-m3y	Horos the lion	Ἄρμοις ²³⁵⁶ ,	2	275 +
		Ἄρμουις, Ἄρμογις ²³⁵⁷	2	16636


²³⁴⁸ The name Ἀρφαήσιο(ς) (P. Berl. Leihg. I 8, col. 2, 30) that can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.berl.leihg;1;8> is a mistake for Ἀρφαήσιο(ς), which is the name that appears in the edition.

²³⁴⁹ In SB XXII 15216, 4: Ἀφάησις.

²³⁵⁰ The name Ἀρφάκιο(ς), which has been read by the editor of P. Corn. 23, fr. b 9, has been identified as a ghostname for Ἀρφα[ησ]ιο(ς). Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., "Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources", forthcoming.

²³⁵¹ In O. Wilcken II 303, 3: Ἀρπάσησι (sic). It is probably an error for Ἀρπάησι.

²³⁵² In P. Tebt. II 401, col. 6, 14: Ἀρπαίους ; P. Mich. V 327, 39: Ἀρπαῖ(ου)ς . Cf. P. Mich. V, p. 297, on Ἀρπαῖ(ου)ς: "Cf. p. Tebt. II, 401, 14, but possibly the papyrus reads Αιπαρ". In P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 150, the name read by the editor is not Ἀρπαῖο(ς(?)) as it appears on the Trismegistos database and on <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.achm;9>, but Ἀρπαῖσι(ος).

²³⁵³ In O. Lund 8, 8-9: Ἀρπαήσιμος .

²³⁵⁴ In P. Tebt. III 894, fr. 2, Vo. 2, 42: Ὀρπᾶς.

²³⁵⁵ In P. Mich. V 313, 3 and 18: Ἀρπαρήους and Ἀρπαρήους respectively.

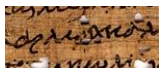
²³⁵⁶ Presumably in P. Tebt. III 1053 descr., 9: [Ἄ]ρμοις ; and P. Lond. II 258 Ro., col. 4, 58: [Ἄ]ρμουις.

²³⁵⁷ In O. Ashm. 80, 8 and O. Ashm. 82, 3: Ἄρμογις and Ἄρμογις.

Hr-m3y-ḥs	Horos, the fierce looking lion	Ἀρμίνσις, Ἀρμιεύς	730 45	274 + 39461
*Hr-m3'-wī3	Horos of The sacred bark is true	Ἀρμάγωγος ²³⁵⁸	2	21265
Hr-m3'-ḥrw	Horos is true of voice	Ἀρμάχορος	70	269
Hr-m-3ḥ.t	Horos is in the horizon	Ἄρμαχίς, Ἀρίμαχίς ²³⁵⁹	43 1	268 + 16751
		Ἀρμαχεύς ²³⁶⁰	1	32627
		Ἀρμαχίων ²³⁶¹	1	21269
Hr-my-Tb3	Horos, who is in Apollonopolis	Ἀρμάτβως	1	8775
Hr-m-Pe ²³⁶²	Horos in Pe	Ἀρόμπαις, Ἀρέμπαις	2 16	15335 + 16740
Hr-Mn	Horos-Min	Ἄρμινις	3	6863
Hr-mn	Horos is enduring	Ἄρμηνις	5	272
Hr-Mnt	Horos-Montu	Ἀρμώνθης	10	276
Hr-mḥ=f	Horos, the pillar of his mother	Ἀρέμηφις, Ὀρμουθίς ²³⁶³	77 1	258 + 22694
		Ἄρμαις, Ἄρμαις ²³⁶⁴ , Ἄρμεις ²³⁶⁵ , Ἀρίμαις ²³⁶⁶	266 1 4 1	270 + 37227 + 16620 + 2246

²³⁵⁸ In *CRIPPEL* III 565, A 1: Ἀρμάγωγος; and P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 123: Ἀρμάγωγος. The mummy label of *CRIPPEL* is bilingual, but the Demotic part is unpublished.

²³⁵⁹ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 72, col. 1, 15: Ἀρίμαχι[ς].

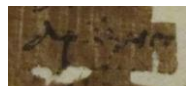
²³⁶⁰ In P. Heid. Gr. VII 399, 19: Ἀρμαχέα . It is not possible to know if the ending -εύς in this name is the Greek morphological ending or if it represents the verb ἵω, “to come”, in a hypothetical name *Hr-m-3ḥ.t-īw, “Horos (who) is in the horizon has come”.

²³⁶¹ In SB XVIII 13354, 4: Ἀρμαχίων(ος). Cf. also CUVIGNY, H., “Nouveaux ostraca grecs du Mons Claudianus”, p. 285.


²³⁶² Cf. TM Geo 10704.

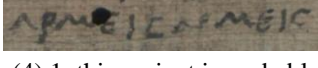
²³⁶³ In O. Strasb. I 554, 9: Ὀρμούθ(ιος).

²³⁶⁴ In P. Wisc. II 80, col. 1, 19: Ἀρμαιστ[= P. Merton I 15, 19: Ἀρμαίς ἐ[. According to the image available




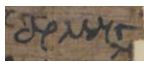
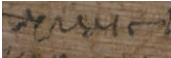
, the reading of P. Merton 15, 19 seems right.

²³⁶⁵ The variant Ἀρμεις seems to be found in P. Freib. IV 54, Vo. col. 1, 16: ; P. Freib. IV 54, Ro. col. 2,

9: Ἀρμεις Ἀρμεις . The editor (P. Freib. IV, p. 27) considers this name as a variant of Ἀρμαίς. In P. Col. V 1 Vo. (4) 1, this variant is probably represented, but it is incomplete: Ἀρμαε().

²³⁶⁶ In I. Syr. 2041, 1: Ἀρίμαις. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 526: “variante inédite de Ἀρμαίς”.

		Ἀρμαιῆς ²³⁶⁷	1	25214
		Ἀρμαίων	4	19120
Hr-m-Ḥb	Horos is in Chemmis	Ἀρχηβις	53	251
*Hr-ms	Horos is born	Ἀρμασις	3	16716
Hr-Msn ²³⁶⁸	Horos of Mesen	Ἀρέμουνις	40	260
Hr-Mtn ²³⁶⁹	Horos of Medenit	Ἀρμωτ[(incomplete names)	2	37232
		Ἀρμωτις, Ἀραμωίτης ²³⁷⁰	6 1	277 + 21227
Hr-n ḥš ²³⁷¹	Horos is strength/ Horos is protector	Ἀρνασις,	1	8781 +
		Ἀρνησις,	1	4407 +
		Ἀρόννης,	25	37237 +
		Ἀρόννησις		16655
Hr-nb-ḥnh	Horos, lord of life	Ἀρβώνυχος	2	279
Hr-nb-Šhm	Horos, lord of Letopolis	Ἀρβέσχινις	13	8273
Hr-nfr	Horos the good	Ἀρνούφης,	29	280 +
		Ὁρονόφεις ²³⁷² ,	2	10863 +
		Ὁρνοφρις ²³⁷³	1	22696
Hr-nḥt	Horos, the strong	Ἀρνεκτώτης ²³⁷⁴	11	278
*Hr-ns-mtr	Horos, who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Ὁρζμηθις ²³⁷⁵	1	26587

²³⁶⁷ In PSI VIII 901, 18: Ἀρμαίους ; but cf. in the same text, PSI VIII 901, 3 and 8: Ἀρμαίς,  and  respectively, written by different hands.

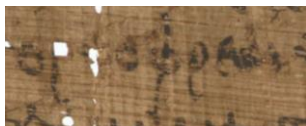
²³⁶⁸ Cf. TM Geo 269.

²³⁶⁹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 821; TM Geo 11266.

²³⁷⁰ In BGU IV 1206, Ro. 12-13: Ἀραμωίτης. The name [Ἀραμωίτης] in BGU IV 1207, Ro. 11 has been completely reconstructed by the editor and has not consequently been considered here.

²³⁷¹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter N, p. 28: “power, strength”; and p. 115. This term is etymologically related to *nḥ-nḥt*. Both the Demotic and the Greek rendering are attested in the bilingual text O. Deiss. 46, 2: Ἀρνασις; and 4: *Hr-n ḥšt*. The prototype of Ἀρνασις is not therefore *Hr-(pḥ)-Nḥs* as it is found in WINNICKI, J. K. “Völkernamen als Personennamen im spätpharaonischen und griechisch-römischen Ägypten”, p. 175. For a discussion on the etymology of this name, cf. “*ḥs.t* in final position. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown”.

²³⁷² In O. Amst. 11, 3: Ὁρονόφεις; and SB XX 14180, col. 3, 46; col. 3, 56; col. 4, 67: Ὁρονόφεις, Ὁρ]ονόφεις and [Ὁρ]ονόφεις, partially reconstructed, respectively.

²³⁷³ In P. Berl. Leihg. I 15, Ro. 6: Ὁργνόφρεως .

²³⁷⁴ The name Ἀρνελτώτης has been identified as a ghostname for Ἀρνεκτώτης. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “New Ghostnames from Papyrological Documents”, forthcoming.

²³⁷⁵ Cf. O. Wilcken II 1277, 2: Ὁρζμηθις.

*Hr-ntr	Horos the god	Ἀρίνουθις ²³⁷⁶ , Ἄρνουθις	1 29	16696 + 265
Hr-nd-it=f	Horos, who protects his father	Ἀρενδότης	139	261
*Hr-rn=f (?)	Horos is his name (?)	Ἄριμφις ²³⁷⁷	3	6640
*Hr-r.r=w	Horos is against them	Ἄραυς, Ἄροοῦς	49	6866
Hr-llw/Hr-rlw	Horos the child	Ἀρλολοῦς ²³⁷⁸	3	240
Hr-Hp	Horos-Apis	Ἄραπις, Ὠραπ[²³⁷⁹	5 1	13118 + 25655
		Ὀρηπιόδωρος ²³⁸⁰	1	25120
*Hr-hsy	Horos, the blessed one	Ἐρεσιῆς ²³⁸¹	1	18736
Hr-httr	Horos the twin	Ἀρατρῆς	43	264
*Hr-hy	Horos the high	Ἄρχυις ²³⁸²	1	32667
Hr-hm	Horos the young	Ἐρχιμις ²³⁸³ , Ἀρούχημις ²³⁸⁴	1 2	13788 + 16624
		Ἄρχωνσις	8	254
Hr-Hnsw	Horos-Khonsu	Ὀρχνουφις ²³⁸⁵	2	4692
*Hr-Hnm	Horos-Khnum	Ἀρσίησις ²³⁸⁶	378	298 +

²³⁷⁶ Cf. P. Flor. III 375 Ro., col. 1, 34: Ἀρίνουθις.

²³⁷⁷ In P. Berl. Salmenkivi 15, col. 1, 12: Ἀρίμφιος; O. Fay. 40, 3: Ἀρίμφεως; BGU XVII 2707, 3: Ἄριμφις

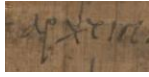
Cf. the name **nh-rn=f* > Ἀγχόριμφις (TM Nam 17).


²³⁷⁸ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 828: “Horus (das) Kind”.

²³⁷⁹ Cf. P. Flor. III 350, Ro. 9: Ὠραπ[ίωνος, where the last part of the name has been reconstructed.

²³⁸⁰ In P. Ryl. Gr. IV 716, descr.: Ὀρηπιόδωρος.

²³⁸¹ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr.: Ἐρεσιῆς.

²³⁸² In P. Mich. X 590, 2: Ἀρχυν . Cf. P. Mich. X, p. 53: “Ἀρχυις is probably a theophoric name containing the element Ἀρ, a form in which the name Horos appears”.

²³⁸³ In P. Münch. III 51, Ro. 11: Ἐρχίμιος .

²³⁸⁴ In *CRIPPEL* III 573, A 1 and B 1: Ἀρούχημις.

²³⁸⁵ In UPZ I 119, Ro. 29 and Vo. 45: Ὀρχνουφιν. *Hnm* is generally transcribed as -χνουμ/-χνουβ-. Here the interchange of β and φ seems to occur, if the reading of the names is correct. Cf. also the name Πετεχνούφις (BGU IV 1170 (IV), 53). On the other hand, the name **Hr-Hnm* is not attested as such, but this composition appears for instance in *Hr-Hnm-m-hy*, “Horos-Khum is in the horizon”, attested in P. Count. 53, 64 (cf. TM Nam 253).

²³⁸⁶ The hypocoristic Ἀροῦς has been included in TM Nam 298 in the Trismegistos database.

		Ἀρσίησις ²³⁸⁷	3	26786
*Hr-s3-p3-di-Wsir-ns-mtr	Horos, son of He who has bene given by Osiris, who belongs to the sacred emblem of Khnum	Ἀρσιπετόρζμηθις ²³⁸⁸	1	16563
Hr-s3-Sbk	Horos, son of Sobek	Ὁρσίσουχος	10	300
Hr-Sm3-t3.wy	Horos, the uniter of both lands	Ἀρσεμθεύς	16	301
Hr-sdm	Horos, who listens	Ἄρστυμις ²³⁸⁹	65	303
Hr-Š(3)y/ Hr-p3-Š(3)y ²³⁹⁰	Horos-Shai	Ἄρσαις, Ὠρσαις ²³⁹¹ , Ἀρέσαις ²³⁹² , Ὠρόσοις ²³⁹³	29 2 3 2	296 + 17865 + 21247 + 34274
Hr-qn ²³⁹⁴	Horos is trong	Ἄρκινις	20	8768
Hr-qn ²³⁹⁵	Horos, who embraces	Ἀρκόννως ²³⁹⁶	1	4396
Hr-qn-Is.t	Horos, the one whom Isis embraces	Ἀρκόννησις	18	266
*Hr-k3-mw.t=f	Horos, the bull of his mother	Ἀρκάμητις	3	21264
*Hr-Klḏw3	Horos-Kollouthos	Ὠροκόλλουθος, Ἀρκόλουθος	1 1	29486 + 32714
*Hr-gwy	Horos the little	Ὀρκούεις,	2	22693


²³⁸⁷ In BGU VI 1219, col. 1, 17: Ἀρσιήσιος and col. 2, 20: Ἀρσιήσιος; BGU VI 1222, 77: Ἀρσιήσιος; P. Strasb. Gr. I 23, col. 3, 44: [Α]ρσιήσιος, which should probably be read as [Α]ρ<σ>ιήσιος.

²³⁸⁸ In SB XVIII 13198, 3: Ἀρσιπετόρζμηθις. Cf. *supra* the name *Hr-ns-mtr.

²³⁸⁹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Š, p. 227-228.

²³⁹⁰ The name Hr-p3-Šy is attested. Cf. TM Nam 31539.

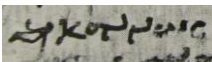
²³⁹¹ In SB XII 11252, col. 2, 29: Ὠρσα[ις], partially reconstructed; and BGU II 659, col. 3, 20: Ὠρσαις.

²³⁹² In *CRIPPEL* II 40, A 3, B 3; and SB I 5204, 3: Ἀρέσαιτος , corrected from Ἀρεσάστου at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;1;5204>.

²³⁹³ In P. Coll. Youtie II 88, Ro. 1: Ὠρσοιτι  and reconstructed in Vo. 24: Ὠρσο]ιτι.

²³⁹⁴ On the equivalence of the forms, cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 27; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 839. Cf. also RANKE, H., *PN* II, p. 81: “Horus ist stark”.

²³⁹⁵ On the verb *qn*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Q, p. 37-38; on its vocalisation and vowel alternations in Coptic, cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 82; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 111.

²³⁹⁶ P. L. Bat. XX 63, Ro. col. 1, 4: Ἀρκόννως .

		Ὅρκουις ²³⁹⁷		
*Hr-glꜣ	Horos the lame	Ἀρκαλῆς	2	4393
Hr-gm ²³⁹⁸	Horos, the gm bull	Ἑρκαμῖς ²³⁹⁹	1	4449
*Hr-G-dꜣdꜣ	Horos of Gaza	Ἀρκάτυτις	5	4394
Hr-tꜣy=f-nḥt	Horos is his strength	Ἀρτοφνάχθης	7	304
*Hr-Tbꜣ	Horos of Apollonopolis	Ἀρτῶς, Ἀτῶς ²⁴⁰⁰ , Ἀρδβῆς ²⁴⁰¹	20 1 1	21299 + 21358 + 26431
*Hr-tš	Horos-Mars/ Horos the red	Ἀρτυσις ²⁴⁰²	9	16590
*Hr-tꜣy-dꜣ	Horos, who bears the hairlock	Ἀρσίσις ²⁴⁰³	2	8805
*Hr-Dwn	Horos-Thonis	Ἀρθόωνις, Ἀρθονις ²⁴⁰⁴	109 3	307 + 207
Hr-Dḥwty	Horos-Thoth	Ἀρθώτης, Ἀρθώτης ²⁴⁰⁵	130 1	308 + 29061


B. Hybrid names in Greek transcription

Seven anthroponyms dating between the second and the seventh centuries AD are composed of the Greek rendering of *Hr* Ὅρ(ο)- in initial position and a Greek element after it:

²³⁹⁷ Cf. P. Oxy. XIV 1747, col. 2, 43: Ὅρκουιν Παύ<σεῖ>ριος, “Horos the little, the one of Horos”.

²³⁹⁸ The name *Hr-gmy* seems to be attested in Demotic. Cf. TM Nam 229.

²³⁹⁹ In P. Hibeh I 105, 3: Ἑρκάμιος.

²⁴⁰⁰ In O. Wilcken II 1074, 2: Ἀτῶς . The name is not really visible on the ostracon owing to the ink wear, but it is probably a ghostname for Ἀρτῶς.

²⁴⁰¹ In P. Lund IV 9, 7: Ἀρδβῆ .

²⁴⁰² Cf. WINNICKI, J. K., “Hartysis und Ares (planet Mars) als Personennamen im griechisch-römischen Ägypten”, p. 321-325; NEUGEBAUER, O., PARKER, R. A., *Egyptian Astronomical Texts III. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*, p. 179. Cf. also supra, the name **Hr-pꜣ-tš*.

²⁴⁰³ In BGU XVI 2590, col. 1, 4 and col. 2, 2: Ἀρσίσις. Cf. the name Σίσις (< *Tꜣy-dꜣ*, “The bearer of the hairlock”) (TM Nam 1118). On the term *T-dꜣ*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *DN*, Letter T, p. 1-9, *t*: “to bear”, “to wear”; p. 13, *t-dꜣ*, “lock of hair”; Letter D, p. 15: *dꜣ* in compound, “hairlock”.

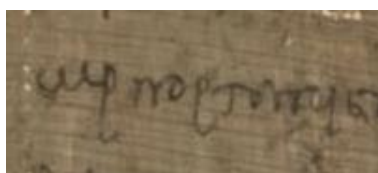
²⁴⁰⁴ Three attestations of the name Ἀρθονις have been included in TM Nam 207: *Grr* > Κροῦρις, “The frog”. Both names should be splitted up on the Trismegistos database.

²⁴⁰⁵ The name Ἀρθώτου (BGU VI 1366, 4) is a printing error for Ἀρθώτου. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.

Greek element	TM Nam	LGN (volume: page)	Hybrid name	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἀπολλῶ	39211	---	Ὡραπολλῶ ²⁴⁰⁶	1	13119
Ἀπόλλων	2151	I: 52; IV: 36; V.A: 46	Ὡραπόλλων ²⁴⁰⁷	1	13119
Θεός	---	---	Ὡροθεός ²⁴⁰⁸	1	13125
Λάμπων	3834	I: 282, II: 279, III.A: 268, III.B: 255, IV: 297; V.A: 264, V.B: 254-255	Ὡρολάμπων ²⁴⁰⁹	1	27849
Λέων	3861	I: 286-287; II: 283; III.A: 273- 274; III.B: 259; IV: 209-210; V.A: 267; V.B: 258-260	Ὡρολέων ²⁴¹⁰	2	19045
---	---	---	Ὡροπολέεις ²⁴¹¹	2	34290
Φορτούνης	---	III.A: 467; IV: 352	Ὡρπορτούνης ²⁴¹²	1	17792



SB XXIV 16000, col. 14, 499: Ὡρολάμπωνος



²⁴⁰⁶ In P. Bodl. I 73 descr., 10 (seventh century AD): Ὡραπολλῶ and reconstructed in 3: Ὡραπολλῶ].

²⁴⁰⁷ In P. Cairo Masp. III 67295, 24 (sixth century AD): Ὡραπόλλων and reconstructed in 1: Ὡραπό]λλω[νος.

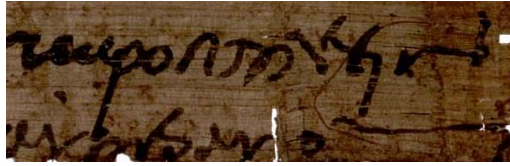
²⁴⁰⁸ In SB XX 14505, Ro. 10 (certain date unknown): Ὡροθεοῦ. This name seems to be the Greek equivalent to **Hr-ntr* (TM Nam 265), “Horus the god”. Greek Θεός is not attested as anthroponym.

²⁴⁰⁹ In SB XXIV 16000, col. 14, 499 (beginning of the fourth century AD): Ὡρολάμπωνος.

²⁴¹⁰ In P. Oxy. XXVII 2472, 2 and 20 (119 AD): Ὡρολέοντος and Ὡρολέων, respectively.

²⁴¹¹ In P. Oxy. XXII 2347, 4 and 14 (362 AD): Ὡροπ[ο]λέειν and Ὡροπολέειν, respectively. The second part of the name *Πτολέειν, seems to be a hypocoristic or an abbreviated name with the same root than Πτολεμαῖος (TM Nam 5317).

²⁴¹² In SB VI 9149, 5 (fourth century AD): Ὡρπόρτουνης.



P. Oxy. XXII 2347, 14: Ὠροπτολέειν

C. Attestations derived from a prototype unknown

Among the anthroponyms that possibly contain the rendering of *Hr* in initial position the best attested seems to be Ἀραῦς (Coptic ⲁⲣⲁⲩⲩ)/ Ἀποοῦς (Coptic ⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ) and other variants (cf. TM Nam 6866), with more than 30 attestations. In addition, this name seems to occur in other anthroponyms, such as Σενάραυς (< *Tj-šr.t-n-...*, “The daughter of...”) ²⁴¹³ or Ψενάραυς (< *Pj-šr-n-...*, “The son of...”) ²⁴¹⁴. J. L. Fournet and M. Chauveau have considered the possibility that these anthroponyms could derive from *Hr-ʿw*, “Horus the great” ²⁴¹⁵:

“Ἀραοῦς est la forme peu courante d’un nom connu sous diverses vocalisations: Ἀποοῦς, Ἀραῦς, Ἀραουῦς. On trouve à Aphrodité/Aphroditô plusieurs de ces formes concomitamment: Ἀποοῦς (...), Ἀραοῦς (...). On peut se demander s’il faut rattacher à ce nom la forme Ἀρηοῦς que l’on rencontré dans le Cadastre du même village (...). L’étymologie permettrait de répondre à cette question, mais elle n’est pas claire. Les formes coptes enregistrées par Hasitzka, *NB Kopt.* (ⲁⲣⲁⲩⲩ, ⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ) incitent à pourvoir ce nom, comme je le fais, d’un esprit rude, contrairement aux *NB* et *Onomasticon*. Cela pourrait orienter du côté d’un nom théophore d’Horus. E. Lüddeckens fait justement remonter Ἀρηοῦς (en même temps que Ἀρεοῦς, Ἀρεῦς, Ἀρεῶς et Ἀρηῦς) à l’égyptien *hr-iw* “Horus est venu” (*NB Dem.* 790). Mais cette étymologie ne me semble pas bien rendre compte des formes Ἀραοῦς et Ἀροοῦς. Mis mon collègue Michel Chauveau me propose

²⁴¹³ Cf. TM Nam 18596.

²⁴¹⁴ Cf. TM Nam 18611.

²⁴¹⁵ Cf. TM Nam 227.


une solution plus séduisante: il ferait remonter ce nom à l'ég. *hr-ʿw*, “Horus l’Ancien” (*NB Dem.* 792, qui ne donne pas d’équivalences grecques). L’élément *ʿw* se retrouve en effet dans des noms égyptiens où il est translittéré -αυς (par exemple, dans des étiquettes de momie, *Pa-n3-wr-ʿw* ou *Ta-n3-wr-ʿw* rendus en grec respectivement Παγγοραῦς et Ταυγοραῦς). Cela incite à penser qu’il y aurait eu deux noms différents, d’un côté *hr-ʿw* transcrit Ἀποοῦς, Ἀρα(υ)(ο)ῦς; de l’autre *hr-iw* transcrit Ἀρη(ο)ῦς, Ἀρεοῦς, etc.”²⁴¹⁶.

Even though the etymology *Hr-ʿw* is possible for these anthroponyms, they could also derive from other prototypes – if the etymology is the same for all these forms –²⁴¹⁷. Thus, these renderings could have as prototype the name *Hr-r.r=w*, “Horos is against them”, which is in fact attested in Demotic²⁴¹⁸. The element *-r.r=w* appears as -ραυς, -ραους, -ρωυς, -πους, -ποους, along with other variants, in the renderings of the name *Ḳr.t-Hr-r.r=w*, “The eye of Horos is against them”²⁴¹⁹. In the attestations of this name, all the *r* contained in the name appear in Greek transcription as contracted in a single ρ (cf. Ναάραυς, Ἰνάρως, Ἰνάρως,...), which seems to be in agreement with the only ρ of names such as Ἀραυς or Ἀποοῦς. However, the lack of bilingual documents does not allow to confirm this hypothesis.

a) Anthroponyms for which there is no image available

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἀρατωίς ²⁴²⁰	2	21231
Ἀρβάκτης ²⁴²¹	1	32489

²⁴¹⁶ FOURNET, J. L., “Quitances de loyer du *topos* d’apa Michel d’Antaiopolis”, p. 50-51.

²⁴¹⁷ In In RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 70.18, the name ‘rwzw (?)  is listed. Could this name be related to Greek forms such as Ἄραυς or Ἀροῦς?

²⁴¹⁸ Cf. TM Nam 20382.

²⁴¹⁹ Cf. TM Nam 371.

²⁴²⁰ In SB III 7047, 1: Ἀράπιος; and *CRIPEL* II 182, 1: Ἀράπιος.

²⁴²¹ In I. Portes du désert 23, 1: Ἀρβάκτ[ει]. The editor considers this name as a rendering of the Egyptian name for “Horus of the horizon”. Cf. I. Portes du désert, p. 111: “Ce nom du dieu se retrouve dans une inscription de Ptolémaïs (Menschieh) (...). On a là une dédicace Ἀρβάκτει καὶ Ἰέρακι θε[ῶ]ι - - - - [καὶ] Ἰσι [κ]αὶ τοῖς συννόοις. À tort E. Miller pensait que Ἀρβάκτει était une erreur du lapicide pour Ἀρβάκα. Notre text lui apporte un démenti. Il s’agit, bien évidemment, d’un surnom d’Horus, dit « de l’Horizon »”. The lack of an image of the text in the edition does not allow to confirm the spelling of the name, but if the reading of the editor is correct, is poses a problem of interpretation: if, as pointed out by the editor, it is a transcription of *Hr-zh.ty*, “Horus of both horizons” (cf. TM Nam 4375), the *beta* between the *rho* and the second *alpha* could not be justified. According to the Greek text (cf. Ἀρβάκτει καὶ Ἰέρακι θε[ῶ]ι), the anthroponym could render

Ἀρέμβασις ²⁴²²	12	4381
Ἀρέμβηκις ²⁴²³	1	16736
Ἀρέμβωκις ²⁴²⁴	2	8737
Ἀρέμιθις ²⁴²⁵	2	16684
Ἄρενσις ²⁴²⁶	1	21246
Ἄρεντοῦς ²⁴²⁷	1	32710
Ἀρθήρις ²⁴²⁸	1	24761
Ἀρθοόης ²⁴²⁹	1	18724
Ἄρθωσις ²⁴³⁰	1	24705
Ἀριωτέχυσις ²⁴³¹	1	16749
Ἀρκοῆς ²⁴³²	2	4395
Ἄρκοτος ²⁴³³	1	29882
Ἄρκουινις ²⁴³⁴	1	16639
Ἄρμαλις ²⁴³⁵	1	24756
Ἀρμιρύμιος ²⁴³⁶	8	21273

Egyptian *byk*, “falcon”, but the vocalisation of this word does generally not appear as *alpha* and the final *tau* could not be justified (cf. Ἀρβηγίς < *Hr-byk*, “Horos the falcon”, in TM Nam 286).

²⁴²² The name Ἀρέμβασις has been identified as a ghostname for Ἀρέμβασις. Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=570>; CLARYSSE, W., “Some Notes on the Gurob Papyri with a Re-Edition of *P. Gurob* 14 + 16”, p. 136.

²⁴²³ In O. Edfou III 471, 2: Ἀρέμβη(κις).

²⁴²⁴ In O. Eleph. DAIK 117, 1: Ἀρεμβώκ(ιος); and partially reconstructed in O. Eleph. DAIK 117, 4: [Ἀρέ]μβωκ[(ις)]. Cf. O. Eleph. DAIK, p. 61: “add. onom.; la resolution est fondée sur l’existence du simple Βῶκις”. However, a name *Βῶκις is not attested.

²⁴²⁵ In O. Strasb. I 625, col. 1, 7: Ἀρεμίθιος; and O. Strasb. I 626, 4: Ἀρέμιθις.

²⁴²⁶ In SB III 6282 (= P. Grad. 9), 4: Ἀρένσιος.

²⁴²⁷ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 227, 10: Ἀρεντοῦτι.

²⁴²⁸ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 217, fr. D 144: Ἀρθήριος(ς).

²⁴²⁹ In P. Brooklyn Gr. 139 descr., 5: Ἀρθοήρους.

²⁴³⁰ In P. Princ. II 46, 15: Ἀρθώσι(ος).

²⁴³¹ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr.: Ἀριωτέχυσις. The ending -χυσις seems to render Egyptian *Īkš*, “Kushite”, but the etymology of the previous part is unknown.

²⁴³² In P. Lond. VII 2002 Vo. col. 7, 160: Ἀρκοῆτι; P. Lond. VII 2002 Vo. col. 7a, 165: Ἀρκοῆτι. Cf., however, P. Lond. VII, p. 150: “In all cases the name is more or less mutilated, but the remains taken together suggest Ἀρκοῆτι despite the fact that the name is unexampled”.

²⁴³³ In Stud. Pal. XX 281, 18: Ἀρκότ(ου).

²⁴³⁴ In SB XII 11252, col. 2, 24: Ἀρκοῦινις. It is not possible to know if the etymology of this name is related to *Hr-qn*, “Horos who embraces” (cf. TM Nam 8768). Cf. also *Hr-qn-Īs.t* > Ἀρκόννησις, “Horos, the one whom Isis embraces” (TM Nam 266). If the reading is correct, the *iota* between the *upsilon* and the *nu* leads to think that Egyptian *qn* is not represented in Ἀρκοῦινις.

²⁴³⁵ In SB XVI 12406, fr. A 11: Ἀρμάλιος.

²⁴³⁶ All the attestations of this name are in P. Lond. III 1164 h, H 1, 4, 5, 12, 13, 15, 17 and 27.

Ἀρνασίαντις ²⁴³⁷	1	16709
Ἄρονπιμη() ²⁴³⁸	1	32326
Ἄρπασισινεύς (?) ²⁴³⁹	1	21284
Ἀρπάχτης ²⁴⁴⁰	1	26434
Ἄρπβαις ²⁴⁴¹	1	16666
Ἀρπίανς ²⁴⁴²	1	28527
Ἄρπισις ²⁴⁴³	1	37242
Ἄρπκωβις ²⁴⁴⁴	1	16671
Ἀρπμάης ²⁴⁴⁵	1	21287
Ἀρπόκωνς ²⁴⁴⁶	1	21291
Ἄρπομος ²⁴⁴⁷	1	34983
Ἀρσάμισυβις ²⁴⁴⁸	1	21294
Ἄρσεπνις ²⁴⁴⁹	1	29738
Ἀρσήνιος, Ἄρσηνις ²⁴⁵⁰	2	16623
Ἀρσυψάρης ²⁴⁵¹	1	29139

²⁴³⁷ In UPZ II 180 a, col. 41, 6: Ἀρνασίαντις.

²⁴³⁸ This name seems to appear abbreviated in UPZ II 180 a, col. 19, 3: Ἄρονπιμη().

²⁴³⁹ In O. Wilcken II 1183, 7: Ἀρπασισινεύς. This reading is doubtful. In the edition Xε . . . νους appears, but this reading has been corrected at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck.;1183>. If the reading is correct, this name would seem a transcription of **Hr-pa-sn-sn.w*, “Horos, the one of the two brothers”, but *Ἀρπασισινεύς/*Ἀρπασασινεύς would be expected instead. Fort he different transcriptional variants of Egyptian *Sn-sn.w*, cf. TM Nam 1029.

²⁴⁴⁰ In SB I 1987 b, 1: Ἀρπάχτη.

²⁴⁴¹ In O. Edfou III 338, 2: Ἄρπβαις.

²⁴⁴² In O. Leiden Gr. 37, 1: Ἀρπίαντι.

²⁴⁴³ In BGU IV 1197, 5: Ἀρπίσιος. This name has been edited with dots under -πισιος and its reading is consequently doubtful. Egyptian *Īs.t* may be rendered in the last part.

²⁴⁴⁴ In P. Petrie III 28 e, Vo. 16: Ἄρπκωβι[ς].

²⁴⁴⁵ In SB XIV 11426, col. 4, 93: Ἀρπμάη(ς).

²⁴⁴⁶ In P. Tebt. III 1043 descr., 26: Ἀρπόκωντος. Could this name represent *Hr-pz-gwy*, “Horos the little”, or even *Hr-pz-hrd*, “Horos the child”? Egyptian *gwy* appears in Coptic as *κογι*. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 73; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 92-94.

²⁴⁴⁷ In I. Memnonion 331, 1: Ἄρπομος.

²⁴⁴⁸ In O. Edfou II 254, col. 1, 4: Ἄρπως Ἀρσαμσύβιος.

²⁴⁴⁹ In O. Wilcken II 798, 3: Ἀρσέπνι. There is no image available of the part of the ostrakon where this name appears; the ostrakon seems in fact to be broken.

²⁴⁵⁰ In SB XVI 12301, 18: Ἀρσηνίου; O. Strasb. I 569, 13: Ἄρσηνις. The names Ἀρσένιος and Ἀρσένις are attested in Greek (for Ἀρσένιος cf. *LGPV* III.A, p. 72; IV, p. 48; for Ἀρσένις, *LGPV* IV, p. 48; cf. also TM Nam 8804). Therefore, it is probable that these names do not represent *Hr* in initial position, but the Latin name Arsenius, with confusion of ε and η. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 242-249.

²⁴⁵¹ In O. Strasb. I 655, 13: Ἀρσυψαρήου.

Ἄρτοθις ²⁴⁵²	1	18219
Ἄρτυς ²⁴⁵³	1	21304
Ἄρτυσαείστης ²⁴⁵⁴	1	21305
Ἀρφέμωνις ²⁴⁵⁵	2	16586
Ἄρφθυσις ²⁴⁵⁶	1	6875
Ἀρφόγωνις ²⁴⁵⁷	1	16693
Ἄρφοις ²⁴⁵⁸	1	21311
Ἄρφουσις ²⁴⁵⁹	1	4387
Ἄρφουφις ²⁴⁶⁰	1	21312
Ἀρφυμίσις ²⁴⁶¹	1	37258
Ἄρφωνις ²⁴⁶²	1	4389
Ἄρχωγφις ²⁴⁶³	1	4380
Ἀρχώωσις ²⁴⁶⁴	3	16717
Ἀρψεύς ²⁴⁶⁵	1	18683
Ἄρωις/Ἀρωεύς ²⁴⁶⁶	1	29613

²⁴⁵² In BGU X 1988, fr. A 5: Ἄρτοθις.

²⁴⁵³ In P. Abinn. 69 Ro., col. 3, 71: Ἄρτυτος (presumably genitive).

²⁴⁵⁴ In O. Deiss. 72, 4: Ἄρτυσαείστης. Ἄρτυσ- seems to render **Hr-tš*, “Horos the red” or “Horos-Mars” (cf. TM Nam 16590).

²⁴⁵⁵ In O. Strasb. I 536, 14: Ἀρφέμωνις and partially reconstructed in SB X 10470, 2: Ἀρφεμ[ώνει]. The name Ammon could be represented in final position, but the *epsilon* between the *phi* and the *mu* poses a problema of interpretation.

²⁴⁵⁶ In P. Lond. III 1170 Ro., col. 15, 591: Ἀρφθύσεως.

²⁴⁵⁷ In P. Tebt. III 848, 41: Ἀρφόγωνις.

²⁴⁵⁸ In UPZ I 149, col. 2, 36: Ἄρφοιτος. The reading of the *phi* is, however, doubtful: in a previous edition (P.Par. 60 bis Ro., 36), Ἄρφοιτος has been read. This name would be a transcription of *Hr-š(y)*, “Horos-Shai” (cf. TM Nam 296). This document might come from Memphis (L01); the vocalisation of *šy* as o could indeed fit with the provenance of the text, since Memphis is situated in a transitional zone of the diaglosses α and ο/ω. Cf. QUAEGEREUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 246-249. However, the lack of an image available does not allow to confirm this reading.

²⁴⁵⁹ In P. Count. 51 Vo., fr. 3., 47: Ἄρφουσις.

²⁴⁶⁰ In P. Ryl. Gr. II 217, fr. A col. 2, 30: Ἀρφούφιτος.

²⁴⁶¹ The reading of P. Lille Gr. I 2, 10: Ἀρφ[υ\μ .σις/] has been corrected into Ἀρφυ\μίσις/ at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lille;1;2>. There is not any image of the text available to check the reading. This name could be a rendering of **Hr-pš-mšy-hs*, “Horos, the fierce looking lion”, but *Ἀρφεμίσις and not Ἀρφυμίσις would be expected, with ε as rendering of the vowel of the masculine article *pš*.

²⁴⁶² In P. Count. 6, 142: Ἀρφωνις. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 215: “the name Ἀρφωνις is a doubtful *hapax*”.

²⁴⁶³ In P. Petrie III 117 h, col. II 10: Ἀρχωγφις.

²⁴⁶⁴ In BGU XI 2073, col. 1, 12: Ἀρχώωσις(ις) Ὠρου; col. 2, 22: Ἀρχώωσις Ὠρου; and P. Lond. III 915, Ro. 14: Ἀρχώσιος. Cf. P. Hibeh II 218, col. 2, 9: Ἀρχώσιος.

²⁴⁶⁵ In UPZ I 98, Ro. col. 2, 9: Ἀρψεύς.

²⁴⁶⁶ BGU IX 1891, col. 13, 416: Ἀρώεως.

Ἀρωντώεις ²⁴⁶⁷	1	16609
Ὠράμη ²⁴⁶⁸	3	25729
Ὠραύσιος ²⁴⁶⁹	1	28585
Ὠρούννυις ²⁴⁷⁰	1	33827
Ὠρψεύς ²⁴⁷¹	2	19562

b) Anthroponyms with a reading uncertain

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἀρβάχης ²⁴⁷²	1	26509
Ἀρβοίτις ²⁴⁷³	1	21238
Ἀρεμψοῦς ²⁴⁷⁴	1	21245
Ἀρήρης ²⁴⁷⁵	1	8745
Ἀρθής ²⁴⁷⁶	1	21256
Ἀρθρων ²⁴⁷⁷	1	21257
Ἀρίθρης ²⁴⁷⁸	1	8753
Ἀριτῆς ²⁴⁷⁹	2	21263
Ἀρκοίρις ²⁴⁸⁰	3	8770
Ἀρμάτις ²⁴⁸¹	1	21266

²⁴⁶⁷ In SB III 6319, col. 1, 20: Ἀρωντώεις.

²⁴⁶⁸ In SB X 10487, 2: Ὠραμῆτος; P. Berl. Leihg. II 41, fr. A 8: [[Ὠραμ(ῆτος)]]; and P. Pisentius 22, Vo. 24: Ὠραμη. Since the name Ἀμῆς is attested (cf. 1957), this name seems to be a compound of Horos-Ames. However, the etymology of Ἀμῆς is unknown.

²⁴⁶⁹ In P. Princ. I 1, col. 1, 11: Ὠραυσίου.

²⁴⁷⁰ In O. Edfou III 391, 1-2: Ὠρούννυις.

²⁴⁷¹ In UPZ I 98, Ro. col. 2, 8: Ὠρψεύς; and col. 5, 93: Ὠρψευ.

²⁴⁷² In P. Tebt. I 225 descr., 1: Ἀρβάχην.

²⁴⁷³ In PSI Congr. XXI 12, col. 2, 8: Ἀρβοίτιος.

²⁴⁷⁴ P. Tebt. I 53, 14: Ἀρεμψοῦτος.

²⁴⁷⁵ In BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. E col. 26, 448: Ἀρηρήους.

²⁴⁷⁶ In P. Wisc. II 46, col. 2, 21: Ἀρθῆς.

²⁴⁷⁷ In P. Tebt. III 833, col. 1, 15: Ἀρθρων.

²⁴⁷⁸ In BGU XVI 2674, 118: Ἀριθρῆ/(ους).

²⁴⁷⁹ In P. Tebt. I 121, Ro. col. 8, 110: Ἀριτῆς; P. Col. VII 148, col. 2, 25: Ἀριτίφῶ.

²⁴⁸⁰ In BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. A col. 5, 65: Ἀρκοίριος; col. 7, 89: Ἀρκοίρις; and fr. C col. 14, 232: Ἀρκοίρις.

²⁴⁸¹ In SB VIII 9905, 2: Ἀρμάτιος. In SB VIII 9905, 15 this name appears reconstructed: [Κάστωρ Ἀρμάτιος.

Ἄρμανσις ²⁴⁸²	1	21268
Ἄρμέσυσις ²⁴⁸³	1	17715
Ἄρομθεύς ²⁴⁸⁴	1	8786
Ἄρπαλειεῖς ²⁴⁸⁵	2	32324
Ἄρπηκος ²⁴⁸⁶	1	29523
Ἄρσεύς ²⁴⁸⁷	3	18675
Ἄρτπάχουμις ²⁴⁸⁸	1	16619
Ἄρτης ²⁴⁸⁹	2	18744
Ἄρφχοιπις ²⁴⁹⁰	1	21313
Ἄρχκωσις ²⁴⁹¹	1	21319
Ἑρμέτιμις ²⁴⁹²	1	4464
Ὀράμουλις ²⁴⁹³	1	10854
Ὀρκάτης ²⁴⁹⁴	1	22692
Ὀρπαατ, Ὀρπααν ²⁴⁹⁵	3	4677
Ὠρβέωσις ²⁴⁹⁶	2	13120

²⁴⁸² In P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 10, 40: Ἀρμάσ(ιος).

²⁴⁸³ In BGU IV 1087, Vo. col. 5, 6: Ἀ[ρ]μέσυσις.

²⁴⁸⁴ In SB XXII 15478, Ro. 2: Ἀρομθέ(ως).


²⁴⁸⁵ In O. Mich. I 347, col. 1, 10: Ἀρπαλειεῖς and O. Mich. I 348, 2: Ἀρπ[α]λειεῖς.

²⁴⁸⁶ In P. Bon. 35, 9: Ἀρπήκου.

²⁴⁸⁷ In P. Tebt. III 820, Ro. 7: Ἀρνώτη Ἀρσεῦτος; P. Genova II 78, Ro. 1: Ἀρσεύς; P. Mil. I.2 68, 11: Ἀρσεῦτ(ος). In P. Tebt. III 820, Ro. 24, this name has been reconstructed: Ἀρ[νώτη Ἀρσεῦτος].

²⁴⁸⁸ In P. Giss. I 58, col. 1, 31: Ἀρτπάχουμις.

²⁴⁸⁹ In ANDORLINI, I., “Women’s Letters Concerning Textile Manufacture (P. Tebt. II 413-414)”, p. 10 = P. Tebt. II 413, 9-10: Ἀρτήο[υ]ς and in O. Bodl. II 647, 4: Ἀρτήους. The name edited in BGU VIII 1884, col. 1, 8 is Ἀτρήτι and not Ἀρτῆτι as it appears in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/bgu;8;1884>, and the anthroponym read in P. Tebt.

II 397, Ro. 10 is Ἀτρή  and not Ἀρτῆ as it can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.tebt;2;397>. Both of them should be corrected. These names are certain transcriptions of *Htr*, “The twin” (cf. TM Nam 317) and are not related to Horos.

²⁴⁹⁰ In P. Tebt. I 85, col. 2, 42: [Ἀ]ρφχοίπιος.

²⁴⁹¹ In P. Hibeh II 218, col. 2, 9: Ἀρχκώσιος.

²⁴⁹² In P. Col. Zen. II 106, 9: Ἑρμέτιμις.

²⁴⁹³ In BGU XVI 2674, 149: Ὠρος Ὀράμουλις.

²⁴⁹⁴ In SB V 7666, 3: Ὀρκατῆτος.

²⁴⁹⁵ In BGU VII 1501, 5: Ὀρπαατ; BGU VII 1501, 10: Ὀρπααν; BGU VII 1504, 14: Ὀρπαατ.

²⁴⁹⁶ In O. Douch IV 401, 3: Ὠρβέωσις; O. Douch IV 404, 18: Ὠρβέωσι.

Ὠρούωχις ²⁴⁹⁷	2	28148
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The editor of P. Tebt. I 225 descr., 1 has read the name Ἀρβάχην. This reading is doubtful because, according to the image available, the space between the *beta* and the *eta* is not big enough for an *alpha* and a *chi*. Since there is a little hole where the letter previous to *eta* is written, it is not possible to certainly known the name that was written here.



P. Tebt. I 225 descr., 1: Ἀρβάχην

In PSI Congr. XXI 12, col. 2, 8, the editor reads the anthroponym Ἀρβοίτιος. The *rho*, however, is not really visible, and the letter between both *iotas* is uncertain because that part of the papyrus has not been preserved. This name possible contains the transcription of *Hr* in initial position, but a certain reading and its complete etymology are unknown.



PSI Congr. XXI 12, col. 2, 8: Ἀρβοίτιος

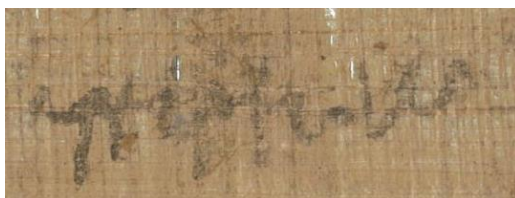
²⁴⁹⁷ In REEKMANS, T., “The Destroyed Papyrus Lovaniensis Graeca 8bA”, p. 506, l. 1: Ὠρούωχις; and 6: Ὠρούωχις (= SB XIV 11992, 1 and 6). In SB XIV 11992, the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;14;11992>, the incorrect name Ὠρούωσις appears in line 6; this should be corrected to Ὠρούωχις as it has been edited in REEKMANS, T.

The name Ἀρεμψοῦτος has been read, on the other hand, in P. Tebt. I 53, 14. The reading of Ἀρεμψ- seems probable, but the letters after the *psi* are not completely certain:



P. Tebt. I 53, 14: Ἀρεμψοῦτος

In BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. E col. 26, 448, the name Ἀρηρήους seems to occur. The reading of some letters of the name are, however, uncertain. It is not possible to know if the syllable -ρη- has been written with dittography and the scribe meant Ἀρηοῦς, from a prototype *Hr-R* ‘, “Horos-Ra”, which is not attested in Demotic but in hieroglyphic writing²⁴⁹⁸.



BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. E col. 26, 448: Ἀρηρήους

The readings of the names Ἀρθῆς (P. Wisc. II 46, col. 2, 21), Ἀρθρωυς (P. Tebt. III 833, col. 1, 15), Ἀριθρῆ/(ους) (BGU XVI 2674, 118) and Ἀριτιῆς (P. Col. VII 148, col. 2, 25) are likewise doubtful. According to the editor of P. Wisc. II 46, col. 2, 21²⁴⁹⁹, the name Ἀρθῆς could have been written instead of Ἀτρῆς, a rendering of Egyptian *Htr*, “The twin”²⁵⁰⁰. However, neither the *theta* nor the *eta* are really visible in the image: instead of an *eta*, an *iota* seem to have been written by the scribe. In the name

²⁴⁹⁸ Cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 249.15.

²⁴⁹⁹ Cf. P. Wisc. II, p. 46: “Ἀρθῆς could stand for Ἀτρῆς”.

²⁵⁰⁰ Cf. TM Nam 317.

Ἄρθρωϛ – edited with dots under *theta* and *upsilon* –, only the letters Ἄρ- are certain, and in Ἀριθρ\ή/(ουϛ) only the *alpha*, the first *rho* and the *theta* are visible. In the anthroponym Ἀριτίου, which has been edited with dots under -τιου, the letters Ἀρι- seem certain, but the fragmentary state of the papyrus does not allow to certainly read the following part²⁵⁰¹.



P. Wisc. II 46, col. 2, 21: Ἀρθρῶς



P. Tebt. III 833, col. 1, 15: Ἄρθρωϛ



BGU XVI 2674, 118: Ἀριθρ\ή/(ουϛ)



P. Col. VII 148, col. 2, 25: Ἀριτίου

²⁵⁰¹ This name seems also to appear in P. Tebt. I 121, Ro. col. 8, 110: Ἀριτιῆς, but unfortunately no image of the text is available.

The name Ἄρκοιρις has been read three times in BGU XVI 2577. According to the image available²⁵⁰², the first three letters Ἄρκ- are certain, but the following part of the anthroponym is uncertain. The similarity of this name and the anthroponym Ἄρκοιρις²⁵⁰³, which is well attested in the Fayum and also in the Herakleopolites, leads to think that Ἄρκοιρις might be a ghostname for Ἄρκοιρις. BGU XVI 2577, where the three attestations of these name occur, comes in fact from the Herakleopolites: the provenance of the document seems consequently to support this hypothesis.



BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. C col. 14, 232: Ἄρκοιρις

In Ἀρμάτιος (SB VIII 9905, 2), only the letters Ἄρ- and -ιος can be recognised; in Ἀρμαύσιος (P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 10, 40), Ἀρμ-; in Ἀρομθέ(ως) (SB XXII 15478, Ro. 2), Ἀρο- and part of the *mu*; in Ἀρπ[α]λεις (O. Mich. I 348, 2)²⁵⁰⁴, Ἀρ-; and in Ἀρήκου (P. Bon. 35, 9), Ἀ- and the ending -ου. In Ἀ[ρ]μέσυσις (BGU IV 1087, Vo. col. 5, 6), the letters before -εσυσις, which the editor reads as Ἀ[ρ]μ, with the complete reconstruction of *rho*, are not preserved.



SB VIII 9905, 2: Ἀρμάτιος (?)

²⁵⁰² For BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. A col. 5, 65: Ἄρκοίριος; and BGU XVI 2577 Ro., fr. A col. 7, 89: Ἄρκοιρις, no images are available.

²⁵⁰³ Cf. TM Nam 4397. Cf. *supra*, in the list of names with a certain reading.

²⁵⁰⁴ This name seems also to be attested in O. Mich. I 347, col. 1, 10: Ἀρπαλεις, but no image of this text is available.



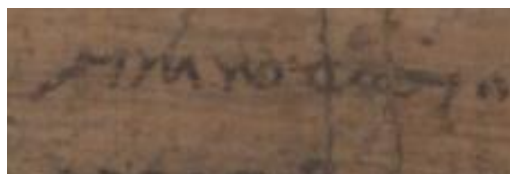
P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 10, 40: Ἀρμάς(ιος) (?)



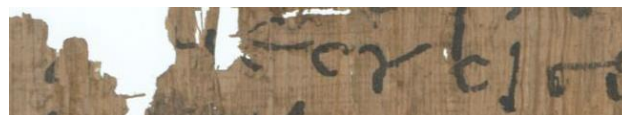
SB XXII 15478, Ro. 2: Ἀρομθέ(ως) (?)



O. Mich. I 348, 2: Ἀρπ[α]λειες (?)



P. Bon. 35, 9: Ἀρπήκου (?)

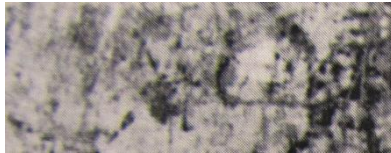


BGU IV 1087, Vo. col. 5, 6: Ἀ[ρ]μέσυσις (?)

The name Ἀρσεύς, on the other hand, seems to be attested in three different documents. In the two images available²⁵⁰⁵, however, it is not possible to read the name: in P. Tebt. III 820, Ro. 7, only the ending -υτος is visible, and in P. Genova II 78, Ro. 1 the anthroponym is illegible:



P. Tebt. III 820, Ro. 7: Ἀρνώτη Ἀρσευτος



P. Genova II 78, Ro. 1: Ἀρσεύς

The editor of P. Giss. I 58, col. 1, 31, on the other hand, has read the anthroponym Ἀρτπάχουμις. The initial and final letters Ἀρ- and -μις can be seen, but the state of preservation of the papyrus does not allow to read the middle letters. The space between the readable parts, however, seems too big to have contained the letters -τπαχου- and leads to think that the beginning Ἀρ- and the end -μις could belong to different names or words. If the reading of the editor is correct, -αχουμ- could be the rendering of Egyptian *ḥm*, “eagle”²⁵⁰⁶.



P. Giss. I 58, col. 1, 31: Ἀρτπάχουμις

²⁵⁰⁵ No image is available for P. Mil. I.2 68, 11: Ἀρσευτ(ος).

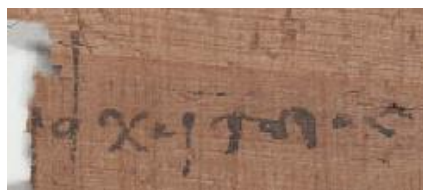
²⁵⁰⁶ Cf. the name Πάχουμις < P3- *ḥm*/Pa- *ḥm*, “The eagle/ The one of the eagle” (TM Nam 679).

In O. Bodl. II 647, 4 and P. Tebt. II 413, 9-10, the names Ἀπτήους and Ἀπτήο[υ]ς have been read, respectively. For O. Bodl. II 647, 4 no image is available, but the reading of the name in P. Tebt. II 413, 9-10 is correct. It is not possible to know if these names contain *Hr* transcribed in initial position or if there is a metathesis of the letters -πτ- and the name Ἀπτήους (nominative Ἀπτήης), a rendering of *Htr*, “The twin” – a well-attested anthroponym in both Demotic and Greek transcription²⁵⁰⁷ –, should be read instead.



P.Tebt. II 413, 9-10: Ἀπτήο[υ]ς

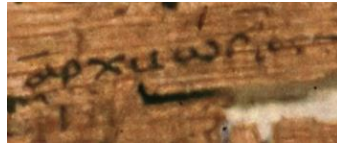
The editor of P. Tebt. I 85, col. 2, 42 has read the name [Ἀ]ρφοίπιος. This name could presumably start by *Hr*, but since the letters previous to the *phi* have not been completely preserved, it is not possible to confirm the anthroponym written by the scribe. In addition, the reading of the letters *pi* and *iota* before the ending -ος is not completely sure.



P. Tebt. I 85, col. 2, 42: [Ἀ]ρφοίπιος

²⁵⁰⁷ Cf. TM Nam 317; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 850-851.

In P. Hibeh II 218, col. 2, 9, on the other hand, the name Ἀρχκώσιος has been read. Even though the reading of a *kappa* between the *chi* and the *omega* would not be impossible, it is not certain. The prototype of this name, which probably starts by *Hr*, is not known.



P. Hibeh II 218, col. 2, 9: Ἀρχκώσιος

The editor of P. Col. Zen. II 106, 9 has read the name Ἑρμέτιμις, with dots under *tau* and *sigma*. However, due to the broken fibres of the papyrus, no letters can be seen where the editor has read *tau* and *sigma*. In addition, a *pi* instead of the first *mu* can be clearly seen. Ἑρ- could render *Hr* in initial position, but the complete etymology of the anthroponym is unknown. The reading of a name Ἑρπέ[χ]ιμι[ς], with a dot under the second *epsilon* and *chi* and *sigma* reconstructed would not be however impossible; if this hypothesis is correct, this name would be a rendering of *Hr-p3-hm*, “Horos the young”²⁵⁰⁸. The transcriptional variant Ἑρπέχημις is, in fact, attested for this prototype in P. Ryl. Gr. 2 220, descr., and in P. Tebt. III 867, col. 2, 10 and P. Tebt. III 867, col. 9, 171 the names Ἑρπέχοι(μις) and Ἑρπέχοιμ(ις) have respectively been read by the editors²⁵⁰⁹.



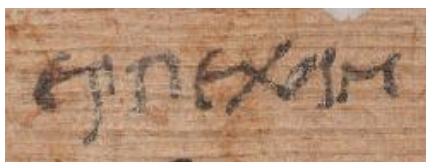
P. Col. Zen. II 106, 9: Ἑρμέτιμις

²⁵⁰⁸ Cf. TM Nam 287; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 805.

²⁵⁰⁹ On the itacistic confusion of ι, η and οι in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, p. 235-239, 262-267.



P. Tebt. III 867, col. 2, 10: Ἐρπέχοι(μῖς)



P. Tebt. III 867, col. 9, 171: Ἐρπέχοιμ(ις)

The name Ὀράμουλις has been read by the editor of BGU XVI 2674, 149. However, only the beginning Ὀρ- and the end -ουλις can be seen. As a consequence, it is not possible to know if there are one or several names in this sequence, and if the reading -αμουλις is correct.



BGU XVI 2674, 149: Ὀρ' Ὀράμουλις

In SB V 7666, 3, the name Ὀρκατῆτος has been read, but only the first three letters of the name seem to be certain. The editor considers that this anthroponym could be a variant of Ὀρκατύτις²⁵¹⁰, which is a transcriptional variant of **Hr-G-d3d3*, “Horos of Gaza”²⁵¹¹. Both the reading of the name and the etymology proposed by the editor are doubtful²⁵¹².

²⁵¹⁰ Cf. WEGENER, E. P., “Four Papyri of the Bodleian Library”, p. 235: “The name Ὀρκατῆς is not to be found in Namenbuch, but Ὀρκατύτις is with reference to P. Ryl. 72 Introd., a text of the Arsinoite of the first century B. C.”.

²⁵¹¹ Cf. TM Nam 4394.

²⁵¹² The genitive of a transcription of *Hr-G-d3d3* is expected to have the ending -ιος (nominative -ις), with both τ preserved in the root (cf. Ἀρκατύτιος in P. Heid. Gr. VI 370, 2). For Ὀρκατῆτος, however, a nominative Ὀρκατῆς should be reconstructed.



SB V 7666, 3: Ὀρκατῆτος

In BGU VII 1504, 14 and 1501, 5, the anthroponym Ὀρπαατ has been read, and in BGU VII 1501, 10, Ὀρπααν. The first three letters and the final *tau* are certain. The final *nu* in BGU VII 1501, 10 cannot be really seen. If readings of the editor are correct, the prototype of these names can start by **Hr-pa*..., “Horos, the one of...”; however, a certain etymology cannot be proposed.



BGU VII 1504, 14: Ὀρπαατ



BGU VII 1501, 5: Ὀρπαατ



BGU VII 1501, 10: Ὀρπααν

The name Ὀρβέωσις has been read in O. Douch IV 401, 3 and 404, 18. In O. Douch IV 401, 3 this name cannot clearly be seen, but the reading of the anthroponym seems to be confirm by O. Douch IV

404, 18, although here the last letters are not completely certain. If the reading is correct, this anthroponym could represent *Hr* in initial position, but its complete prototype is unknown.



O. Douch IV 401, 3: Ὠρβέωσις



O. Douch IV 404, 18: Ὠρβέωσι

In SB XIV 11992²⁵¹³, 1 and 6, the names Ὠρουωχίω and Ὠρούωχίς have respectively been read. In the image available, the name of the first line is illegible, and in the variant of the sixth line only the ending -χίς can be seen. At first sight, this name seems a transcription of Egyptian *Hr-^h*, “Horus is living”, for which the rendering Ὠρουώγχιος is well attested²⁵¹⁴, but no *gamma* can be seen before *chi* in the image. It is therefore not possible to know if the reading proposed by the editor is correct and a *gamma* was omitted before the *chi* by the scribe, or if this anthroponym is a ghostname for Ὠρουωγχίω (l. 1)/ Ὠρούωχίς (l. 6).



REEKMANS, T., “The Destroyed Papyrus Lovaniensis Graeca 8bA”, p. 506, l. 6, pl. XIII

(= SB XIV 11992): Ὠρούωχίς

²⁵¹³ Cf. REEKMANS, T., “The Destroyed Papyrus Lovaniensis Graeca 8bA”, p. 506.

²⁵¹⁴ Cf. TM Nam 15351; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 793.

c) Anthroponyms with a certain reading

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Ἀράτυτις ²⁵¹⁵	2	24621
Ἀρβάλαυς ²⁵¹⁶	1	21236
Ἀρενταῖος ²⁵¹⁷	1	29796
Ἄρκοιφίς	30	4397
Ἀρμαίσημις ²⁵¹⁸	1	35210
Ἄρματος ²⁵¹⁹	3	21267
Ἀρμιᾶς ²⁵²⁰	1	21271
Ἀρμίεις	5	16708
Ἄρμικις ²⁵²¹	1	16719
Ἀροβρωῶς, Ἀράβρωος ²⁵²² , Ἀραβρωῶς ²⁵²³	47 2	6867 + 21223
Ἀρόμφως ²⁵²⁴	1	4409
Ἀρότωφίς ²⁵²⁵	1	24712
Ἀρούσως	9	8788
Ἀρπέσουχος ²⁵²⁶	1	4420
Ἄρπηχις ²⁵²⁷	5	8793
Ἀρρηῖς ²⁵²⁸	3	8800

²⁵¹⁵ In P. Mich. V 269, 17: Ἀρατύτιος. The name Ἀρητύτιος, in PSI VIII 907, 11, has been identified as a ghostname for Ἀρατύτιος. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames from Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

²⁵¹⁶ In SB XXIV 16000, col. 11, 397: Ἀρβάλαντος.

²⁵¹⁷ In P. Genova III 118, 4: Ἀρενταῖον.

²⁵¹⁸ In P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 10, 1: Ἀρμαισήμιος(ς).

²⁵¹⁹ In SB VI 9231 [5426], 6: Ἀρμάτου; P. Rainer Cent. 123, Ro. 2: Ἀρμάτου; P. Reinach Gr. I 44, 22: Ἄρματος.

²⁵²⁰ Presumably in P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 24: [Α]ρμίας.

²⁵²¹ In BGU VII 1634, col. 2, 33: Ἄρμικις.

²⁵²² In SB XXIV 16081, 13: Ἀραβρώου.

²⁵²³ In P. Lond. III Ro., col. 6, 202: Ἀραβρωῶτος.

²⁵²⁴ P. Cairo Zen. II 59176, 77: Ἀρόμφωτι.

²⁵²⁵ In PSI VIII 985, 4: Ἀροτώφιος.

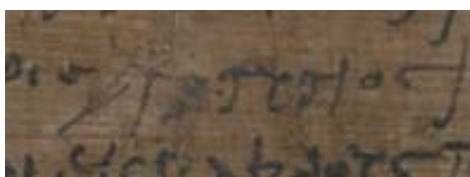
²⁵²⁶ Presumably in P. Cairo Zen. II 59218, Vo. col. 2, 49: Ἀρπεσούχ[ου].

²⁵²⁷ In two documents, this anthroponym has been reconstructed. Cf. SB XX 14666, col. 1, 5: Ἀρπήχ(ιος) μέρη ἐγγαίω]ν; SB XX 14668, 14: [τοῦ Ἀρπήχ(ιος) μέρ]η.

²⁵²⁸ In P. Tebt. III 861, 10, 11; and O. Strasb. I 657, 6: Ἀρρηῖς

Ἀρσησιχέη ²⁵²⁹	1	21296
Ἄρσυνις	17	16706
Ἀρτέπω ²⁵³⁰	1	21302
Ἀρφέκοιπις ²⁵³¹	4	4386
Ἄρφωτος ²⁵³²	1	37259
Ἄρψαλις ²⁵³³	14	4432
Ἄρψυχις ²⁵³⁴	3	16622
Ἄρψυψις ²⁵³⁵	2	16724

The name Ἀρατύτιος is attested twice, in PSI VIII 907, 11, which contains a subscription to a contract of the sale of a house, and P. Mich. V 269, 17, which is a duplicate of PSI VIII 907. The first three letters of the name are well visible in P. Mich. V 269, 17, and thanks to that the anthroponym Ἀρητύτιος read by the editor of PSI VIII 907 has been identified as a ghostname²⁵³⁶. The sequence – τυτιος is, on the other hand, well visible in PSI VIII 907, 11. Comparing both documents is therefore possible to establish the right reading of the name, which probably starts by *Hr*. Its complete etymology is, however, unknown.



PSI VIII 907, 11: Ἀρατύτιος

²⁵²⁹ In O. Berl. 33, 5: Ἀρσησιχέης.

²⁵³⁰ In SB V 8001, 3: Ἀρτέπωτος.

²⁵³¹ In BGU XIV 2437, col. 2, 10: Ἀρφεκοίπιος; BGU XIV 2444, col. 1, 1: Ἀρφεκοίπιος; BGU XIV 2445, col. 3, 11: Ἀρφεκ[ο]ίπιος; P. Hibeh I 132 descr.: Ἀρφίκωπις. In TM Nam 4386 Ἀρφίχουμις (P. Petrie III 46 (1), 20) has been included, but this is a different name.

²⁵³² In P. Tebt. iii 1022 descr., col. 3, 64: Ἀρφώτου ὄρου.

²⁵³³ All the attestations of this name come from the Fayum and the Herakleopolites. Cf. P. Count., p. 218: “the name was hitherto attested only in Tebtynis-Kerkeosiris”.

²⁵³⁴ In BGU I 232, 5: Ἀρψύχεως τοῦ Ἀρψύχεως; PREISIGKE, F., “Zur Buchführung der Banken”, p. 97, Ro. col. 2, 23: Ἄρψυχις.

²⁵³⁵ In P. Cornell 22, col. 3, 59 and 60: Ἄρψυψις.

²⁵³⁶ Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames from Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.



P. Mich. V 269, 17: Ἀρατύτιος

The reading of the name Ἀρβάλαυτος seems, likewise, certain. At first sight, the impression is that the third *alpha* could indeed be a *theta*, but a look at other *thetas* in the document confirms that the *theta* is differently made and that the reading proposed by the editor is correct. Despite this, the complete etymology of the name is unknown.



SB XXIV 16000, col. 11, 397: Ἀρβάλαυτος



SB XXIV 16000, col. 11, 367: θύρας

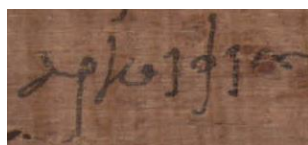
In the anthroponym Ἀρενταῖος, which seems to have been correctly read in P. Genova III 118, 4, only the first part as possible rendering of *Hr* is recognisable²⁵³⁷.

²⁵³⁷ It is not possible to know if this name is a hybrid compound of Horos plus the Greek name Ἀνταῖος (TM Nam 2063) (cf. *LGPN* I, p. 42; II, p. 33; III.A, p. 42; III.B, p. 37; IV, p. 27; V.A, p. 35; V.B, p. 29). However, in hybrid anthroponyms Horos is generally represented as Ὠρ- and not as Ἀρ- as here.



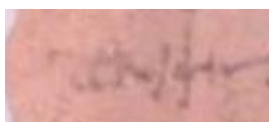
P. Genova III 118, 4: Ἀρενταῖον

Even though the name Ἀρκοῖφις²⁵³⁸ is broadly attested – 28 attestations come from the Fayum and 2 from the Herakleopolites –, its etymology is unknown.



P. Tebt. I 63 Ro., col. 1, 22

The proper names Πέκοιφις²⁵³⁹ and Κοῖφις²⁵⁴⁰, which probably represent the same element that is rendered at the end of the anthroponym Ἀρκοῖφις, are also attested, but their prototypes are also unknown²⁵⁴¹.




O. Petrie Mus. 192, 3: Πέκοιφις

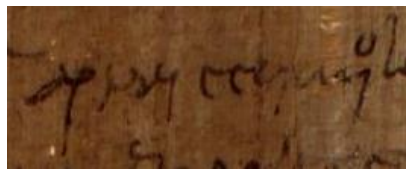
²⁵³⁸ A variant with omega is attested in P. Count. 6, 219: Ἀρκοῖφις. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 216: “the name is a *hapax*, but might be a variant of Ἀρκοῖφις”.

²⁵³⁹ In O. Petrie Mus. 192, 3; cf. TM Nam 17430.

²⁵⁴⁰ In P. Mil. Vogl. IV 230, fr. A 13 and 19: Κοῖφις; TM Nam 22191.

²⁵⁴¹ In RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 175.20, the name , *Ns-p3-kf* (?) is listed, but its meaning is unknown. Egyptian *kf*, “ape” (cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter K, p. 21) does not seem to be represented here, since its vocalisation in Coptic is different. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 345: ⲉⲁⲛⲓ (Sahidic).

In P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 10, 1 – a document from the Fayum –, the name Ἀρμαιοσήμεο(ς) has been read by the editor. This anthroponym can also be read as Ἄρμαις Σήμεος: according to this hypothesis, Ἄρμαις would be a rendering of *Hr-m-ḥb*, “Horos is in feast”, but no name *Σήμες/Σήμεος is attested. The sequence -σημ-, on the other hand, usually renders *Dm3*, “Djeme” (U04). It is not possible to know if this anthroponym is the result of a wrong word division and should be read as Ἄρμαις Σήμεος, “Harmais of Djeme” (?). Considering its context in the text – situated after ὁμολογία –, a genitive, on the other hand, would be expected.

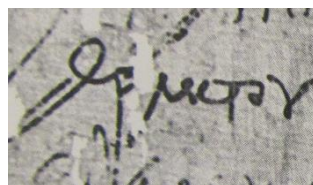


P. Mich. II 121 Vo., col. 10, 1: Ἀρμαιοσήμεο(ς)

The name Ἀρμάτος is attested in three different documents. Even though in SB VI 9231 [5426], 6, a part of the name is not visible, the complete anthroponym can be read in P. Rainer Cent. 123, Ro. 2 and P. Rein. Gr. I 44, 22. In this name, only Ἀρ- can be recognised as a possible transcription of *Hr*; the Egyptian prototype of the following part is unknown.



SB VI 9231 [5426], 6: Ἀρμάτου



P. Rainer Cent. 123, Ro. 2: Ἀρμάτου



P. Rein. Gr. I 44, 22: Ἀρματὺς

In P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 24, the name [Α]ρμίας, with a dot under the *alpha*, has been read:



P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 24: [Α]ρμίας

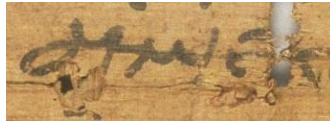
In other parts of the same document, the editor has read, however, the anthroponyms Ἀρμίες (P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 1; col. 1, 5; 1, 16; 1, 36; and 2, 42 – this latter one reconstructed –), and Ἀρμίες (in P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 30):



P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 1: Ἀρμίες



P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 5: Ἀρμίες



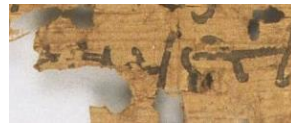
P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 16: Ἀρμῖε[ι]ς



P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 36: Ἀρμ[ι]εις



P. Princ. II 54, col. 2, 42: Ἀρμ[ι]εις

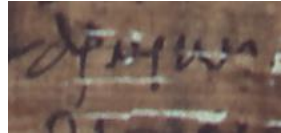


P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 30: Ἀρμῖες

Of these names, only Ἀρμῖε[ι]ς in P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 16 is really visible, and this might also be the name that should be read in P. Princ. II 54, col. 1, 24. The prototype of this name is unknown: it could be Egyptian – in that case, could it represent *Hr-m-ḥb*, “Horos is in feast” or *Hr-mꜣy-ḥs*, “Horos, the fierce looking lion”? –, although the root of the anthroponym could also be Greek²⁵⁴².

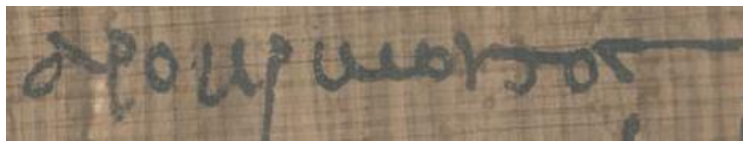
²⁵⁴² Cf. the names Ἀρμῖς (*LGPN* III.A, p. 71; III.B, p. 65), Ἀρμῖον (*LGPN* III.B, p. 65) or Ἀρμῖων (*LGPN* III.A, p. 71). A derivation from a root Ἑρμ-, from the name of the god Hermes, would not be impossible either. On the interchange of α and ε in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 278-286. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 278: “This occurs frequently, not only in unaccented syllables where vowel reduction or assimilation are possible factors, but in accented syllables as well, and in various other phonetic conditions, especially before /r/”.

The editor of BGU VII 1634, col. 2, 33 has read, on the other hand, the name Ἄρμικις. Even though the last two letters of the name are not well visible, the beginning Ἄρμικ- is clear. Ἄρ- could be the rendering of *Hr* in initial position, but the prototype of the second part of the name is not certainly known. However, it is not impossible that it represents the Greek name Μῆκις²⁵⁴³

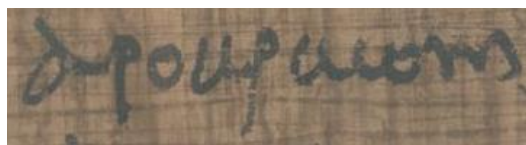


BGU VII 1634, col. 2, 33: Ἄρμικις

The name Ἀροβρωοῦς and other variants such as Ἀρόβρως or Ἀραβρωοῦς, are broadly attested, but the complete etymology of these anthroponyms is unknown. The anthroponyms read as Ἀροκρωοῦς²⁵⁴⁴ are probably ghostnames for Ἀροβρωοῦς – with confusion of β and κ –, but no images of the names edited with κ instead of β with are available.



BGU IX 1893, col. 19, 631: Ἀροβρωοῦτος



BGU IX 1893, col. 19, 641: Ἀροβρωοῦς

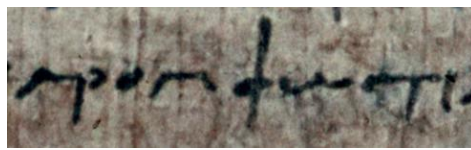
²⁵⁴³ Cf. *LGPN* I, p. 313; V.A, p. 317; TM Nam 33583. Cf. also I. Delta II 396. Hybrid names starting by Horos generally begin by Ὠρ-, however.

²⁵⁴⁴ Cf. TM Nam 6867.

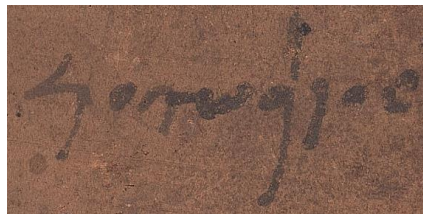


BGU IX 1893, col. 19, 649: Ἀροβρωῦτος

The reading of the names Ἀρόμφωτι (nominative *Ἀρόμφως) and Ἀροτώφιος (nominative *Ἀρότωφίς) seems clear, but only the beginning Ἀρ- as possible rendering of *Hr* can be recognised.



P. Cairo Zen. II 59176, 77: Ἀρόμφωτι



PSI VIII 985, 4: Ἀροτώφιος

The name Ἀρούσωις is attested 9 times: 8 attestations occur in P. Oxy. Census²⁵⁴⁵, and one presumably in SB XXIV 15989, 10. The last part of the name, -σωις, could render Egyptian *Šzy*²⁵⁴⁶, and Ἀρ- might be the representation of *Hr* in initial position. The anthroponym *Hr-Šzy*, “Horos-Shai”, seems in fact to be attested in Demotic²⁵⁴⁷. However, the Greek letters ου between Ἀρ- and -σωις do not support this hypothesis, because the /ə/ pronounced as link of two elements in Egyptian names is

²⁵⁴⁵ The images in the edition of P. Oxy. Census are not clear enough to read the names, but the number of attestations of this anthroponym leads to think that its reading is correct.

²⁵⁴⁶ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 258. J. Quaegebeur does not propose an etymology for this name.

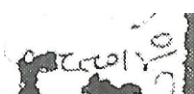
²⁵⁴⁷ Cf. TM Nam 20834: this anthroponym might be attested in P. Qasrlbrim Dem. 23, 1, from Ethiopia. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 48.



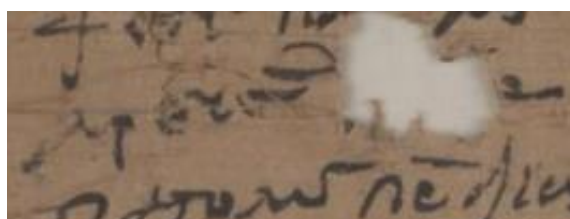
generally represented as an etymologically short vowel ε or ο, and not as ου. Therefore, the etymology of this anthroponym remains dark.



P. Oxy. Census, 219 (AR16b): Αρουσώιτο(ς)



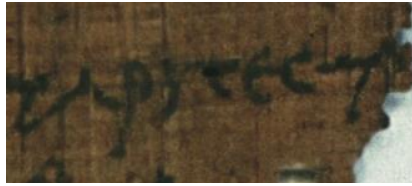
P. Oxy. Census, 160 (AR12): Αρουσώιτο(ς)



SB XXIV 15989, 10: Αρούσ(ωις)

The editor of P. Cairo Zen. II 59218, Vo. col. 2, 49 has read the name Αρπασούχ[ου]. The χ is not visible in the picture available, but the reading of the previous letters of the name is correct. If the last part of the anthroponym represents Egyptian *Sbk*, “Sobek”, a prototype **Hr-pa-Sbk*, “Horos, the one of Sobek”, could be proposed. Although the representation of the possessive pronoun *pa-* as *πε-* in Greek characters is not frequent, it is not however impossible. In addition, the name *Hr-s3-Sbk*, “Horos, son of Sobek” > Ὁρσίσουχος, Ἀρσίσουχος²⁵⁴⁸, which can be considered as the semantic equivalent of **Hr-pa-Sbk*, is attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription. The non-preservation of the complete name does not allow, however, to confirm this hypothesis.

²⁵⁴⁸ Cf. TM Nam 300; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 835.



P. Cairo Zen. II 59218, Vo. col. 2, 49: Ἀρπεσούχ[ου]

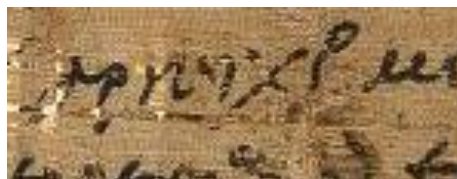
The reading of the name Ἄρπηχις, which is attested five times²⁵⁴⁹, is also correct. However, only the first part (Ἄρ-) as a possible transcription of *Hr* can be recognised.



O. Wilcken II 818, 2: Ἀρπήχιο(ς)



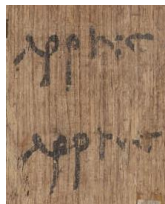
SB XX 14666, col. 2, 14: Ἀρπήχιο(ς)



SB XX 14667, 14: Ἀρπήχιο(ς)


²⁵⁴⁹ In O. Bodl. II 489, 1: Ἀρπήχιο(ς); O. Bodl. II 1841, 5: Ἀρπήχιο(ς); O. Wilcken II 818, 2: Ἀρπήχιο(ς); SB XX 14666, col. 2, 14: Ἀρπήχιο(ς); SB XX 14667, 14: Ἀρπήχιο(ς).

The name Ἀπρῆς is attested three times in O. Strasb. I 657, 6 and P. Tebt. III 861, 10 and 11. It is not possible to know if this anthroponym represents Egyptian *Hr-R*‘, “Horos-Ra”²⁵⁵⁰, or if it is an unattested Greek name with a root Ἀπρ-²⁵⁵¹. The name *Hr-p3-R*‘, “Horos-Ra”, with article, is, on the other hand, attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription²⁵⁵².



P. Tebt. III 861, 10 and 11: Ἀπρῆς

In O. Berl. 33, 5, the name Ἀρσησιχέης has been read by the editor. At first sight, this anthroponym seems to be a ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division: Ἀρσίησι is, in fact, a rendering of *Hr-s3-Is.t*, “Horos, son of Isis”; χεης is, on the other hand, unknown. The name is preceded by the preposition ὑπερ; this, however, does not allow to reconstruct a name after it in dative but in accusative or genitive²⁵⁵³, and the ending -ης of a name Ἀρσησιχέης (nominative *Ἀρσησιχέη) would syntactically be in agreement. In addition, we should also consider that Ἀρσίησι might be a name without Greek morphological ending. It is not consequently possible to know if χεης is part of the name and, if it is, what its Egyptian prototype is.

²⁵⁵⁰ The name *Hr-R*‘, “Horos-Ra”, without article, is not attested in Demotic but is listed in RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 249.15: . In addition, it is not possible to know if this name is the rendering of *hr-rr3*, whose meaning is unknown. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 828.

²⁵⁵¹ Cf., for example, Ἀρρενείδης (*LGN IV*, p. 48), Ἀρρενίδης (*LGN V.B*, p. 60); Ἀρρία (*LGN I*, p. 81; *V.A*, p. 68; *V.B*, p. 60); Ἀρριος (*LGN V.A*, p. 69; *V.B*, p. 60); Ἀρριανή (*LGN V.B*, p. 60); Ἀρριανός (*LGN I*, p. 81; *II*, p. 65; *IV*, p. 48; *V.A*, p. 68; *V.B*, p. 60); Ἀρρηγιανή (*LGN III.A*, p. 72).

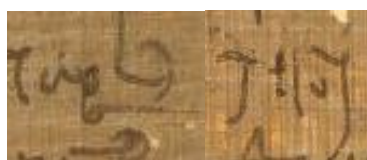
²⁵⁵² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 803; TM Nam 295 and 35540. On this name in Greek transcription, cf. SB X 10509, 2-3: Ἀραπρῆ; P. Count. 30, 38: Ὀπρῆς.

²⁵⁵³ Cf. HUMBERT, J., *Syntaxe grecque*, p. 322: “ὑπερ n’admet que deux constructions : le génitif *partitif* et l’accusatif. En effet le *datif*, qui apparaît en arcadien, (...) semble être une innovation dialectale”.



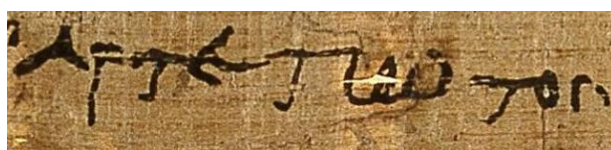
O. Berl. 33, 5: Ἀρσησιγέης

The name Ἄρσυνις is attested more than 10 times. Even though only one picture of the name has been found, its reading is presumably right considering the number of attestations. In this anthroponym, however, only the first part (Ἀρ-) can be recognised as a possible representation of *Hr*²⁵⁵⁴.



P. Wisc. I 14, 2-3: Ἀρσυνίου

Likewise, in the names Ἀρτέπωτος (nominative *Ἀρτέπως) and Ἀρφώτου (nominative Ἄρφωτος), attested one each, only Ἀρ- as possible transcription of *Hr* is recognisable.



SB V 8001, 3: Ἀρτέπωτος



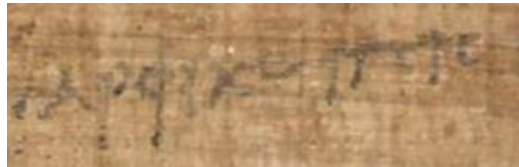
²⁵⁵⁴ It is not possible to know if this name represents Latin Ἀρσένιος (cf. *LGN III.A*, p. 72; *IV*, p. 48; TM Nam 8804), with confusion of ε and υ. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I*, p. 273-275.

P. Tebt. III 1022 descr., col. 3, 64: Ἀρφώτου Ὁρου

The names Ἀρφέκοιπις, attested three times, and Ἀρφίκωπις, attested once, may be considered as variants of a same anthroponym at first sight²⁵⁵⁵. However, the image of Ἀρφεκοίπιος in BGU XIV 2444, col. 1, 1 leads to think that this anthroponym could be a ghostname for Ἀρφεκοίμιος: a *mu* seems to fit better than a *pi* with the strokes that can be seen in the picture. The Egyptian prototype of a name Ἀρφεκοίμιος would not certainly be known neither, but *Hr-p3-ḥm*, “Horos the young”, would not be impossible²⁵⁵⁶. Unfortunately no images are available for Ἀρφεκοίπιος in BGU XIV 2437, col. 2, 10 or for Ἀρφεκ[ο]ίπιος in BGU XIV 2445, col. 3, 11 to confirm this reading. In P. Hibeh I 132 descr., however, the reading Ἀρφίκωπις, with a *pi*, seems to be right. This name could contain *Hr* in transcription in initial position, but the complete prototype is unknown.



BGU XIV 2444, col. 1, 1: Ἀρφεκοίπιος (?)



P. Hibeh I 132 descr.: Ἀρφίκωπις

Although Ἀρψαλις is a well-attested name in the Fayum²⁵⁵⁷, its complete prototype is unknown. Its only recognisable part seems to be Ἀρ, which probably represents *Hr* in initial position.

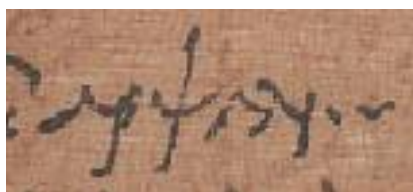
²⁵⁵⁵ Both of them appear in fact together in TM Nam 4386 in the Trismegistos database.

²⁵⁵⁶ Cf. TM Nam 287. Cf. for instance the name Ὀρφέχοιμις as rendering of *Hr-p3-ḥm* in P. Count. 39, 9.

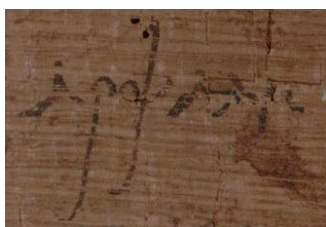
²⁵⁵⁷ Only one attestation, Ἀρψάλεις, in P. Tebt. III 768, 7, comes from the Herakleopolites.



P. Tebt. I 63 Ro., col. 9, 224: Ἀρψαλις

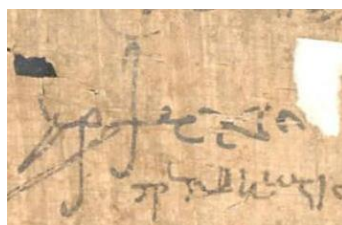


P. Tebt. I 85, 152: Ἀρψάλιος



P. Tebt. IV 1146, col. 1, 5: Ἀρψαλις

The anthroponyms Ἀρψυχίς and Ἀρψυψίς are attested three times and twice, respectively. The etymology of -ψυχίς and -ψυψίς is unknown. The name Ἀρχυψίς as rendering of *Hr-p3-ḥpš*, “Horos of the sword”, is, on the other hand, well attested²⁵⁵⁸; it is not possible to know, however, if Ἀρψυχίς and Ἀρψυψίς are representations of *Hr-p3-ḥpš* as well – Ἀρψυχίς with metathesis of ψ and χ –.

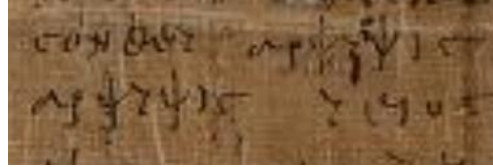


PREISIGKE, F., “Zur Buchführung der Banken”, p. 97, Ro. col. 2, 23: Ἀρψυχίς.

²⁵⁵⁸ Cf. TM Nam 255; Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 804.



BGU I 232, 5: Ἀρψύχεως τοῦ Ἀρψύχεως



P. Cornell 22, col. 3, 59 and 60: Ἀρψυψις

1.1. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

Although Egyptian *Hr* in transcription occurs in all the areas of Egypt in more than 30 transcriptional variants, it seems to be especially frequent in the Fayum, where almost 4000 attestations are found. Ἀρ- and other variants starting by Ἀρ- are the most frequent in all the geographical zones²⁵⁵⁹.

	00	L00	L01	L02	L03	L04	L07	L09	L10	L11	L12	L14	L16	L18	L19	L20	L21
Α-	1																
Ἀρ-	3730	47	89	1	9	24	1	1	1	3	1	1	48	2	2	2	4
Ἀρα- (?)	1																
Ἀραρ-	1																
Ἀρε-	133		11		2	5							3				1
Ἀρει-																	
Ἀρι-	3																
Ἀρο-	3		10			9											
ἄρο-																	
Ἄρου-																	
Ἄρω-					1												
Ἄφρ-	2																
Ἐρ-	38	2	2			10							7				

²⁵⁵⁹ The following names have been partially or totally reconstructed and have not been considered here: [Ἀ]ρποήριος (P. Bingen 27, col. 1, 4), [Ἀρεμβάσνει] (UPZ I 119, Ro. 3), [Ἀρέ]μβασνιν (UPZ I 119, Ro. 20), Ἀ[ρέ]μβασνιν (UPZ I 119, Ro. 21), [Ἀρενδότη] (P. Iand. Zen. 2, 31), [Ἀρεώ]το(υ) (P. Cornell 21, col. 12, 309), [Ἀρεώτου] (P. Strasb. Gr. V 416, 2), Ἀρεώτ(ου) (P. Strasb. Gr. V 427, 8), [Ἀρ]εώτης (P. Strasb. Gr. V 312, 15), [Ἀρε]ντότη (P. Mich. XVIII 772, col. 1, 3), [Ἀρέ]μβοκ[ις] (O. Eleph. DAIK 117, 4), Ἀρέ]μηφις (O. Eleph. DAIK 315, 2), Ἀρέμσινις (O. Edfou II 233, 4), Ἀρ]ενδότη (SB XVIII 13168, 18), Ἀ[ρενδότη] (SB VI 9367 (2), 5), Ἀρε]νδότη (SB XXII 15468, 1), [Ἀρ]ενδότη (P. Oslo III 144, 29), [Ἀ]ρεώτης (P. Oxy. XVI 1892, 38), Ἀρο]νήσιος (P. Tebt. IV 1115, col. 8, 162), Ἐρπε]κύσιος (P. Cairo Zen. IV 59549, Ro. 8), Ἐρπε]χύσιος (PSI VI 560, 6), [Ἐ]ρουνόγχιον (P. Lond. V 1711, 16), [Ἀ]ρποκράς (P. Strasb. Gr. VI 587, 14), [Ἀρποκράς (P. Panop. 18, 1), [Ἀρ]ποκράς (P. Giss. I 59, col. 1, 11), Ἀρ]ποκρατίωνος (SB XIV 11614, 4), [Ἀρποκρατίων] (P. Bub. I 1, col. 19, 2), Ἀρποκρατίωνος (SB XIV 16000, col. 19, 615), Ἀρπο]κρατίωνος (CPR I 94, 9), Ἀρπ]οχράς (P. Oxy. LI 3644, 12), [Ἀ]ρποχ(ράτης) (O. Elkab 104, 3), Ἀ]ρποχρά(του) (P. L. Bat. XIX 25, 3), [Ἀρποχρα]τίων (P. Herm. Landl. 1 [G], col. 20, 306), Ἀρ]ποχρατίωνος (P. Oslo III 130, 6-7), Ἀρ]ποκρατίπης (PSI III 230, 13).

Ηρ-																	
ΗΡ-																	
Καρ-																	
Όρ-	40		3										1				
Όρο-																	
χαρ-																	
Ωρ-	8		2														
ωρ-																	
Ωρε-																	
Ωρ(ο)-																	
Ωρο-																	
Ωρου-	15																
Ωρω-																	
Ζα(ρ)-																	
Ζερ-																	
Ζορ-																	
Ζρ-																	
Ζωρ-																	
Total attestations	3975	49	117	1	12	48	1	1	1	3	1	1	59	2	2	2	5

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U06	U07	U08	U09
A-				14					
Αρ-	145	90	17	700	7	6	5	18	258
Αρα- (?)									
Αραρ-									
Αρε-		31	2	14	1				74
Αρει-									
Αρι-				1					
Αρο-				4					3
αρο-									
Αρου-									2
Αρω-									
Αφρ-									
Ερ-	4		1	4					1
Ηρ-	1								
ΗΡ-									
Καρ-									
Όρ-				2					2
Όρο-									2
χαρ-				1					
Ωρ-		2	1	1					
ωρ-				1					
Ωρε-									
Ωρ(ο)-									1
Ωρο-									1
Ωρου-									
Ωρω-									
Ζα(ρ)-				3					
Ζερ-									
Ζορ-				1					
Ζρ-				1					
Ζωρ-									
Total attestations	150	123	21	747	8	6	5	18	344

	U10	U12	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20	U22
Α-								
Αρ-	52	2	20	175	21	378	243	12
Αρα- (?)								
Αραρ-								
Αρε-	2			6	5	35	10	
Αρει-					1			
Αρη-								
Αρι-								
Αρο-				3			4	
αρο-				1				
Αρου-								
Αρρ-				1				
Αρω-								
Αφρ-								
Ερ-				1			4	
Ηρ-								
ηρ-				1				
Καρ-						1		
Ορ-				2		4	3	
Ορο-	1							
καρ-								
Ωρ-	3			5		1	2	
ωρ-								
Ωρε-				5				
Ωρ(ο)-								
Ωρο-			2			2		
Ωρου-	29			26				
Ωρω-						1		
Ζα(ρ)-								
Ζερ-	4			10				
Ζορ-								
Ζρ-				1				
Ζωρ-	1			1				
Total attestations	92	2	22	238	27	422	266	12

1.2. Linguistic characteristics

Egyptian *h* is not generally represented in Greek transcriptions of *Hr*. Only in one rendering of *Hr-p3-hrd*, “Horos the child” – the name Καρποκρ[α, in P. Oxy. XII 1473, 24 –, it appears as κ, possibly due to the regressive assimilation with the κ transcribing Egyptian *h*. In 22 Coptic anthroponyms (66.66 % of the Coptic attestations), *h* is represented as ϩ, in 10 names it has not been rendered and in the anthroponym χαρδαχτε (< *Hr-3h.ty*, “Horos of both horizons”), in SB Kopt. III 1365, 8, it appears as χ, also owing to the regressive assimilation caused by the second χ, which represents Egyptian *h*.

In 97.45 % of the attestations from the Fayum, 91.14 % from Lower Egypt and 94.53 % from Upper Egypt, the vocalisation of *Hr* appears as *α/λ* in initial position. The vocalisations *ε*, *η/ι*²⁵⁶⁰, *ο/ο*, *ω/ω* and the non-vocalisation²⁵⁶¹ are consequently a minority and, given that they occur in all the areas in low percentages (cf. the table below), these vocalic variations cannot be considered as dialectal features.

	Fayum		Lower Egypt		Upper Egypt	
	Attestations	Percentage	Attestations	Percentage	Attestation	Percentage
<i>α/λ</i>	3874	97.45 %	278	91.14 %	2368	94.53 %
<i>ε</i>	38	0.95 %	21	6.8 %	29	1.15 %
<i>η/ι</i>	---	---	---	---	2	0.07 %
<i>ο/ο</i>	40	1.00 %	4	1.31 %	11	0.43 %
<i>ω/ω</i>	23	0.57 %	2	0.65 %	85	3.39 %
<i>Ø</i>	---	---	---	---	2	0.07 %

Vocalisations of Egyptian *Hr* in initial position by geographical areas

The chronological distribution of each type of vocalisation does not show a decisive explanation on why different vocalic timbres in Greek characters were used to represent the Egyptian sound pronounced between *h* and *r*. The letter *α/λ* occurs in the transcriptions of all the chronological periods and appears to be the standard variant. Greek *ε* seems to appear the most until the third century AD²⁵⁶², *ο/ο* until the fifth century AD²⁵⁶³ and *ω/ω* is especially attested between the fifth and the seventh centuries AD²⁵⁶⁴, but all these variants are attested in all the periods, as we can see in the graphs below:

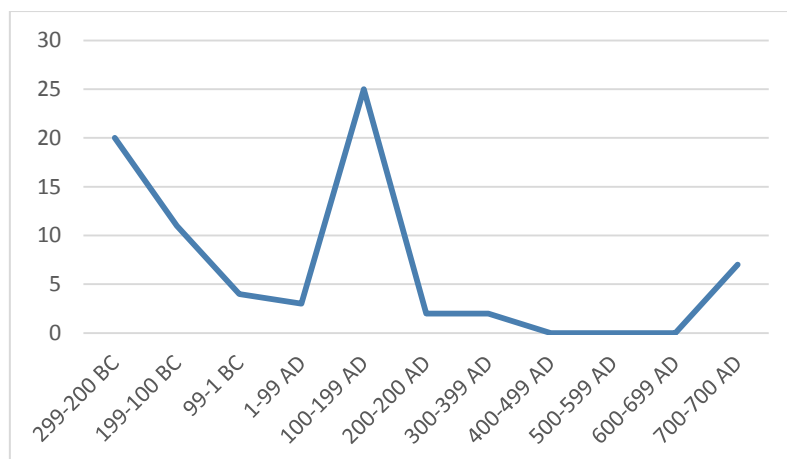
²⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Ἡρσίεις (I. Thèbes à Syène 89, 1), ἡρογϣ (P. Lond. Copt. 1080, 1).

²⁵⁶¹ Cf. ϣρηιτ (O. Crum 438, 7), ϣρογϣ (P. Ryl. Copt. 325, 5).

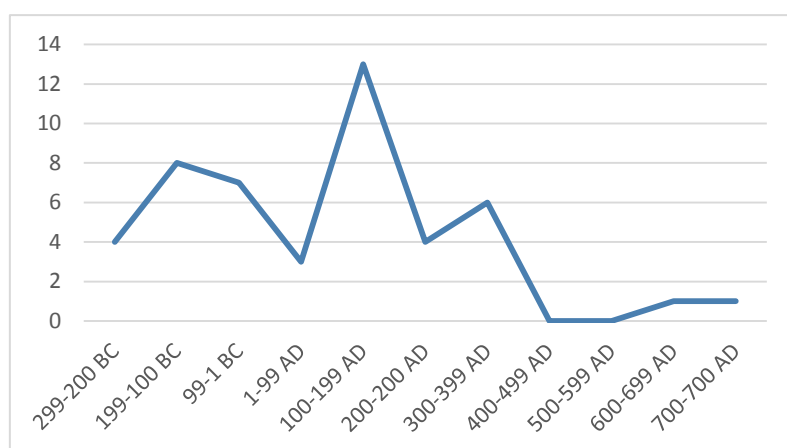
²⁵⁶² 20 attestations date from the period 299-200 BC; 11 from 199-100 BC; 4 from 99-1 BC; 3 from 1-99 AD; 25 from 100-199 AD; 2 from 200-299 AD; 2 from 300-399 AD; and 7 from 700-799 AD (cf., for example, the attestations of the Coptic name ϣερογϣ < *Hr-wdʒ*, “Horos is prosperous”, in TM Nam 310, most of which date from the eighth century AD).

²⁵⁶³ 4 attestations date from 299-200 BC; 8 from 199-100 BC; 7 from 99-1 BC; 3 from 1-99 AD; 13 from 100-199 AD; 4 from 200-299 AD; 6 from 300-399 AD; 1 from 600-699 AD; and 1 from 700-799 AD.

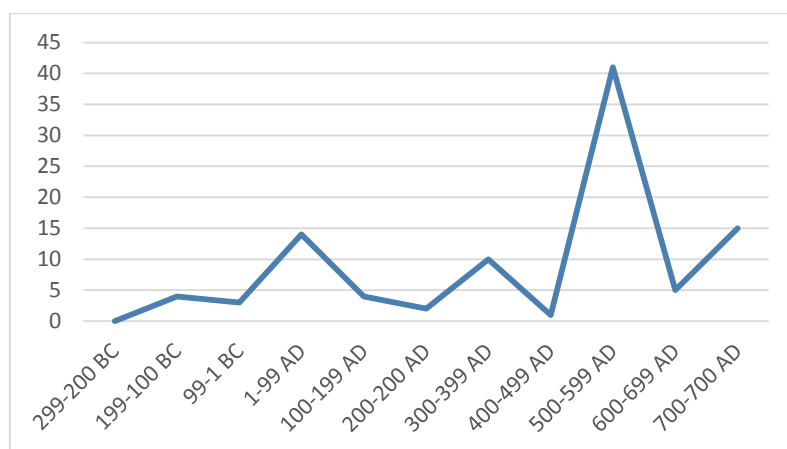
²⁵⁶⁴ 4 attestations date from 199-100 BC; 3 from 99-1 BC; 14 from 1-99 AD; 4 from 100-199 AD; 2 from 200-299 AD; 10 from 300-399 AD; 1 from 400-499 AD; 41 from 500-599 AD; 5 from 600-699 AD; and 15 from 700-799 AD.



Chronological graph of the attestations with ε as vocalisation of *Ĥr*



Chronological graph of the attestations with o/o as vocalisation of *Ĥr*



Chronological graph of the attestations with ω/ω as vocalisation of *Ĥr*

On the other hand, these different vocalisations cannot always be explained by regressive assimilation with a following vowel: cf. Ἑρπέχυσις (< *Hr-p3-Īkš*, “Horus the Kushite”), Ἑρέγεβθις (< *Hr-ī3bty*, “Horus of the East”), Ἑρψημις (< *Hr-p3-ḥm*, “Horus the younger”), Ἑρπάησις (< *Hr-pa-Īs.t*, “Horus, the one of Isis”), but also Ἑρμύσις (< *Hr-m3y-ḥs*, “Horus, the fierce looking lion”), Ἑράσυχις (< *Hr-š3-īḥy*, “Horus-Asychis”), Ἑρμάχωρος (< *Hr-m3-ḥrw*, “Horus is true of voice”), Ὀρσίσουχος (< *Hr-s3-Sbk*, “Horus, son of Sobek”), Ὀρκουίς (< **Hr-gwy*, “Horus the little”), but Ὀρμύσις (< *Hr-m3y-ḥs*, “Horus, the fierce looking lion”), Ὀρπάησις (< *Hr-pa-Īs.t*, “Horus, the one of Isis”), Ὀρουώγχιος/ Ὀρουάγχιος (< *Hr-ḥ*, “Horus is living”), but Ὀρβηκ (< *Hr-Msn*, “Horus the falcon”), Ὀρέμουνις (< *Hr-Msn*, “Horus of Mesen”), ὠρηανσε (< *Hr-pa-Īs.t*, “Horus, the one of Isis”). On the other hand, all the hybrid Graeco-Egyptian names start by the variant Ὀρ-, which seems to have been taken from the usual form of *Hr* in absolute position.

As predicted by J. Vergote²⁵⁶⁵, the variant Ὀρ- seems to have been mostly used in the latest period, probably due to the influence of the Greek forms in Ὀρ- characteristic of the absolute position and hybrid names. The variants with α/λ, ε and ο/ω appear to have coexisted²⁵⁶⁶, with α/λ as the standard variant. The interchange of α, ε and ο in a non-stressed syllable as it was *Hr* in initial position might be explained by the representation of Egyptian /ə/²⁵⁶⁷. The impression is that Greek transcriptions try to represent a non-accentuated Egyptian /o/ with characters that could not well reflect Egyptian phonology, and the Greek pronunciation of α was the closest sound and consequently the most used to transcribe it.

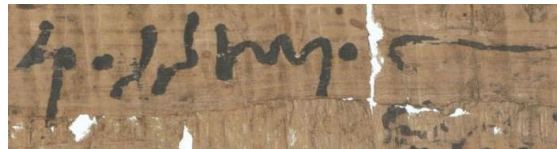
Egyptian *r* has been represented as ρ in all the attestations except in the name Ἀ<ρ>παγάθου (< *Hr-Pyt*, “Horus the Libyan”), in P. Bas. 9, 11, in which it has been omitted probably due to a mistake of the scribe; and in the anthroponym Ἀρρονήτιος (< *Hr-n št*, “Horus is strength/ Horos is protector”)

²⁵⁶⁵ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ib, p. 58.

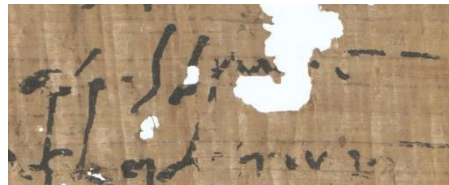
²⁵⁶⁶ The variants with η/η and those with ω/ω that do not date from a late period could be explained by the interchange of ε and η and ο and ω in Koine Greek. Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 242-249; and p. 275-277.

²⁵⁶⁷ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 279: “There is a frequent change of α to ε in Egyptian personal and place names and in Latin loanwords, mainly in unaccented syllables and before /r/”. He mentions, among others, some derivations of the variants Σάραπις/Σέραπις.

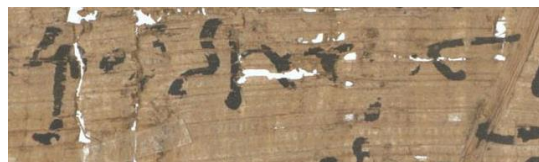
in BGU VI 1258 A 13: Ἀρρονήτ[ι]ος, in which it has been written as double ρ. In BGU VI 1258 A 9 and 14, however, this same name appears as Ἀροννήτιος, which leads to think that Ἀρρονήτ[ι]ος, with double ρ, is also a mistake of the scribe. In one attestation (P. Mich. IV 225, col. 52, 1135: Ἀρ{αρ}ποχράτου, from a prototype *Hr-p3-hrd*, “Horos the child”), dittography of αρ is found, also because of a mistake of the scribe. In two attestations of *Hr-pa-Īs.t*, “Horos, the one of Isis”, Ἀφραήσεως and Ἀφραησι²⁵⁶⁸, there is a metathesis of ρ and φ.



BGU VI 1258 A 9: Ἀροννήτιος



BGU VI 1258 A 13: Ἀρρονήτ[ι]ος



BGU VI 1258 A 14: Ἀροννήτιος

In some names such as Ἀρενδότης/Ἀροντώτης (< *Hr-nḏ-īt=f*, “Horos, who protects his father”), Ἀρέμηφις/Ορόμηφις (< *Hr-mḥ=f*, “Horos, the pillar of his mother”) or Ἀρόνησις (< *Hr-n šṯ*, “Horos is strength/ Horos is protector”)²⁵⁶⁹, the /ə/ pronounced as a link between the *r* of *Hr* and the following

²⁵⁶⁸ In P. Mich. IV 225, col. 27, 297 and P. Fay. 101, Vo. col. 1, 11, respectively. There are no images of these documents available to confirm the reading of the editors.

²⁵⁶⁹ And probably also in Ἀρέμβασις, Ἀρέμιθις or Ἀρέμουνις, whose Egyptian prototypes are unknown.

element is represented in Greek. On the other hand, in anthroponyms like Ἀρεώτης (< *Hr-wḏj*, “Horos is prosperous”) and Ὀρούγγις (< *Hr-‘nh*, “Horos is living”), it is not possible to know if ε and ου – respectively – were conceived as a part of one of the elements²⁵⁷⁰. In 340 attestations (at least 73.11 % of the names in which /ə/ seems to have been transcribed) it is rendered as ε; and in 45 (at least 9.67 %) as ο. In 72 transcriptions (15.48 %) – all of them attestations of the variant Ὀρουόγγιος (< *Hr-‘nh*) except the two attestations of Ἀρούχημις²⁵⁷¹, presumably from *Hr-ḥm*, “Horos the young” – /ə/ might have been reflected in Greek as ου. In addition, in 2 attestations /ə/ appears as ω (cf. Ἀρωντώτη²⁵⁷² and presumably Ὀρωούχιον²⁵⁷³); in 4 presumably as ι (cf. Ἀριοίριος²⁵⁷⁴, Ἀρινούθης²⁵⁷⁵, Ἀρίμαχις²⁵⁷⁶, Ἀρίμαις²⁵⁷⁷); 1 as ει (Ἀρειώτου²⁵⁷⁸); in 1 as α (Ἀρανδ(ώτου)²⁵⁷⁹). In the hybrid names, when it is represented, the vocalic link between both elements appears as ο, probably because of the assimilation with the vocalic timbre of the first element, Ὀρ- (cf. Ὀρόθεος, Ὀρολάμπων, Ὀρολέων,...).



PSI IX 1039, 49: Ὀρωούχιον

²⁵⁷⁰ Cf. the variant Ἀρυώτης, in which υ seems to render the /w/ of *wḏj*. On the interchange of υ and ε in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 273-275. Cf. also the variant Ἀρηώτου (P. Mich. V 288, 5), which occurs in a text in which the variant Ἀρυώτης – written by other hand – appears several times (P. Mich. V 288, 1, 2, 3, 4).

²⁵⁷¹ In *CRIPEL* III 573, A 1 and B 1.

²⁵⁷² In SB VIII 10162 (516), 1.

²⁵⁷³ In PSI IX 1039, 49: τὸν Ὀρωούχιον υἱόν.

²⁵⁷⁴ In P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro. 6-7: Ἀριοίριος.

²⁵⁷⁵ In P. Flor. III 375 Ro., col. 1, 34: Ἀρίνουθις, with a dot under the *iota*. No image is available to check this reading.

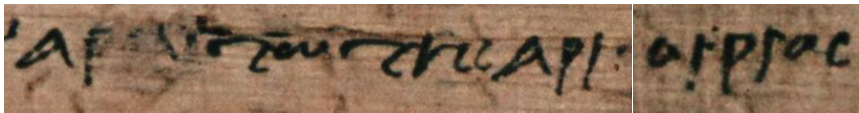
²⁵⁷⁶ P. Ryl. Gr. II 72, col. 1, 15: Ἀρίμαχις, with a dot under the *iota*. No image is available to check this reading.

²⁵⁷⁷ In I. Syr. 2041, 1: Ἀρίμαις.

²⁵⁷⁸ SB XVI 12998, 12. No image of this document is available.

²⁵⁷⁹ In O. Mich. I 83, 4. The anthroponym could be a ghostname for Ἀρενδ(ώτου), but it is not possible to confirm this reading because no image of the text is available.

The appearance of several variants of the same name in the same text reveals that, although Egyptian /ə/ between two elements was mainly represented as ε, it was an indeterminate sound for Greek ears, and that its representation as a specific Greek letter was not related to the phonetic context, since several variants are found for a same name (cf. Ἀρενδότης/Ἀροντότης). In SB X 10270, for example, a document written by several hands, the variants Ἀρομήφιος (23, 2), Ὀρομήφειος (25, 3-4), Ὀρομ(ήφιος) (26, 4) and Ἀρέμη(φι) (multiple attestations: 1, 1; 2, 1; 3, 1; 4, 1...) occur. Likewise, in P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro. 6-7, the names Ἀρεντότης Ἀριοίριος appear: in Ἀρεντότης, Egyptian /ə/ is represented as ε, whereas in Ἀριοίριος (presumably from a prototype *Hr-wr*, “Horus the great”), it seems to be rendered by ι. The different representations of /ə/ in the same name or in different variants found in a same text reveal that scribes tried to find the Greek letter that they thought to represent the best an indeterminate Egyptian sound.



P. Cairo Zen. II 59172, Ro 6-7: Ἀρεντότης Ἀριοίριος

3. *HR* IN MIDDLE POSITION

3.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

More than 90 Egyptian personal names with *Hr* in middle position are attested in Greek transcription. *P3-di-Hr-wr*, “He who has been given by Horos the great”, and *P3-di-Hr-sm3-t3.wy*, “He who has been given by Horos, the uniter of both lands”, have more than 100 attestations and are consequently the best attested.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
Wd3-Hr-Mtn	Horos of Medenit is prosperous	Ότεαρμώτης	12	579
*P3-‘hm-pa-Hr-wd3	The eagle (of) the one of Horos is prosperous	Παχομπαρνώθης	3	23003
P3-šr-n-Hr-...	The son of Horos... (abbreviated name)	Ψεναρβ()	1	20720
*P3-šr-n-Hr-i3bty	The son of Horos of the East	Ψεγεράγεβθις	1	6398
*P3-šr-n-Hr-wd3	The son of Horos is prosperous	Ψεναρνώτης	4	23743
*P3-šr-n-Hr-b3-‘nh	The son of Horos, the living <i>ba</i>	Ψαναρβίηγχις	1	12963
*P3-šr-n-Hr-m-P	The son of Horos in Pe	Ψεναρόμπαις	1	28557
P3-šr-n-Hr-mh=f	The son of Horos, the pillar of his mother	Ψεναρέμηφις	1	26621
*P3-šr-n-Hr-r.r=w	The son of Horos is against them	Ψενάραως	1	18611
*P3-šr-n-Hr-s3-Is.t	The son of Horos, son of Isis	Ψεναρσίσις	2	23742
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Hr-wr	The son of the daughter of Horos the great	Ψενσenaργήριος, Ψενσενάργηρις	2	26769
P3-šr-n-t3-šr-n-Hr-wd3	The son of the daughter of Horos is prosperous	Ψενσenaρνώτης	11	10333
*P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Hr-Pyt	The son of the daughter of Horos the Libyan	Ψενσenaρπαγάθης	1	23772
P3-šr-(n)-t3-šr.t-(n)-Hr-pa-Is(t)	The son of the daughter of Horos, the one of Isis	Ψενσenaρπάθις	4	23773

*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n- Hr-rnp.t	The son of the daughter of Horos of the year	Ψενσενάρεμφις	1	17839
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n- Hr-Š ₃ y	The son of the daughter of Horos- Shai	Ψενσεναρέσαις	1	25782
*P ₃ -šr-n-ta-Hr-p ₃ - Š ₃ y	The son of the one of Horos-Shai	Ψεντάρψαις	1	25760
*P ₃ -di-Hr-...	He who has been given by Horos ... (<i>incomplete and abbreviated names</i>)	Πετεαρ...	21	847
		Πετεαρβ() ²⁵⁸⁰	1	35404
		Πετεαρπ...	7	38373
		Πετεαρχ() ²⁵⁸¹ Πετεαρχ() ²⁵⁸²	1 1	29987 + 35386
P ₃ -di-Hr-iwn- mw.t=f	He who has been given by Horos, the pillar of his mother	Πεταρμούθης ²⁵⁸³	1	26512
		Πεταρμούθης, Πετέαρμουθις, Πετέαρμουτις ²⁵⁸⁴	18 1	7939 853
		Πετέαρμουτις ²⁵⁸⁵	1	5069
P ₃ -di-Hr-wr	He who has been given by Horos the great	Π[ετ]εα[ρ]ήρις ²⁵⁸⁶ Πεταρούηρις, Πετέαργηρις ²⁵⁸⁷	1 106 1 1	17469 + 854 + 27068 33417

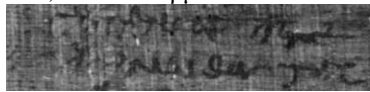
²⁵⁸⁰ In O. Amst. 74, 4: Πετεαρβ().

²⁵⁸¹ In P. Harris I 165 descr., 4: Πετεαρχ(ᾱ).

²⁵⁸² In O. Berenike I 72, 1: Πετεαρχ().



²⁵⁸³ In P. Phil. Gr. 6, A 7: Πεταρμούθου. In P. Phil. Gr. 6, A 5-6, however, the variant



Πεταρμούθου seems to be found. On the equivalence of the Demotic *P₃-di-Hr-iwn-mw.t=f* and the Greek forms, cf. the bilingual texts in *Short Texts* II 529, A 2, B 1, C 6; 672, A 3 and B 1. The interpretation of these variants as transcriptions of *P₃-di-Hr-Mtn*, “He who has been given by Horos of Medenit” in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 300, or as renderings of *P₃-di-Hr-iy-m-htp*, “He who has been given by Horos-Imhotep” (cf. TM Nam 17469) is, consequently, incorrect.

²⁵⁸⁴ The name Πεταρμούτιος, in P. Count. 41, 5, which has been included in TM Nam 853, seems to be a transcription of *P₃-di-Hr-iwn-mw.t=f* and probably not of *P₃-di-Hr-Mtn*, “He who has been given by Horos of Medenit”.

²⁵⁸⁵ In P. Count. 27, 56: Πετέαρμουτις.

²⁵⁸⁶ In P. Grenf. II 35, 5: Π[ετ]εα[ρ]ήρις. **Π[ετ]εα[ρ]ήρις, which can be found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.grenf;2;35>, should be corrected.

²⁵⁸⁷ In O. Wilcken II 1082, 4, the name attested is Πεταεργήρει and not Πεταεργήσει as it appears in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;1082>. Cf. also. O. Wilcken II 1081, 4: Πεταεργήρει.

		Πετεαρήρης ²⁵⁸⁸		
*P3-di-Ḥr-p3-ʿ3	He who has been given by Horos the great	Πέταρπος ²⁵⁸⁹	1	29078
P3-di-Ḥr-(p3)-byk	He who has been given by Horos the falcon	Πετεάρπηκισ ²⁵⁹⁰	21	848
P3-di-Ḥr-p3-Rʿ	He who has been given by Horos-Ra	Πετεαρπηῆς	52	858
P3-di-Ḥr-p3-ḥrd	He who has been done by Horos the child	Πετεαρποχρῶς (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	3	17468
		Πετεαρποκρατ() Πετεαρπ(οκρατ) (<i>abbreviated names</i>)	2 10	19159 + 35808
		Πετεαρποχράτης	74	857
		Πετεαρποκρατίων	2	19159
P3-di-Ḥr-p3-šr-n- Is.t	He who has been given by Horos, the son of Isis	Πετεαρψένησις	83	859
*P3-di-Ḥr-p3-šr-n- Ni.t	He who has been given by Horos, the son of Neith	Πετεαρφενείθης ²⁵⁹¹	1	11519
*P3-di-Ḥr-m3y-ḥs	He who has been given by Horos, the fierce looking lion	Πετεαρμιεύς ²⁵⁹²	1	18690
P3-di-Ḥr-mn	He who has been given by Horos is enduring	Πετέρμηνις	2	11514
P3-di-Ḥr-Mnḫ	He who has been given by Horos-Montu	Πεταρμώνθης,	5	852 ²⁵⁹⁴

²⁵⁸⁸ In I. Thèbes à Syène 231, 1-2: Πετεαρήρης. On the representation of Egyptian *wr* in Coptic, cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 236.

²⁵⁸⁹ In P. Col. VIII 233, 4: Πετάρπον . Cf. the name Ἄρως/Ἄρπος (< *Ḥr-p3-ʿ3*, “Horos the great”).


²⁵⁹⁰ In TM Nam 848 both the Greek renderings of *P3-di-Ḥr-p3-byk* and *P3-di-Ḥr-byk*, with and without article, appear together.

²⁵⁹¹ In SB XXII 15542, 2: Πετεαρφενείθου. On the *phi* instead of a *psi* in this name, cf. GONIS, N., “A New 2nd Century B.C. Prosangelma”, p. 233.

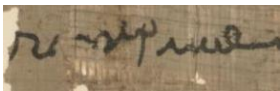
²⁵⁹² In SB XIV 11725, 7: Πετεαρμιεύς.

²⁵⁹⁴ The name Πετεαρμώνθ(εως), in P. Mich. XV 710, Ro. 5, included in TM Nam 852, does probably not belong to this prototype, but to *P3-di-Ḥr-Mn*, “He who has been given by Horos of Medenit”.

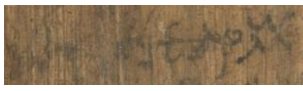
		Πετεαρμέντης ²⁵⁹³ , Πετεαρμώνθης, Πετεάρμωνθης		
P3-di-Hr-m-ḥb	He who has been given by Horos is in feast	Πετεαρμαῖος ²⁵⁹⁵	6	851
P3-di-Hr-m-Ḥb	He who has been given by Horos in Chemmis	Πετεάρχηβις	2	849
P3-di-Hr-Mtn	He who has been given by Horos of Medenit	Πετεάρμωθις ²⁵⁹⁶ , Πετεάρμωτις ²⁵⁹⁷	1 65	852 853
		Πετεάρμως ²⁵⁹⁸	2	11515
P3-di-Hr-nb-Shm	He who has been given by Horos, lord of Letopolis	Πετεαρβέσχινις	15	7943
P3-di-Hr-n-P	He who has been given by Horos of Pe	Πετεαρένφοις ²⁵⁹⁹	2	7942
*P3-di-Hr-nfr	He who has been given by Horos the good	Πετεάρνουφις ²⁶⁰⁰	1	33658
P3-di-Hr-nd-it=f ²⁶⁰¹	He who has been given by Horos,	Πετεαρενδότης	6	850 ²⁶⁰²

²⁵⁹³ In P. Tebt. I 81, col. 2, 2: Πετεαρμέντης . The reading of the vowel between the *mu* and the *nu*, which has been edited with a dot, is uncertain. According to the consonantal skeleton, the last part of the name represents Egyptian *Mnṯ*, “Montu”, and not *Mtn*, “Medenit”.

²⁵⁹⁵ Cf. DE MEULENAERE, H., “Anthroponymes égyptiens de basse époque”, p. 216-217.

²⁵⁹⁶ In P. Mich. XV 710, Ro. 5: Πετεαρμώθ(εως) .

²⁵⁹⁷ The name Πετεαρμούτιος, in P. Count. 41, 5, which has been included in TM Nam 853, is probably a rendering of *P3-di-Hr-iwn-mw.t=f*, “He who has been given by Horos, the pillar of this mother”. Cf. *supra*, the name *P3-di-Hr-iwn-mw.t=f*.

²⁵⁹⁸ In SB X 10261, fr. A 9: Πετεάρμως; and BGU XVI 2577 Vo. 24: Πετεάρμω(τος) . In PSI VIII 922, 18, the name has been partially reconstructed: Πετεά(?)]ρμως. The variant -μωσ- as rendering of *Mtn* is attested in some transcriptional variants of *Wd3-Hr-Mtn*, “Horos of Medenit is prosperous”. Cf. TM Nam 579.

²⁵⁹⁹ In BGU IV 1157, 6: Πετεαρένφοις; BGU IV 1157, 12: Πετεαρένφος; and totally reconstructed in BGU IV 1157, 3: Πετεαρένφοις τοῦ Πιεσιήους.

²⁶⁰⁰ In O. Wilcken II 412, 2-3: Πετεαρνούφως.

²⁶⁰¹ On the meaning of *nd*, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter N, p. 157.

²⁶⁰² In TM Nam 850, the names Πετεαρτώτης and Πετορτώτης, which are nor transcriptions of *P3-di-Hr-nd-it=f*, but probably of **P3-di-Hr-Dḥwty*, have been included. Cf. *infra*, the name **P3-di-Hr-Dḥwty*, “He who has been given by Thot”.

	who protects his father	Πετεαρένδωτις	2	26716
P3-di-Hr-s3-Is.t ²⁶⁰³	He who has been given by Horos son of Isis	Πετέαρσ() ²⁶⁰⁴ (abbreviated name)	1	23088
		Πετεαρσᾶς ²⁶⁰⁵ (hypocoristic)	1	23087
P3-di-Hr-sm3-t3.wy	He who has been given by Horos, who unites both lands	Πετεαρσεμθεύς ²⁶⁰⁶	156	860
*P3-di-Hr-hrd	He who has been given by Horos the child	Πετεαρχρᾶς ²⁶⁰⁷ (hypocoristic)	1	23089
*P3-di-Hr-Dḥwty	He who has been given by Horos-Thoth	Πετεαρτώτης ²⁶⁰⁸	3	850
*Pa-Hr-3ḥ.ty	The one of Horos of both horizons	Πανάραχθις (?) ²⁶⁰⁹	1	22885
*Pa-Hr-ḫš	The one of Horos the Kushite	Παρέκυσις ²⁶¹⁰	1	33522
*Pa-Hr-byk	The one of Horos the falcon	Πάρβηχις	1	17324
*Pa-Hr-Bḥt	The one of Horos of Behdet	Φαρβαιτίων	1	34875

²⁶⁰³ This name is attested in Demotic. Cf. TM Nam16445.

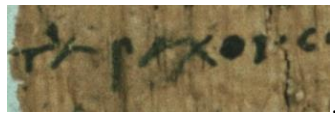
²⁶⁰⁴ In P. Lips. I 101, col. 2, 14: Πετ[ε]άρσ(ιος). There is no image available to check the reading of this name.

²⁶⁰⁵ In O. Edfou III 334, 10: Πετεαρσᾶς.


²⁶⁰⁶ The name Πετεαρσέπθεως, in BGU VI 1491, Ro. 7 (TM Nam 860), has been identified as a ghostname for Πετεαρσένθεως. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “New Ghostnames from Papyrological Documents”, forthcoming.

²⁶⁰⁷ In P. Lond. II 257 Ro., col. 8, 270: Πετεαρχρᾶς.

²⁶⁰⁸ These names have been included together with the renderings of *P3-di-Hr-nd-it=f* in the Trismegistos database. Both types of anthroponyms should be split up. The name *Hr-Dḥwty*, “Horos-Thoth”, is, on the other hand, attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription. Cf. TM Nam 308.

²⁶⁰⁹ Name partially reconstructed attested in P. Cairo Zen. II 59248, 6: Παναράχθιος .

²⁶¹⁰ The name Φορεκύσιο(ς), included in TM Nam 33522, is a ghostname created in the previous edition of the text: in

O. Petrie Mus. 347, 8, the sequence πρ(εσβύτερος) Ὀρίωνος (δραχμαί)  is found instead. The name Ὀρίωνος can be indeed seen in the ostrakon.

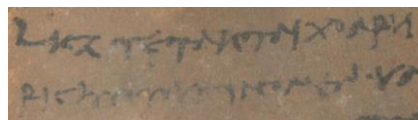
Pa-Hr-p3-ḥrd	The one of Horos the child	Πεναρποχράτης (?) ²⁶¹¹	1	11006
*Pa-Hr-p3-k3	The one of Horos the bull	Παόρπκως ²⁶¹²	1	22924
*Pa-Hr-m3y-ḥs	The one of Horos, the fierce looking lion	Παρμύσιος, Παρμύσις	2	4902
*Pa-Hr-s3-Sbk	The one of Horos, son of Sobek	Παορσίσουχος	4	28617
*Pa-Hr-Tb3	The one of Horos of Apollonopolis	Παάρτβως	8	7255
Ns-Hr-wr	He/She belongs to Horos the great	Ἑσαρόηρις ²⁶¹³	1	179
Ns-Hr-p3-ḥrd	He/She belongs to Horos the child	Σαρπόχρατις	5	180
*K3-Hr-wr	The bull of Horos the great	Χοάρηρις ²⁶¹⁴	1	2632
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Hr-i(w)n-mw.t=f.t	The daughter of he who has been given by Horos, the pillar of his mother	Σενπετεαρμούθης ²⁶¹⁵	1	23339
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-šr-n-Hr-wd3	The daughter of the son of Horos is prosperous	Σενψεναρνώτης ²⁶¹⁶	1	23357
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Hr-wr	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos the great	Σενπετεαρούηρις	3	23340
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Hr-p3-ḥrd	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos the child	Σενπετεαρποχράτης ²⁶¹⁷	1	26490
*T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Hr-Mnṯ	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos-Montu	Σενπετεάρμωνθις ²⁶¹⁸	1	35978

²⁶¹¹ In BGU XVI 2575, 2: Πεναρποχ(ράτου). This name is possibly a ghostname for Παναποχ(ράτου).



²⁶¹² The name Παορπκως that is found in the Trismegistos database and at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/o.wilck;1378> is erroneous. In the edition (O. Petrie Mus. 244, 1), Παόρπκως appears instead.

²⁶¹³ In BGU VI 1249, 4: Ἑσαρόηρις. In BGU VI 1249, 11 this same name has been totally reconstructed.



²⁶¹⁴ In SB IV 7401, 1-2: Χοάρηρις

²⁶¹⁵ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 531 A 1 and B 1.

²⁶¹⁶ In *CRIPEL* II 66, A 1: Σενψεναρνώτης Ψενσεναρνώτου μητρός Σεναρνώτιδος.

²⁶¹⁷ In O. Bodl. II 1200, 3: Σενπετεαρπ(οχράτου).

²⁶¹⁸ In P. Achmim 9, col. 2, 122: Σενπετεαρμώνθις(ις).

T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-iw.t	The daughter of Horos has come	Σενάρρηις ²⁶¹⁹	1	13688
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-wʿb	The daughter of Horos the priest	Σεναρρήβις ²⁶²⁰	1	30759
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-wr	The daughter of Horos the great	Σεναρόρηις	3	12020
T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-wd3	The daughter of Horos is prosperous	Σεναρύωτις, Σεναρύωζ ²⁶²¹	97 1	1068 + 12023
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-Bḥ	The daughter of Horos-Bouchis	Σενάρβουχις ²⁶²²	1	18862
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-(p3)-byk	The daughter of Horos the falcon	Σενάρβηχις	4	1066
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-p3-Rʿ	The daughter of Horos-Ra	Σεναρρηῆς ²⁶²³	2	13801
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-(p3)-t3	The daughter of Horos of the land	Σενάρπτως ²⁶²⁴	3	24472
T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-pa-Is.t	The daughter of Horos, the one of Isis	Σεναρπάησις, Σε<v>αρπάησις ²⁶²⁵	8 1	13802 + 30108
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-m3y-ḥs	The daughter of Horos, the fierce looking lion	Σεναρμύσις	9	13804
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-my-Tb3	The daughter of Horos, who is in Apollonopolis	Σεναρμάτβως ²⁶²⁶	1	23313
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-m-ḥb	The daughter of Horos is in feast	Σενάρμαις	4	13803
T3-šr-(n)-Ḥr-mḥ=f	The daughter of Horos, the pillar of his mother	Σεναρέμηφις	17	13690

²⁶¹⁹ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 710, A 3 and B 1.

²⁶²⁰ In *CRIPPEL* III 685, A 2-3: Σεναρρήβιος. It is a bilingual text, but the Demotic part is unfortunately unpublished. Cf. the name *Ḥr-wʿb* > Ἀρρήβις, “Horos the priest”, attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription and appearing in the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 590, A 2 and B1.

²⁶²¹ Cf. the name *T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-wd3.t* transcribed as Σεναρύωτος in *Short Texts* II 613, A 1 and B 1. *Wʿb*, “priest”, appears in Coptic as ⲠⲚⲏⲛⲃ (Sahidic, Sub-Achmimic, Fayumic), ⲠⲚⲏⲛⲃ (Bohairic, Fayumic). Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 230 ; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 488.

²⁶²² In O. Wilcken II 436, 2: Σεναρβούχ(ιος).

²⁶²³ The name Σεχαρρηῆς, in O. Wilcken II 1300, 4, has been identified as a ghostname. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames on Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

²⁶²⁴ In O. Elkab 85, 1: Σε[νάρπτως (partially reconstructed); 86, 1-2: Σεγάρπτως; 87, 1: Σε[ν]άρπτως (partially reconstructed). In SB I 5539, 1-2: Σεγάρτως no article is reflected.

²⁶²⁵ In I. Akôris 95, 1.

²⁶²⁶ In P. Brem. 41, 30: Σεναρμάτβως. Cf. the name Ἀρμάτβως (TM Nam 8775).

*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-nb-Šhm	The daughter of Horos, lord of Letopolis	Σεναρβέσχινις ²⁶²⁷	1	18164
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-m-P	The daughter of Horos is in Pe	Σεναρέμπαις, Σεναρένπαις ²⁶²⁸	2	24318
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-r.r=w	The daughter of Horos is against them	Σενάρανς	3	18596
T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-s3-Is.t	The daughter of Horos the son (<i>probably abbreviated name</i>)	Σέναρσις ²⁶²⁹	1	12022
T3-šr.t-(n)-Ḥr-s3-Is.t	The daughter of Horos, son of Isis	Σεναρσίησις, Τίναρσιέγετις ²⁶³⁰	11 1	15713 + 34155
*T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-Tb3	The daughter of Horos of Apollonopolis	Σενάρτβως ²⁶³¹	1	34163
*T3-šr.t-n-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-wd3	The daughter of the daughter of Horos is prosperous	Σενσεναρυνότης ²⁶³²	1	26616
T3-di-Ḥr-m-ḥb	She who has been given by Horos is in feast	Τετάρμαις	4	1361
*Ta-Ḥr-...	The one of Horos ... (<i>incomplete and abbreviated name</i>)	Τααρβ() Τααρπ...	1 5	35398 38712
*Ta-Ḥr-iw	The one of Horos has come	Τααρεύς	1	12325
*Ta-Ḥr-wd3	The one of Horos the prosperous	Τααρέωτις, Τααρύως ²⁶³³	11 7	12331 + 24184
*Ta-Ḥr-wd3.t	The one of Horos of the Oudjat eye	Ταορούαθις ²⁶³⁴	1	26584
*Ta-Ḥr-byk	The one of Horos the falcon	Ταάρβειχίς	1	24693
*Ta-Ḥr-Bḥt	The one of Horos of Behdet	Τααρβαίθης	3	12324

²⁶²⁷ In P. Aberdeen 98, 4: Σεναρβέσχινις. Cf. the name Ἀρβέσχινις (TM Nam 8273).

²⁶²⁸ In *CRIPPEL* IV 867, A 1-2: Σεναρέμπαις and P. Achmim 7, col. 2, 120: Σεναρένπαιτος.

²⁶²⁹ In O. Edfou III 458, 2: Σενάρσ(εως).



²⁶³⁰ In O. Florida 14, 1: Τίναρσιέγετι.

²⁶³¹ In P. Alex. Giss. 19, 24: Σενάρτβων.

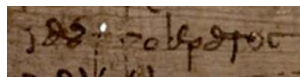
²⁶³² In *CRIPPEL* III 570, 4-5: Σενσεναρυνότης.

²⁶³³ All the attestations of this variant included in TM Nam 24184 are attested in genitive. Cf. Τααρύωτος, Τααρεωτ().

²⁶³⁴ In In SB XIV 11266, col. 2, 34: Ταορούαθι<ο>ς. Cf. the notes for the names *Pa-wd3/Ta-wd3*, “The one of the Oudjat eye”.

*Ta-Ḥr-p3-Ḳš	The one of Horos the Kushite	Τααρπάκυσις	5	12329
*Ta-Ḥr-p3-wnš	The one of Horos the wolf	Ταορπούωνσις	1	34740
*Ta-Ḥr-p3-ḥrd	The one of Horos the child	Τααρφοκρᾶς ²⁶³⁵ (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	1	19243
Ta-Ḥr-pa-Ḳs.t	The one of Horos, the one of Isis	Τααρπάησις	57	5995
		Τάαρφασις (<i>probably hypocoristic</i>)	1	23453
Ta-Ḥr-Pyt	The one of Horos the Libyan	Τααρπαγάθης	37	12328
Ta-Ḥr-m3y-ḥs	The one of Horos, the fierce looking lion	Τααρμύσις	65	12326
		Τααρμιεύς	1	26737
*Ta-Ḥr-m-3ḥ.t	The one of Horos is in the horizon	Τάαρμαχίς	1	18815
*Ta-Ḥr-m-ḥb	The one of Horos is in feast	Τάαρμαις	2	18058
*Ta-Ḥr-ms	The one of Horos has been born	Τάαρμεσις ²⁶³⁶	1	18024
Ta-Ḥr-Mtn	The one of Horos of Medenit	Τααρμώθης	24	1227
*Ta-Ḥr-n-šṯ	The one of Horos is strength/ The one of Horos is protector	Τααρόννησις	2	17872
*Ta-Ḥr-s3-Ḳs.t	The one of Horos, son of Isis	Τααρσιᾶς (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	1	19225
*Ta-Ḥr-sḏm	The one of Horos, who listens	Θάρσυτις, Τάαρσυτις	4	18073
*Ta-Ḥr-tš	The one of Horos-Mars/ The one of Horos the red	Τάαρτυσις	5	19483
*Ta-Ḥr-Dwn	The one of Horos-Thonis	Τάαρθωνίς	4	23449
Ta-Ḥr-Ḍḥwty	The one of Horos-Thoth	Τάαρθωτίς	5	5997
*Ta-t3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-wḏ3	The one of the daughter of Horos is prosperous	Τασενταρούωθίς	1	39448
Ἰ3y-Ḥr-(p3)-t3	Horos seizes the land	Σεάρτως ²⁶³⁷	7	1040

²⁶³⁵ In P. Oxy. XXXIV 2714, 17: Τααρφοκρᾶτος



²⁶³⁶ The name Τάαρμησις (TM Nam 18024) is a partial reconstruction and has not been included here. Cf. P. Leipz. 17 Ro. col. 2, 7: Τααρ[μή]σις.

²⁶³⁷ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1352; RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 388.5, who proposes the meaning “Horus hat das Land ergriffen”. Cf. also JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Ἰ, p. 1-9: Ἰ: “to take, seize”. Cf. also VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 322-323, verb ⲭⲓ (Sahidic), ⲥⲓ (Bohairic). Along with the meaning “to receive, take”, in Coptic this verb also means “to take, get, bring, accept”; “to lead, relate to, attain into”; and “to be

$\underline{D}d-Hr-iw=f- 'nh$ ²⁶³⁸	Horos says: 'He will live/May he live'	Θαρεφώνυχος ²⁶³⁹	2	25030
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B. Egyptian anthroponyms with a prototype unknown

Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations	TM Nam
Εφάρβακις	1	21778
Μονθαρῶθης	1	22539
Πετεαρενπχ() ²⁶⁴⁰	1	33231
Πετεάρνης, Πετέαρνις ²⁶⁴¹	2	11516
Πετεαρσήτιος ²⁶⁴²	1	7363
Ποκροαράχθης	1	23193

The editor of P. L. Bat. XI 22 Ro. 2 has read the name Εφάρβάκι(ος), with a dot under the *epsilon*, which is not visible in the picture available. The *phi* before the first *alpha* can be clearly seen; it is possible, therefore, that the beginning of the name may be Φαρ- as a rendering of *Pa-Hr-*, “The one of Horos...”, and not Εφαρ-. The letters -βακ- are clear, but their etymology is unknown. At first sight, one could think that the name *Pa-Hr-byk*, “The one of Horos the falcon”, is represented here, but the vocalization of *byk* is not α but η or a phonetic equivalent²⁶⁴³.

concerned with, touch”. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 747-751. The name *Tzy-Hr-p3-t3* could consequently mean “Horos leads the land”.

²⁶³⁸ On the Demotic attestations, cf. TM Nam 1321; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1370.

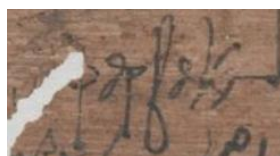
²⁶³⁹ In the bilingual text P. Bürgsch. 14, Ro. 4: Θαρεφώνυχος, Vo. 8: Θαρεφ[ωνύχου, and in the Demotic part, l. 1: $\underline{D}d-Hr-iw=f- 'nh$. Cf. also QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teēphthaphônukhos”, p. 87.

²⁶⁴⁰ On this name, cf. the element *P3-di-*, Names with a prototype unknown, names with no image available.

²⁶⁴¹ On these names, cf. the element *P3-di-*, Names with a prototype unknown, names with an image of uncertain reading.

²⁶⁴² On this name, cf. the element *P3-di-*, Names with a prototype unknown, names with an image of uncertain reading.

²⁶⁴³ Cf. the Greek renderings of *Hr-(p3)-byk*, “Horos the falcon”, in TM Nam 286. In Coptic *byk* appears as ⲃⲏⲕ (Sahidic, Fayumic), ⲃⲏⲭ (Bohairic). Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 34.



P. L. Bat. XI 22 Ro. 2: Εφαρβάκι(ος)

In O. Strasb. I 180, 6, the editor reads Μονθαρώθης – with dots under the *omicron* and the *alpha* –, a name that is not attested elsewhere. The lack of an image available in the edition does not allow, however, to confirm this reading. If it is correct, a prototype **Mnṭ-Hr-ḥtp* “Montu-Horos is satisfied”, could be proposed. It is not possible, nevertheless, to consider this etymology as certain, because, even if the rendering -ώθης can correspond to Egyptian *-ḥtp*²⁶⁴⁴, the name **Mnṭ-Hr* does not seem to be attested in Demotic or in any other Egyptian writing.

In P. Ryl. Gr. II 220, descr., on the other hand, the anthroponym Ποκροαράχθης has been read. Since there is no image of the document available, it is not possible to confirm the editor’s reading, but the impression is that it might be a ghostname resulting from an incorrect word division: the last part of the anthroponym, -αράχθης, is indeed recognisable as the Greek transcription of Egyptian **Hr-zḥ.ty*, “Horos of both horizons”²⁶⁴⁵.

3.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

Egyptian *Hr* in middle position appears mainly as -αρ- in all the geographical areas²⁶⁴⁶:

	00	L00	L01	L03	L04	L14	L16
-(α)ρ-	9	2					
-αρ-	346	1	9	1	5	2	16
-(α)ρε-	2						

²⁶⁴⁴ Cf. for example the different renderings of *Īmn-ḥtp*, “Amun is satisfied”, in TM Nam 36.

²⁶⁴⁵ Cf. the anthroponym Ἀράχθης (< **Hr-zḥ.ty*) in TM Nam 4375.

²⁶⁴⁶ The following names, which have been partially or totally reconstructed, have not been considered here: [Φα]ρβαιτίωνος (P. Oxy. XII 1444, 29), Πετσαρβεσχίνιος (P. Ammon II 38, 2), Σε[νάρπτωτος] (O. Elkab 85, 1), Τετ[εάρμ]αις (P. Ryl. Gr. II 68, col. 1, 5-6), Πετε[αρενδώτου] (UPZ I 5, col. 2, 32-33), [Πετσαρένφοις] (BGU IV 1157, 3), Θιν[α]ρεμήφ(ιος) (P. Bingen 96, 1).

-αρε-	6	2	7				
-αρη-							
-αρο-					2		
-αρρ-							
-(ε)ρ-	4						
-ερ-	2				1		
-(ο)ρ-							
-ορ-	7						
Total attestations	376	5	16	1	8	2	16

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U05	U06	U07	U08	U09	U10	U13	U15	U19	U20	U22
-(α)ρ-	4		3	6		3			2		4	2	1		
-αρ-	15	21	8	324	7	5	18	1	133	1	9	6	52	17	2
-(α)ρε-															
-αρε-									25						
-αρη-									2						
-αρο-									1						
-αρρ-				1											
-(ε)ρ-				2											
-ερ-				1									1		
-(ο)ρ-			1												
-ορ-				2											
Total attestations	19	21	12	336	7	8	18	1	163	1	13	8	54	17	2

3.3. Linguistic characteristics

Egyptian aspirated *h* has not been represented in any Greek transcription in middle position²⁶⁴⁷. In at least 93.61 % (352) of the attestations from the Fayum, 93.87 % (45) from Lower Egypt and 93.71 % (648) from Upper Egypt, the vocalization of *Ḥr* has been rendered as *α* into Greek. In 5 names (Πετεέρμωτις²⁶⁴⁸ < *P3-di-Ḥr-Mtn*, Ψεγεραγέβθιος²⁶⁴⁹ < **P3-šr-n-Ḥr-i3bty*, Ταερτύσιος²⁶⁵⁰ < **Ta-Ḥr-tš*, Πετεερουνήριος²⁶⁵¹ < *P3-di-Ḥr-wr*, and Ταερπάησις²⁶⁵² < *Ta-Ḥr-pa-Īs.t*), it is represented as *ε*, and

²⁶⁴⁷ The name Σεχαρπρής, in O. Wilcken II 1300, 4, has been identified as a ghostname due to a printing error. The name that should be read here is Σεναρπρής (< *T3-šr.t-n-Ḥr-p3-R* ‘, “The daughter of Horos-Ra”). Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription”, forthcoming.

²⁶⁴⁸ In P. Lond. VII 2046, 1 (263-229 BC).

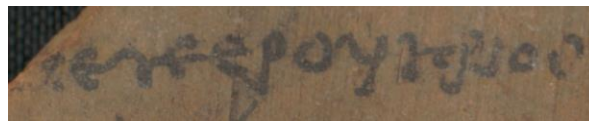
²⁶⁴⁹ In P. Tebt. III 888, Ro. 9 (168 BC).

²⁶⁵⁰ In P. Brux. Gr. I 14, 17 (174 AD).

²⁶⁵¹ In BGU VI 1487, 2 (199-1 BC).

²⁶⁵² P. Oxy. XIV 1638, 33 (282 AD). No image is available to confirm this reading. In the same text (cf. 1, 2, 6, 16, 19) the variant Τααρπάησις also occurs.

in 9 as o (cf. Ταορουάθι<ο>²⁶⁵³ < **Ta-Hr-wdʒ.t*, Ταορπούωνσιν²⁶⁵⁴ < **Ta-Hr-pʒ-wnš*, Ταορφαήσιος²⁶⁵⁵ < **Ta-Hr-pa-Is.t*, the four attestations of Παορσίσουχος²⁶⁵⁶ < **Pa-Hr-sʒ-Sbk*, Πατεορπρῆ²⁶⁵⁷ < **Pʒ-di-Hr-pʒ-R*’, and Παόρπκως²⁶⁵⁸ < **Pa-Hr-pʒ-kʒ*). Although in some anthroponyms ε or ο seem to be due to the phonetic assimilation with a close or stressed vowel of the name (cf. Πετεέρμωτις, Ψεγεραγέβθιος, Πετεερουήριος, Ταορουάθι<ο>, Ταορπούωνσιν, Παορσίσουχος, Παόρπκως), in some attestations assimilation does not explain the choice of ε or ο (cf. Ταερτύσιος, Ταορφαήσιος, Πατεορπρῆ).



BGU VI 1487, 2: Πετεερουήριος



P. Mich. F 293, 1: Ταορφαήσιος

In 38 attestations, the result of a phonetic contraction with the last vowel of the precedent element (*Pʒ-di* or *Pa-/Ta-*) appears as α (cf., for example, Πεταρμούθης < **Pʒ-di-Hr-iwn-mw.t=f*, Παχομπαρνώθης < **Pʒ-ʾhm-pa-Hr-wdʒ*, Πεταρμαῖος < **Pʒ-di-Hr-m-hb*,...), in 6 as ε (cf. the four

²⁶⁵³ In SB XIV 11266, col. 2, 34 (1-199 AD).

²⁶⁵⁴ In P. Mich. II 123 Ro., col. 8, 42 (45 AD). The name is badly visible in the image available:



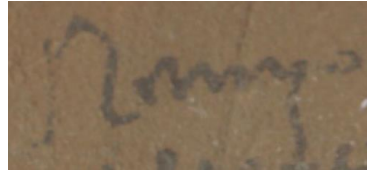
²⁶⁵⁵ In P. Mich. V 293, 1 (1-25 AD).

²⁶⁵⁶ In SB XVIII 14068, 4: Παορσισούχου; 13: Παορσ[ι]σούχ(ου); 15: Παορσισούχ(ου); 20: Παορσισούχ(ου) (100-150 AD).

²⁶⁵⁷ In the bilingual text O. Taxes II 46, 3 (244 BC): Πατεορπρῆ (cf. the Demotic part, l. 4: *Pʒ-di-Hr-pʒ-R*’).

²⁶⁵⁸ In O. Petrie Mus. 244, 1 (43 AD).

attestations of Πετερψένησις²⁶⁵⁹ < *P3-di-Hr-p3-šr-n-Īs.t*, and the two transcriptions Πετερόηρις²⁶⁶⁰/Πετερο(ύηρις)²⁶⁶¹ < *P3-di-Hr-wr*), and in one as o (cf. Πετροπώτο(υ)²⁶⁶² < **P3-di-Hr-Dḥwty*).



O. Wilcken II 618, 1: Πετερο(ύηρις)

Egyptian *r* is represented in Greek as ρ in all the attestations except in one name, in which it appears as double ρ (cf. Πεταρρούηρις²⁶⁶³ < *P3-di-Hr-wr*). On the other hand, in 43 anthroponyms the Egyptian /ə/ pronounced as link between two elements of the personal name appears as ε in Greek (cf. Πεταρενδότης < *P3-di-Hr-nd-it=f*, Σεναρέμηφις < *T3-šr-n-Hr-mḥ=f*, Ψενσεναρέσαις < **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Hr-š3y*). 17 of these attestations belong to the name Σεναρέωτις (< *T3-šr.t-n-Hr-wd3*) and its variants; it is not possible to know if, in this name, ε represents the /ə/ or – less likely –, the *wau* that seems to appear as υ in other variants (cf. Σεναρώτις)²⁶⁶⁴. In two attestations this /ə/ is represented as

²⁶⁵⁹ Two attestations occur in P. Mich. V 272, 11, and other two in SB XX 14576, Vo. col. 14, 338 and 358.

²⁶⁶⁰ In SB XIV 12001, 4: [[Πετερόηρις]] = SIJPESTEIJN, P. J., WORP, K. A., “Six Papyri from the Museum of Antiquities at Cairo”, p. 15: “Above line 6 of the papyrus there are five washed out lines (...). At the end of line 4 can still be deciphered Πετεροῆρις”.

²⁶⁶¹ In O. Wilcken II 618, 1. The writing of the name is cursive and the reading is not completely sure.

²⁶⁶² In O. Elkab 186, 1.

²⁶⁶³ In O. Bodl. II 1909, 1.

²⁶⁶⁴ Cf. TM Nam 1068. On the confusion of and in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 273-275. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 275: “These interchanges of the symbols for /y/ and /ε/ occur mainly in unaccented syllables, suggesting that they reflect the reduction of unstressed vowels to /ə/. In terms of bilingual interference, Coptic had a strong stress accent, with consequent reduction of unstressed vowels. There is also a parallel interchange of γ and ε in Greek loanwords in Coptic”. Most transcriptional variants of *T3-šr.t-n-Hr-wd3* have, however, been written with *upsilon* and not with *epsilon*. Since elsewhere Egyptian /ə/ generally appears as ε or ο, in this name *upsilon* may render the Egyptian *wau* and the *omega* the vocalization of *wd3*. In Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic, Fayumic), the qualitative of *wd3* appears as ογοχ (cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 511): Egyptian *wau* is represented ογ as and the vocalization as ο.

η (cf. Σεναρημήφι<ο>ζ²⁶⁶⁵, Σεναρηώτιδος²⁶⁶⁶) – probably because of bilingual interference²⁶⁶⁷ –, and in three as ο (in Ψεναρόμπαιτι²⁶⁶⁸ < *P₃-šr-n-Hr-m-P and two attestations of Ταρόννησις²⁶⁶⁹ < *Ta-Hr-n šr̥t).

²⁶⁶⁵ In *CRIPEL* III 681, A 2.

²⁶⁶⁶ In SB VI 9022 (7), 2.

²⁶⁶⁷ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 249: “The interchange of η and ε is commonly found in documents showing other evidence of bilingual interference”. Cf. also CLARYSSE, W., “Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek”, p. 197.

²⁶⁶⁸ In SB X 10270 (34), 2.

²⁶⁶⁹ In P. Brux. Gr. I 5, 18: Ταρονήσιος; and 29: Ταρόννησις.

4. *HR* IN FINAL POSITION

4.1. Attestations

A. Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription

More than 20 Egyptian anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription contain *Hr* in final position. Of them, *P3-di-Hr*, “He who has been given by Horos”; *Ta-Hr*, “The one of Horos” – with more than 300 attestations each –; and *T3-šr.t-n-Hr*, “The daughter of Horos”, with more than 100 attestations, seem to be the best attested.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
*Imn-Hr (?)	Amun-Horos (?)	Ἀμόνυρις ²⁶⁷⁰	1	21123
‘nh-Hr	May Horos live/ Horos lives	Χεϋρις	64	108
Wd3-Hr	Horos is prosperous	Ὅτευρις	15	581
*Bs-Hr	Bes-Horos	Βήσωρος	4	9015
P3-iwiw-n-Hr	The dog of Horos	Πίνυρις ²⁶⁷¹	19	918
P3y-Hr	This one of Horos	Πύρις	23	915
*P3-‘hm-p3-di-Hr	The eagle of He who has been given by Horos	Παχομπάτευρις ²⁶⁷²	1	24299
*P3-rmt-(n)-Hr	The man of Horos	Πρόμωρος ²⁶⁷³	1	16470
*P3-s3-Hr	The son of Horos	Πσιουρ ²⁶⁷⁴	1	33270
*P3-šr-n-p3y-Hr	The son of This one of Horos	Ψενπύρις ²⁶⁷⁵	1	23769

²⁶⁷⁰ In P. Flor. III 368 Ro. 6: Ἀμονύρεως.

²⁶⁷¹ Cf. the bilingual texts P. Bürgsch. 14, Ro. 3: *P3-Jiwiw-(n)-Hr* and in the Greek part, l. 2: Πινύριος; and P. Eleph. Gr. 27 3 and 11 and P. Eleph. Dem. 10.

²⁶⁷² In O. Berl. 38, 2: Παχομπατεύρεως



²⁶⁷³ In P. Harris 1 93 (p. 109-110), Vo. 9: Πρόμωρος.

²⁶⁷⁴ In P. Münch. I 18, 1: Πσιουρ. The name is not really visible on the plate of the edition since the papyrus is damaged. If the reading is correct, the prototype of this name could be **P3-s3-Hr*. The anthroponym *S3-Hr*, without article, is also attested in Demotic (cf. TM Nam 7992). The structure *P3-s3-* is also attested in Demotic. Cf. the name *P3-s3-n-Wsir*, “The son of Osiris”, in LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 215.

²⁶⁷⁵ In *CRIPEL* II 245, A 1: Ψενπύριος.

*P ₃ -šr-n-p ₃ -di-Ḥr	The son of He who has been given by Horos	Ψενπάτευρις, Ψενπάτυρις	2	18222
P ₃ -šr-n-Ḥr	The son of Horos	Ψενόριος ²⁶⁷⁶	1	13027
		Ψένυρις	31	977
		Ψινουρ ²⁶⁷⁷	3	28382
*P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -šr.t-n-Ḥr	The son of the daughter of Horos	Ψενσένυρις	17	13044
*P ₃ -šr-n-ta-Ḥr	The son of the one of Horos	Ψένθαυρις, Ψίνταυρις	1 3	17699 + 25899
P ₃ -di-Ḥr	He who has been given by Horos	Πάταυρις, Πέταυρις, Πέτευρις ²⁶⁷⁸ , Πέτοιρις ²⁶⁷⁹ , Πέτωρις ²⁶⁸⁰	8 14 357 1 1	11300 + 17466 + 861 + 33620 + 17964
		Πεταυρο() ²⁶⁸¹ (abbreviated name)	1	33273
Pa-Ḥr	The one of Horos	Παολ ²⁶⁸² , Παορ ²⁶⁸³	1 1	33280 + 11182
		Πάορις, Παῶρις	1 26	11182 + 690
*Pa-s ₃ -Ḥr (?)	The one of the son of Horos (?)	Πάσευρις ²⁶⁸⁴	1	4912

²⁶⁷⁶ In SB XX 14782, 1: Ψενόριος.

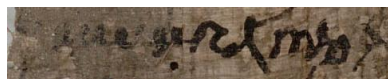
²⁶⁷⁷ In P. Oxy. XLVIII 3400, Ro. 8, 9 and 26.

²⁶⁷⁸ The anthroponym Πέταιρις in P. Leit. 12, 21 is a ghostname for Πέτευρις. Cf. SIJPESTEIN, P. J., WORP, K. A., “Remarks on Some Papyri”, p. 270, note 1; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=714>. Likewise, Πέτερρις, in SB III 7202, 35, is a ghostname for Πέτευρις. Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teēphthaphōnukhos”, p. 87, note 8; <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames/detail.php?record=718>.

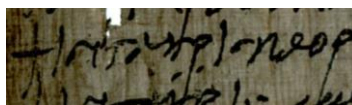
²⁶⁷⁹ In P. Oxy. XXII 2339, Vo. 28: Πέτοιριν. The reading is doubtful: the name cannot be read in the picture available because of the faded ink.

²⁶⁸⁰ Presumably in Stud. Pal. XX 68 Ro., fr. 1, col. 2, 21: Πετωρίο[υ], for which no image is available. The name Πέτωρις in P. L. Bat. XXII 37, col. 2, 17 has been identified as a ghostname for Πετόσιρις. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames on Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

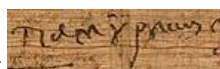
²⁶⁸¹ In SB VI 9231 (inv. 2912), 6: Πεταυρο().



²⁶⁸² In P. Oxy. LIV 3746 Ro. col. 2, col. 2, 24: Ἀμμωνᾶ Παολ




²⁶⁸³ In P. Oxy. XLI 2991, 3: Ψίνταυρις Παορ and SB XX 15135, 4: Παόριος.

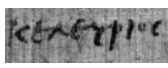



²⁶⁸⁴ In P. Petaus 67, 27: Πάσεύρεως. The name S₃-Ḥr, “Son of Horos”, is attested in Demotic. Cf. TM Nam 7992.

M3'-Hr	Horos is true	Μαίευρις	80	13193
*Ms-Hr	The young Horos	Μεσίυρις ²⁶⁸⁵	3	22487
Ns-Hr	He/She belongs to Horos	Ἔσυρις	2	182
Nht-Hr	Horos is strong	Νέχθυρις, Νάκτουρις ²⁶⁸⁶	14 1	519 + 4208
Ḥ'y-Hr	May Horos appear/ Horos appears	Χάιυρις	5	110
*Gl-Hr	He who betakes himself to Horos	Κέλευρις ²⁶⁸⁷	1	22131
T3y-Hr	This one of Horos	Τεῦρις ²⁶⁸⁸ , Τίυρις	2 4	12524 + 1245
*T3-šr.t-n-p3y-Hr	The daughter of This one of Horos	Σενπίυρις ²⁶⁸⁹	2	18001
T3-šr.t-n-p3-di-Hr	The daughter of He who has been given by Horos	Σενπετεύρις ²⁶⁹⁰	1	13682

²⁶⁸⁵ In *CRIPEL* II 79, A 1-2: Μεσύριος; and *CRIPEL* V 1156, A 2: Μεσ[[ου]]ύριος, and B 2: Μεσύριος. On the meaning “young” of Egyptian *ms* in anthroponymy, cf. CRUM, W. A., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 185-186, who mentions proper names such as Μεσησε, “The young Isis”; or Μέσμουις, “The young lion”. The translation “Horos is born” of “Horos has been born” does not seem to fit here, since qualitative, situated in final position of the anthroponyms, is generally used in Egyptian names. Cf. the name *Hr-ms* (TM Nam 15340), “Horos has been born”, also attested in cuneiform transcriptions. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 121-122.

²⁶⁸⁶ In P. Cairo Zen. IV 59618, 1:]νισασνακτου ιοσιου[. The name Νακτού[ρ]ιος could be reconstructed. Cf. P. Cairo Zen. IV 59618, p. 65.

²⁶⁸⁷ In P. Lille Gr. I 5, 31: Κελεύριος . Cf. other names such as *Gl-Is.t* > Κελέησις (TM Nam 399); *Gl-Wsir* > Κελεύσιρις (TM Nam 402); **Gl-Imn* > Κελέμουνις (TM Nam 401). Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 336-337.


²⁶⁸⁸ In P. Iand. Zen. 17, 10: Τεῦρει ; and SB VI 9022 (6), 3: Τεύριος. It is not possible to know if the prototype of this name is *T3y-Hr*, “This one of Horos”, or *Ta-Hr*, “The one of Horos”, both attested in Demotic and Greek transcription.

²⁶⁸⁹ In *CRIPEL* III 496, 2: Σενπίυριος; 590, 1: Σενπίυρις.

²⁶⁹⁰ Cf. the bilingual mummy label in *Short Texts* II 777, A 2 and B 1.

T3-šr.t-n-Hr ²⁶⁹¹	The daughter of Horos	Σένευρος (?) ²⁶⁹²	1	26171
		Σένερις ²⁶⁹³ ,	1	24691 +
		Σένηρις ²⁶⁹⁴ ,	1	24691 +
		Σένουρις ²⁶⁹⁵ ,	1	28251 +
		Σένυρις,	124	1071 +
		Σίνυρις ²⁶⁹⁶ ,	1	12169 +
		Τίνυρις ²⁶⁹⁷	1	27110
		Τσενυρία ²⁶⁹⁸	2	24915
		Σενωρείων ²⁶⁹⁹ ,	1	27047 +
		Σενωρίων ²⁷⁰⁰	2	12105
		Σένωρος ²⁷⁰¹	2	12106 +
T3-di-Hr	She who has been given by Horos	Τέταυρις ²⁷⁰² ,	1	6207 +
		Τέτευρις ²⁷⁰³	18	6208

²⁶⁹¹ It is not sure if the following names represent *T3-šr.t-n-Hr* or have other prototype and consequently have not been included here: Σέναρις (TM Nam 18172: 2 attestations) – attested in SB I 5409, 1: Σέναρις Ἀρτεμιδώρου; and *CRIPPEL* III 548, 1: Σεναρί – and Χενάρης (TM Nam 2616: 3 attestations) – attested in P. Petrie III 117 e, 17: Χενάρεως; P. Count. 24, 132: Χεναρέους, and 138: Χεναρέους; and probably in P. Col. Zen. II 106, 7: Χενά[ρ]ης –. Both the names Ἄρις and Ἄρης are attested in Greek (cf. *LGPV* III.B, p. 50, V.A, p. 60, V.B, p. 50; and *LGPV* I, p. 58, II, p. 50, III.A, p. 54, V.A, p. 59, V.B, p. 50, respectively), so these could be hybrid Graeco-Egyptian anthroponyms. On the other hand, in TM Nam 24691

three different names appear: Θίνηρις, in P. Marm. Ro., col. 3, 2: τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) Θίνηρις , from Libya, which does not seem to represent a feminine name; Σένερις, in O. Strasb. I 631, 4: Σενέριος Ὀρου, which can be the transcription of *T3-šr.t-n-Hr*; and Σένηρις, in SB VI 9602 (9), 1: Σενήριος, which can also be the transcription of *T3-šr.t-n-Hr* or a hybrid Graeco-Egyptian name (cf. the Greek anthroponym Ἰήρις in *LGPV* I, p. 205; IV, p. 157; V.A, p. 204).


²⁶⁹² In O. Wilcken II 954, 5: Σένεϋρος.

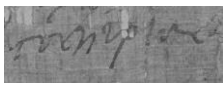
²⁶⁹³ In O. Strasb. I 631, 4: Σενέριος Ὀρου.

²⁶⁹⁴ In SB VI 9602 (9), 1: Σενήριος.

²⁶⁹⁵ In SB X 10478, 3-4: Σενούριος.

²⁶⁹⁶ In SB XX 14710, col. 2, 12: Σινύριος.

²⁶⁹⁷ In CPR VI 72, Ro. 8: γυναικὸς Τίνυρις . The reading is uncertain due to the faded ink. Cf. CPR VI, p. 119: “Der Name Tinyris ist neu, die Lesung aber nicht in allen Punkten gesichert. Man könnte mit vielen Vorbehalten auch Τιῶρις lesen”.

²⁶⁹⁸ In P. Genova I 18, 7: Τσενυρία; and P. Cairo Masp. II 67127, 8: Τσενυρία .

²⁶⁹⁹ In P. Achmim 9, col. 3, 195: Σενωρείο(νος).

²⁷⁰⁰ In SB XXII 15414, Ro. 1-2: Σενωρίων; cf. *Short Texts* II 739, A 2: *T3-šr.t-Hr.t*; and B 2: Σενωρίωνος.

²⁷⁰¹ Cf. *Short Texts* II 578, A 2: *T3-šr.t-n-Hr ta Hr*; and B 1: Σενώρου Ὀρου; SB XXII 15445, 1: Σένωρος.

²⁷⁰² In P. Petaus 69, col. 1, 7: Τεταύ[ριος].

²⁷⁰³ Three attestations in TM Nam 6208 are in fact incomplete: Τετε... They have not been taken into account here.

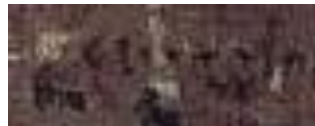
		Τετεώριον	5	27964
*Ta-p3-di-Hr	The one of He who has been given by Horos	Ταπέτευρις ²⁷⁰⁴	2	12407
Ta-Hr	The one of Horos	Θαύρης ²⁷⁰⁵	1	24780
		Ταῦρις	338	1243
		Ταωρίων	35	19203
		Ταώρων ²⁷⁰⁶	1	38771

B. Proper names with an Egyptian prototype unknown

The name Μεῦρις²⁷⁰⁷ has been read twice in P. Giss. 16 col. 1, col. 3, 3: [Μ]εύριος; and col. 3, 18: Μ[ε]ῦρις. However, none of these attestations is complete and, as we can see in the pictures available, the reading is uncertain. If the reading proposed by the editors is correct, the prototype of this name could be *M3'-Hr*, “Horos is true”²⁷⁰⁸ – attested in both Demotic and Greek transcription – or **Mr-Hr*, “Beloved of Horos”²⁷⁰⁹.



P. Giss. I 6 col. 3, 3: [Μ]εύριος



P. Giss. I 6 col. 3, 18: Μ[ε]ῦρις

²⁷⁰⁴ In P. Fouad 33, 21: Ταπέ[τευρις] (partially reconstructed and not considered here); 28: Ταπετεύριος; 35: Ταπέτευρις.

²⁷⁰⁵ In SB XVIII 13583, 4: Θαύρητος.

²⁷⁰⁶ In P. Mich. IV 223 Ro. col. 102, 3063: Τ]αώρων.

²⁷⁰⁷ TM Nam 17142.

²⁷⁰⁸ Cf. TM Nam 13193. Cf. με, in VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 105-106.

²⁷⁰⁹ Cf. the participle or *mry*, “to love”, which appears as મા in Coptic. Cf. VYICHL, W., *ibidem*, p. 106-107. On the interchange of and in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 192-193.

4.2. Transcriptional variants and geographical spread

Although more than 5 different transcriptional variants are attested for Egyptian *Ḥr* in final position, -vp- is the best attested rendering in all the geographical areas²⁷¹⁰.

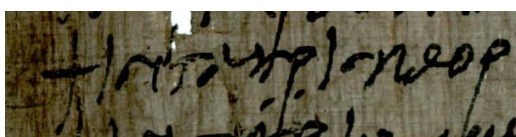
	00	L00	L01	L03	L16
-(ει)ρ-					
-ερ-					
-ηρ-					
-(οι)ρ-		1			
-ορ-		1			
-ουρ-	1				
-υλ-	1				
-(υ)ρ-	2				
-υρ-	461		10	2	4
-υρρ-	1				
-ωλ-	3				
-(ω)ρ-					
-ωρ-	40		4	1	
-ζωρ					
Total attestations	509	2	14	3	4

	U01	U02	U03	U04	U07	U09	U10	U13	U15	U17	U19	U20
-(ει)ρ-				1								
-ερ-				1								
-ηρ-						1						
-(οι)ρ-												
-ορ-									1		1	
-ουρ-	1					1					3	
-υλ-												
-(υ)ρ-					1							
-υρ-	39	23	13	172		40	5	2	20	7	128	10
-υρρ-	1											
-ωλ-												
-(ω)ρ-									1			
-ωρ-	5			10		4			5		13	1
-ζωρ	1	1		2								
Total attestations	47	24	13	186	1	46	5	2	27	7	145	11

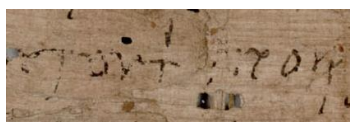
²⁷¹⁰ The following names have been partially reconstructed and have not been included here: T[αύ]πο(ς) (P. Pheretnuis col. 4, 70), Περ[έω]ρος (SB X 10449, 14).

4.3. Linguistic characteristics

Although Egyptian aspirated *h* is not represented in any Greek transcription, it appears as *Ϸ* in all the Coptic anthroponyms. In at least 463 (90.96 %) attestations from the Fayum, 16 (69.56 % from Lower Egypt) and 460 (89.49 %) from Upper Egypt, the vocalization of *Hr* is represented as *υ*. Other variants, such as *ε* and *η*, in the names Σενέριος²⁷¹¹ and Σενήριος²⁷¹² might also represent the vocalisation of *Hr* in final position²⁷¹³. In addition, in 3 attestations, it appears as *ο*²⁷¹⁴ and in 6 as *ου*²⁷¹⁵.



P. Oxy. XLI 2991, 3: Ψίνταυρις Παορ



P. Oxy. XLVIII 3400, Ro. 8: τοῦ Ψίνουρ



P. Oxy. XLVIII 3400, Ro. 9: ὁ Ψίνουρ

²⁷¹¹ In O. Strasb. I 631, 4: Σενέριος Ὠρου.

²⁷¹² In SB VI 9602 (9), 1: Σενήριος.

²⁷¹³ On the interchange of *υ* and *ε* and *υ* and *η* in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 273-275 and 262-267, respectively.

²⁷¹⁴ Cf. P. Lond. VI 1914, Vo. 54: Πτορ; I. Louvre 74, 1-2: Πετέορον; P. Oxy. XLI 2991, 3: Ψίνταυρις Παορ.

²⁷¹⁵ In SB XVI 12461, 1: Πετεούριος; P. Oxy. XLVIII 3400, Ro. 8: Ψίνουρ; P. Oxy. XLVIII 3400, Ro 9: Ψίνουρ; P. Oxy. XLVIII 3400, Ro. 26: Ψίνουρ; and, presumably, in P. Münch. I 18, 1: Πσιουρ (*P₃-sz-Hr) and P. Cairo Zen. IV 59618, 1, where the sequence [γισασνακτου ιοσιου] was first read. Cf. P. Cairo Zen. IV 59618, p. 65: “The alternative, which seems to me preferable, is to read [γισας Νακτού[ρ]ιος Ἰου[δαῖος]. Νακτούρις is a possible variant of Νεχθῶρις, and we know that Jews sometimes bore Egyptian names”. On the confusion of *υ*, *ο* and *ου* in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 211-215.



P. Oxy. XLVIII 3400, Ro. 26: τῷ Ψινουρ

In 43 (8.44 %) attestations from the Fayum, 5 (21.7 %) from Lower Egypt and 44 (8.56 % from Upper Egypt), the vocalization of *Hr* is represented as ω/ω. This vocalization appears not only in anthroponyms that may be considered as Greek derivations of Egyptian names such as Ταωρίων, “The one of Horion”, Σενωρίων, “The daughter of Horion”, Τετεωρίων, “She who has been given by Horion”, or Ταώρων, “The one of Horon”, but also in other names (cf. Πετέωρος < *P3-di-Hr*, Σένωρις < *T3-šr.t-n-Hr*, Ψένωρος < *P3-šr-n-Hr*, Βήσωρος < **Bs-Hr*), some of which have been written without morphological ending (cf. Παωρ < *Pa-Hr*, Ταωλ < *Ta-Hr*, Πατεωρ < *P3-di-Hr*, Πετεωρ < *P3-di-Hr*). In addition, in all the Coptic names attested, *Hr* in final position appears as -ρω²⁷¹⁶. Except four attestations²⁷¹⁷, all these names date from the first century AD onwards, whereas the anthroponyms with the vocalization υ are well attested in both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Even though some names ending in -ωρ/ωλ have no Greek morphological ending, it is not impossible, however, that this vocalization may be due to the influence caused by names in absolute position – some of which do not have a Greek morphological either –, in which the form Ὠρ- is common.

In the names Μαειριος (< *M3'-Hr*)²⁷¹⁸, Πέτοιριν²⁷¹⁹, Πετύρεως²⁷²⁰ and presumably Πετωρίο[υ]²⁷²¹ (< *P3-di-Hr*), the vocalization of *Hr* seems to be contracted with the last vowel of the precedent

²⁷¹⁶ Cf. χενρωρ (O. Crum VC 19, 2), χνωρ (O. Vind. Copt. 126, 6), παρωρ (P. KRU 1, 61), ταρωρ (in DELATTRE, A., FOURNET, J. L., “Les ostraca grecs et coptes d’Edfou. À propos d’une publication récente”, p. 84-85, l. 3 = O. Vars. Inv. 139901).

²⁷¹⁷ Presumably Πετέω[ρ]ος (P. Genova III 122, 11, 199-150 BC), Πετεώρου (P. Tebt. III 794, 14, 250-210 BC), Παωρ (UPZ I 98, Ro. col. 2, 3; and Ro. col. 5, 87, 158 BC).

²⁷¹⁸ In O. Theb. Gr. 49, 2.

²⁷¹⁹ In P. Oxy. XXII 2339, Vo. 28.

²⁷²⁰ In SB VI 9326, 5 and P. Erl. Diospolis 1, 10: Πετύρε[ως].

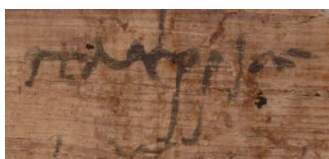
²⁷²¹ In Stud. Pal. XX 68, fr. 1, Ro., 21: Πετωρίο[υ], for which no image is available. The anthroponym Πέτωρις, in P. L. Bat. XXII 37, col. 2, 17, has been identified as a ghostname for Πετόσιρις (< *P3-di-Wsir*, “He who has been given by Osiris). Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I., “Some Ghostnames in Papyrological and Epigraphical Sources”, forthcoming.

element. The renderings $-(\epsilon\iota)\rho-$ and $-(\omicron\iota)\rho-$ seem to be itacistic variants of $-(\upsilon)\rho-$, well-attested in Koine Greek²⁷²².



SB VI 9326, 5: Πετύρεως

In 99.42 % of the transcriptions, Egyptian r has been rendered as ρ/φ in Greek. In two attestations – the names Παύρριος ($< Pa-Hr$) in P. Tebt. 5 1153, col. 4, 78 and Πατεύρρις ($< Pz-di-Hr$) in O. Wilcken II 24, 1 –, however, it appears as double ρ . On the other hand, r has been transcribed as λ in three anthroponyms appearing in the same text (Ταωλ $< Ta-Hr$, in O. Mich. 1 565, 5, 6 and 10, dated from the third century AD) and in one animal name (Ταῦλις $< Ta-Hr$, in SB XVI 12469, Ro. 24, dated from 26 BC)²⁷²³; these four proper names with *lambdacism* come from the Fayum.



P. Tebt. V 1153, col. 4, 78: Παύρριος

²⁷²² On the interchange of υ ($\omicron\iota$) and ι ($\epsilon\iota$) in Koine Greek, cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 267-273.

²⁷²³ Cf. REA, J. R., “Lease of a Red Cow Called Thayris”, p. 277-282. This animal name is included as an anthroponym in Trismegistos People. Its inclusion here does not change significantly the percentage rates; in fact, this attestation is interesting because it has the form of a feminine anthroponym that has been used to call an animal. The *lambdacism* in this attestation is one of the first attested and, consequently, useful to figure out the origin of the Fayumic dialect. This lease has two parts: in the first one, written by a Greek hand, the variant Θαῦρις appears (SB XVI 12469, Ro. 7). The second part, which has been written by an Egyptian, contains, along with the name Ταῦλις, other examples of the confusion of ρ and λ (cf. Καίσαλος in SB XVI 12469, Ro. 25) and other phonetic spellings due to bilingual interference (interchange of γ and κ , δ and τ , \omicron and ω ,...). Cf. REA, J. R., *ibidem*, p. 282.

5. CONCLUSION

Egyptian *Hr* is mostly represented as *Ḥp*/-*αp*- in initial and middle position, and as *-vp*- at the end of the anthroponyms. Even though most Greek renderings of *Hr* in absolute position appear as *Ωp*-, cuneiform transcriptions of the name and Greek renderings in final position seem to reveal that the original form of *Hr* in absolute position was *Υp*-. This appears to confirm J. Vergote's hypothesis that *v* generally represented /ó:/ and was replaced by *ω* in later renderings²⁷²⁴. Although at first sight the two main vocalisations of *Hr* as *αp* and *vp* do not seem to be related, the impression here is that they represent the same vowel in unstressed and stressed positions, respectively. According to A. Loprieno²⁷²⁵, due to the evolution of the Egyptian vocalic system at the end of the New Kingdom, stressed /a/ became /o/, which led to other adjustments of the vocalic system. This vocalic evolution seems consequently to be reflected in the transcriptions of *Hr*: in unstressed syllables – in initial and middle positions – the vocalisation of *Hr* mainly occurs as *α*, and in stressed syllables – in absolute and final position –, accented /a/ evolves to /o/ and is rendered as *v*.

²⁷²⁴ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ib, p. 58.

²⁷²⁵ Cf. LOPRIENO, A., *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, p. 38-39: "Major developments alter the vocalic system of Egyptian during the late New Kingdom, after the reign of Ramses II, i.e. from around 1200 BCE onward. Parallel to the so-called "Canaaite vowel shift" in contemporary Northwest Semitic, long stressed */a:/ becomes */o:/: *hrw* "(the god) Horus" */ḥa:ruw/ > */ḥo:rə/ (Akk. Transcription of the Neo-Assyrian period *-huru-*). This sound change provokes other adjustments within the system, notably the change of long stressed */u:/ to */e:/ (...). Unstressed vowels, especially in posttonic position, merged into the mid central */ə/ (the so-called *schwa*)".

CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

Greek transcriptions of Egyptian anthroponyms not only reveal the vocalisation of Egyptian words and the nature of Egyptian stress, but also they help to delimit the dialectal diaglosses of pre-Coptic Egyptian and contribute to the dating of some linguistic characteristics of Koine Greek. The knowledge of the dating of a linguistic variant (e.g. the name Παχοίτης instead of Παχύτης < *Pa-ḥt* or the different variants with the dialectal isogloss *a/o* for the Fayum) or the possible geographical areas where it can come from depending on its vocalisation or other linguistic features (e.g. Πανεχώτης and Πανεχάτης < *Pa-nḥ-ḥt.w*; or Θίννησις and Θέννησις < *Tḫ-šr.t-n-Ḳs.t*) can help editors to establish correct readings or resolutions of abbreviations and avoid the creation of new ghostnames. As it has already pointed out for the Demotic transcriptions of Greek personal names¹, when they are not able to distinguish between several letters, editors often attribute inexistent mistakes to ancient scribes. The analysis of Greek transcriptions of Egyptian names indicate that the mistakes made by editors are in fact much more frequent than those made by ancient scribes.

As the Greek renderings of *Ḳmn*, “Amun”; *Ḳs.t*, “Isis”; *Hr*, “Horus” – and also other elements, especially names of deities, such as *Mnt*, “Montu”; *Hnsw*, “Khonsu”; *Sbk*, “Sobek”; and *Dḥwty*, “Thot”² – show, their transcription in absolute and final position is the same: when these elements where situated in these positions, their vocalisation is represented with an etymologically long Greek vowel; on the other hand, when they appear at the beginning or in the middle within an anthroponym, the rendering of the vocalisation generally fluctuates between ε and ο – etymologically short –, or it is even not represented, as it can be seen in the table below:

Egyptian element	Most frequent Greek transcription			
	Absolute position	Initial position	Middle position	Final position
<i>Ḳmn</i>	Ἀμουv-	Ἀμεv-	-αμεv-	-αμουv-
<i>Ḳs.t</i>	ἡσε	Σ-, Ἑσε-	-εσ-	-ἦσ-
<i>Mnt</i>	---	Μεντ-, Μοντ-/Μονθ-	-μεvτ-, -μοντ-/μονθ-	-μωντ-

¹ Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “The Demotic Transcriptions of the Greek Names of the Eponymous Priests”, p. 134: “As a general rule the demotic scribes made far less copyists’ errors than has been generally assumed. More often than not it was the editor who could not distinguish between two resembling letters in a cursive hand or a damaged passage. When new material became available either in Greek or demotic texts, scholars were able to establish the true reading but quite often the original error was incorrectly attributed to the demotic scribe”.

² Cf. Appendix IV.

Hr	Ωρ-, Υρ-	Αρ-	-αρ-	-υρ-
Hnsw	Χωνσ-	Χενσ-/Χεσ-	-χενσ-, -χεσ-	-χωνσ-/χων-
Sbk	Σουχ-	Σοκ-	-σοκ-	-σουχ-
Dḥwty	Θωτ-	Θοτ-	-θοτ-	-θωτ-

Since the opposition between long and short vowels did probably not exist in Egyptian, the different vocalisations depending on the positions of the elements within the anthroponyms reveal that, given that Greek had symbols for both short and long vowels, they were used to indicate the syllable on which the stress fall. Thus, etymologically long Greek vowels were used to indicate the situation of the Egyptian stress, whereas the syllables with etymologically short vowels or without vocalisation appear to have been unaccented³. The alternation of ε and ο as renderings of Egyptian *schwa* /ə/ in unstressed syllables, which can have also been written without vocalisation, along with the assimilation of vowels in unaccented syllables (cf., for example, the renderings of *-i.īr-di-s*), reveal that the Egyptian stress was strongly intensive. The vocalisation of some elements shows that, from an accentual point of view, there were no four positions in which the elements could occur within a name (absolute, initial, middle and final), but only two: the middle position could indeed be considered as a kind of secondary initial position, and the final position as a secondary absolute position, since the elements previous to the stressed one seem to have been proclitic. This is illustrated for the examples of *Īmn*, *Hnsw* and *Sbk* in the following table:

Position (accentual point of view)		Most frequent Greek rendering ⁴	Egyptian anthroponym (prototype)	Translation	TM Nam
Absolute	Absolute absolute	Ἄμ <u>ου</u> νις	Īmn	Amun	1990
		Χ <u>ῶ</u> νσις	*Hnsw	Khonsu	19495
		Σ <u>ου</u> χος	Sbk	Sobek	1122
	Secondary absolute	Σενάμ <u>ου</u> νις	T3-šr.t-n-Īmn	The daughter of Amun	1056
		Σένχ <u>ων</u> σις	T3-šr.t-n-Hnsw	The daughter of Khonsu	1062
		Σένσ <u>ου</u> χις	T3-šr.t-n-Sbk	The daughter of Sobek	1087

³ We consequently agree with LOPRIENO, A., *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, p. 36: “As a general rule, the opposition between short and long vowel is not phonological, but determined by the respective syllabic structure: long vowels appear in open stressed syllables, and short vowels in closed syllables and in open unstressed syllables”.

⁴ The vocalisation of *Īmn*, *Hnsw* and *Sbk* appears in bold. The vowel on which the stress seems to have fallen is underlined.

Initial	Absolute initial	Ἀμενώθης	Īmn-ḥtp	Amun is satisfied	36
		Χεσθώτης	Ḥnsw-Dḥwty	Khonsu-Thot	127
		Σοχώτης	Sbk-ḥtp	Sobek is satisfied	1123
	Secondary initial	Τααμεννέως	Ta-Īmn-iw	The one of Amun has come	1252
		Σενχεσθώτης	T3-šr.t-n-Ḥnsw-Dḥwty	The daughter of Khonsu-Thot	13806
		Τασόκηνης	Ta-Sbk-mn	The one of Sobek is enduring	6098

This coincidence in the vocalisation of the elements in absolute and final position allows to deduce that the original representation of elements such as *Īs.t* and *Ḥr*, which mostly appear as Ἰσις (Greek derivation) and Ὡρος in absolute position, was Ἡσ- (cf. Coptic *ḥse*) and Ὑρ- (cf. cuneiform transcriptions), respectively, since the variants -ης- and -υρ- are the best attested in final position.

Even though the analysis of the Greek morphological endings of the Egyptian anthroponyms in transcription has not been an objective in this research, it is possible to draw some conclusions also on this subject. In fact, the representation of the vocalisation of the elements and at the same time the election of specific morphological endings for the anthroponyms ending by a certain element allow to affirm that the choice of some morphological endings depended on the situation of the Egyptian stress in the personal names⁵. Thus, as it can be seen in the table below, the endings -ις, -ις/-εως – which is by far the most frequent in Greek transcriptions of anthroponyms –; -ις, -ιτος; -ης, -ου⁶; and -ος, -ου

⁵ P. W. Pestman pointed out that the Greek morphological ending of the Egyptian names depending on the Egyptian ending, but did not seem to realise that the stress also played an important role. Cf. PESTMAN, P. W., *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*, p. 485: “Which ending was to be used in a particular case, depended on the ending of the Egyptian name; a -ς was appended when the Egyptian name ended in a vowel, and -ις (sometimes -ης) when it ended in a consonant”. Cf. also GRIFFITH, F. L., *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. III, p. 188-196.

⁶ According to PESTMAN, P. W., *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*, p. 495: “Whenever an Egyptian name ends in one of the consonants *t, f, d* or *ḏ*, the Greek ending is occasionally -ις (...), but usually -ης”. However, this rule does not seem always to apply, because in the archive of the choachytes exceptions such as Σενίμουθις instead of Σενιμούθης (< *T3-šr.t-iy-m-ḥt(p)*), “The daughter of Imhotep”, TM Nam 1072) are attested. These exceptions are not explained by PESTMAN, P. W., *ibidem*, p. 495: “Neither do I know why category C consists of two groups of names. It may be that the first group (in -ις) originally contained the masculine names and the second one (in -ις) the female names, but the evidence collected here in list C shows that by the end of the second century Greeks and Egyptians did not clearly distinguish between the two groups”. The exceptions with ending -ις for the Egyptian names ending by *t, f, d, ḏ* could however be considered as itacistic variants of -ης.

where used when the stress was situated in the previous syllable (paroxytone accent)⁷, whereas Greek morphological endings such as -ᾱς, -ᾱτος; -αυς, -αυτος; -εύς, -έως/-εὔτος; -ῆς, -έους/-ῆτος; -οῦς, -οὔτος; -ως, -ωτος; and -ους, -ουτος⁸ occur when the stress was in the last syllable (oxytone accent) and consequently fall on the morphological ending itself. This seems to be confirmed by the choice of different morphological endings for the same element exceptionally: thus, for example, the anthroponym *P3-Nhs*, “The Aethiopian” or “The man of Aethiopia”, which is composed by the proclitic definite masculine article and the term *Nhs*, appears as both Πινᾱς, -ᾱτος and Πινᾱσις, -ιος/-εως. In these variants, the stress could only fall as a consequence on the α, which appears as vocalisation in the variant Πινᾱσις and as both vocalisation and morphological ending in Πινᾱς. Likewise, in the names with the ending -ῆς, -έους/-ῆτος, the stress appears to fall on the last syllable (cf. Βελλῆς < *Bl*; Ἀσιῆς/Ἐσιῆς < *Hsy*; Ἀτρῆς < *Htr*), which seems to be confirmed by the Coptic attestations, in which a final accented occurs (cf. βαλε, ραειε (Sahidic)/ εειε (Bohairic), ραειε, respectively⁹). The non-accentuation of the previous syllable is reflected in Βελλῆς/βαλε, where an etymologically short vowel ε is represented in Greek as rendering of Egyptian /ə/ and no vowel occurs in Coptic.

Most frequent Greek morphological endings ¹⁰	Anthroponym in Greek transcription (example) ¹¹	Egyptian anthroponym (prototype)	Translation	TM Nam
-ᾱς, -ᾱτος	Πανᾱς	Pa-n3	<i>Unknown (hypocoristic)</i>	725
	Πινᾱς	P3-Nhs	The Aethiopian	930
	Πέμας	P3-imy	The cat	802

⁷ In the anthroponyms with the morphological ending -ις, -ιτος (cf. Φμόις < *P3-m3y*; Σίσις < *T3y-dy*), the stress seems to have been situated on the ο as it is possible to deduce from the variants Φμούεις, Φμούις and Σίσσις, Σισώεις).

⁸ On the endings -αυς, -αυτος and -ους, -ουτος, cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Greek Accents on Egyptian Names”, p. 182-183: “For several names of this group -ως, -ωτος is a variant of -ους, -ουτος and -αυς, -αυτος. Here there is a w in Egyptian, which is sometimes rendered in Greek and sometimes dropped, because Greek did not have the group ων (...). I suggest to follow the general rule of Greek words in -ως, which is confirmed by Herodian (...). The group ων is then considered a diphthong”.

⁹ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 27; 313-314; 316, respectively.

¹⁰ For the well-attested ones four examples appear; for those with less attestations only two examples are considered. Some morphological endings barely attested, such as -ία, -ίας or -ίς, -ίδος, have not been included here. Cf. however, Appendix IV, where the morphological endings attested for the elements in Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription are listed.

¹¹ The accented vowel appears in bold.

-αυς, -αυτος	Πετέφανς	P3-di-p3-ḥwt	He who has been given by the male	7928
-εύς, -έως/-εὔτος	Ἀμεννεύς	Īmn-iw	Amun has come	34
	Πεεῦς	P3-iwiw	The dog	7341
	Σναχομνεύς	Ns-n3-ḥmny.w	He/She who belongs to the Ogdoad	186
	Σεμθεύς	Sm3-t3.wy	He who unites both lands	1044
-ῆς, -έους/-ῆτος	Βελλῆς	Bl	The blind one	95
	Μεγχῆς	Mnh	The excellent one	453
	Ἀσιῆς/Ἐσιῆς	Ḥsy	The blessed one	337
	Ἀτρῆς	Ḥtr	The twin	317
-ης, -ου	Ἰμοῦθης	Īy-m-ḥtp	Imhotep	368
	Πετεαρμούθης	P3-di-Ḥr-iwn-mw.t=f	He who has been given by Horos, the pillar of his mother	7939
	Ἀρυώτης	Ḥr-wd3	Horos is prosperous	310
	Παμώνθης	Pa-Mnṯ	The one of Montu	720
-ις, -ιως/-εως	Ἀμένωφίς	Īmn-m-Īp.t	Amun in Opet	8042
	Ὅσορόρηρις	Wsir-wr	Osiris the great	575
	Πάχουμις	P3-ḥm	The eagle	679
	Βῆκις	Byk	Falcon	9003
-ις, -ιτος	Φμόις	P3-m3y	The lion	928
	Σίσσις	T3y-dy	The bearer of the hairlock	1118
-ος, -ου	Ἀμορταῖος	Īmn-i.ir-di-s	Amun is the one who has given him/her	42
	Ἦρος	Ḥr	Horos	356
-οῦς, -οὔτος	Ταλοῦς	Ta-ḥw	The one of the chid	1208
	Τανοῦς	Ta-Nw3	The one of Tentyris	12396
	Λολοῦς	Llw	Young man	429
	Ψανμοῦς	P3-s-n-ḥm3	The seller of salt	12966
	Πέβως	P3-3b3	The panther	794

-ως, -ωτος	Ψενθμεσίως	P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -ms-‘ ₃ .t	The son of the Great of births	10318
	Πνεφέρως	P ₃ -nfr-ḥr	The one with the beautiful face	932
	Τιτως	T ₃ y-t ₃	This one of the land	1422
-ους, -ουτος	Ἰθόρως	Ḳr.t=w-r.r=w	Their eye is against them	386
	Ψιντέσους	P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -isw	The son of the sheep	958

The choice of a specific Greek morphological ending for each Egyptian element depends consequently on the accentual and phonological characteristics of the Egyptian element, to the extent that in some anthroponyms it is not easy to distinguish between the end of the root of the Egyptian element and the beginning of the Greek morphological ending because they are integrated. Thus, since the names ending by the qualitative of the verb *iw*, “to come”, end by -εύς (cf. Ἀμηνεύς < *Imn-iw*, “Amun has come”) – and -εύς seems to be the rendering of *iw* and the morphological ending at the same time –, it is not possible to know if the attestations of Ἀρεύς¹² that do not occur in bilingual texts or in documents alluding to an Egyptian *milieu* are transcriptions of *Hr-iw*, “Horos has come”, or names of Greek origin related to the god Ares with an ending -εύς¹³. Likewise, in the names with the endings -οῦς, -ούτος and -ως, -ωτος, the transcription of the final Egyptian element ends by -ou- and -w-, respectively (cf. Λολοῦς < *Llw*, “Young man”, Coptic λελουγ/λιλουγ¹⁴; Μεσίως¹⁵ < **Msy-‘₃.t*, “Great of births”, Coptic μεσιω¹⁶), and these are part of both the rendering of the element and the morphological ending at the same time.

¹² Cf. TM Nam 263.

¹³ The name Ἀρεύς is in fact listed in the *LGPV* and well attested in places such as Sparta from the fourth century BC to the second century AD.

¹⁴ In Sahidic and Akhmimic, respectively. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 97-98.

¹⁵ TM Nam 10601.

¹⁶ Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 122.

Greek transcriptions of names seem consequently to confirm that Egyptian stress could only fall on the ultimate of penultimate syllables (cf. for example Πετέσουχος < *P3-di-Sbk*, “The son of Sobek”; Ψενθμεσίως < *P3-šr-n-t3-ms-ʿ3.t*, “The son of the Great of births”), as pointed out by J. Vergote¹⁷. In Greek renderings of Egyptian anthroponyms, no evidence can certainly be found that the antepenultimate syllable of a name could be accentuated¹⁸.

The reflection of the strong intensive stress characteristic of Egyptian on the representation of the vocalization of the elements and the choice of a specific morphological ending for the anthroponyms in transcription leads to think to what extent Egyptian accent could have contributed to the change of the nature of Greek accent, which originally was a pitch accent, in the Greek spoken in Egypt. This change of the nature of Greek accent is closely related to the loss of quantitative distinction and the consequent confusion of short and long vowels and diphthongs, especially in unaccented syllables¹⁹.

¹⁷ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 47: “Chaque mot copte porte l’accent sur l’avant-dernière ou sur la dernière syllabe, qui, seule, est pleinement vocalisée tandis que les syllabes atones ont un point vocalique /ə/ ou une de ses variantes (...). Lorsqu’un substantif forme avec un autre substantif ou avec un adjectif un mot composé, il peut perdre son accent et sa voyelle : il se met alors à « l’état construit », que nous caractérisons, dans la grammaire, par un petit trait, p. ex. Ⲫⲁⲭⲟⲩⲧⲧ, feuille (Ⲫⲱ(ⲱ)ⲃⲉ) d’olivier ; ⲉⲟⲩⲩⲙⲉⲥⲓⲱⲩⲧ jour (ⲉⲟⲩⲩⲱ) de naissance, anniversaire ; ⲉⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩⲩⲱⲩⲧ, parfum, litt. bonne odeur (ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲩ)”. Cf. also JUNGE, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, p. 36: “The stress falls on either the last syllable (ultima) or the last but one syllable (penultima) of the word – the “tonic syllable”; the stress may be shifted when grammatical endings and suffixes increase the number of syllables. Stressless – “pretonic” or “post-tonic” – syllables can be severely shortened”.

¹⁸ Cf. LOPRIENO, A., *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, p. 37: “Independent of morphological patterns, the stress falls in Egyptian on either the ultimate (oxytone) or the penultimate (paroxytone) syllable of a word (...). Since the stress can only affect the last two syllables of an Egyptian word, the governing rule of syllabic patterns is known with the German term *Zweisilbengesetz* (“law of the two syllables”). For the prehistory of the Egyptian language, some scholars posit a situation in which, as in the related Semitic languages, the stress could also affect the antepenultimate syllable (*Dreisilbengesetz*, i.e. “law of the three syllables”); FECHT, G., *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache*, Glückstadt, p. 189-215; ALLEN, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Language. An Historical Study*, p. 12: “Native Coptic lexemes generally have from one to three syllables, with a single stress on the last or penultimate syllable”; p. 24: “The stress of many Egyptian lexemes can be reconstructed on the basis of their vocalized Coptic descendants: for example, ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ/ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩⲧ “thicken” < *wamát. Based on these, stress seems generally to have corresponded to the Coptic preference for final or penultimate syllables, except for lexicalized compounds such as *ḥām-naṭur (*ḥm-nṯr* “priest”, literally “god’s servant”) > ⲉⲟⲩⲩⲱⲩⲧ. The existence of such exceptions, however, makes it conceivable that some inflected forms also had antepenultimate stress”. The example mentioned by J. P. Allen is not completely certain, since in the anthroponym Φαντ < *P3-ḥm-nṯr*, “The prophet priest” (TM Nam 609), as in Coptic ⲉⲟⲩⲩⲱⲩⲧ, *nṯr* appears in a reduced form and the whole name in Greek appears as a single syllable – possibly due to the analogy with forms such as Φεμνε- representing *P3-ḥm-nṯr* in composition (cf. for example Φεμνεσούχος < *P3-ḥm-Sbk*, “The prophet priest of Sobek”, TM Nam 26385), although it can also be an abbreviated anthroponym –, which is the accented one. It is the Greek (or Coptic) rendering and not the historical writing, in which elements that are not pronounced according to the transcriptions could be represented, the one that should be taken into account.

¹⁹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 325: “Quantitative distinction was lost in Egypt by the beginning of the Roman period. This is indicated by the frequent interchanges of etymologically long and short vowels and diphthongs from the early Roman to the late Byzantine periods. The symbols for diphthongs interchange with those for long or short vowels without distinction”.

Although the change from a pitch to an intensive accent seems to have been an evolution of the Greek language itself and occurred in all the geographical areas, the Egyptian intensive accent could have intensify this process in the Greek spoken in Egypt, since the rate of the interchange of long and short vowels is more frequent in Egypt than elsewhere in Koine Greek, as pointed out by F. T. Gignac²⁰.

Even though the gemination of consonants has been considered as a characteristic of Koine Greek²¹, it is not easy to say to what extent this applies to Greek transcriptions of Egyptian anthroponyms. In Greek renderings, it is especially frequent in specific names and inexistent in some others. Thus, in 32.5 % of the transcriptions of *P3-šr-n-Īs.t*, “The son of Isis”²²; 67.6 % of the renderings of *T3-šr.t-n-Īs.t*, “The daughter of Isis”²³; 5/7 of the representations of *T3-šr-n-p3-šr-n-Īs.t*, “The daughter of the son of Isis”²⁴; 3/1 of the representations of **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Īs.t*, “The son of the daughter of Isis”²⁵, the genitive *n* appears as geminated (cf. Ψέννησις, Σέννησις, Σεψέννησις, Ψενσέννήσις). Likewise, in 85 % of the renderings of *Īmn-iw*, “Amun has come”²⁶, the *n* of *Īmn*

²⁰ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 325-326: “The loss of quantitative distinction reflects a change in the nature of the Greek accent (...). Classical Greek had a pitch accent, and meter was determined by quantity. Modern Greek word accent, coinciding with the historical pitch marks, is at once musical, quantitative, and intensive (...). This transfer and subordination of quantity is indicated in the language of the papyri indirectly by the loss of distinction between etymologically long and short vowels and the lack of distinction in phonological development between vowels with acute or circumflex accent, and directly by the confusion of vowels more frequently and unconditionally in unaccented syllables than in accented syllables, as well as by the phenomena of vowel loss in unaccented syllables. The frequency of these phenomena in the papyri as compared with the rest of the Koine indicates a greater force and prominence of stress in the accent of Egyptian Greek. A stronger stress accent in Egypt is the result of bilingual interference. In Coptic, the stress accent was so strong that few vowels quantities were distinguished in unaccented syllables”. Cf. also LEJEUNE, M., *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, p. 283: “En grec ancien, le rythme du mot est quantitatif et repose sur l’opposition de syllabes brèves et de syllabes longues ; il est dépendant du ton. C’est seulement dans le passage au grec moderne, quand un accent d’intensité se sera superposé au ton, que le rythme quantitatif, sous sa forme nouvelle, coïncidera avec le rythme accentuel”; p. 298: “Le grec ancien a donc largement subordonné le ton au rythme, aussi longtemps que la nature du ton s’y est conservée. Quand, sur les syllabes qu’intonait le grec ancien, se développera un accent d’intensité, c’est, au contraire, le rythme qui changera de caractère et sera subordonné à l’accent”.

²¹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 154: “Single consonants are very frequently doubled in writing and contiguous identical consonants very infrequently represented by a single letter through the Roman and Byzantine periods, as elsewhere in the Koine. This indicates the identification in speech of single and double consonants corresponding to the loss of quantitative distinction in vowels, which occurred under the influence of the stress accent”.

²² Cf. TM Nam 976. 130 transcriptions of a total of 400 contain geminated *v*.

²³ Cf. TM Nam 1065. 48 renderings of a total of 71 contain geminated *v*.

²⁴ Cf. TM Nam 13644.

²⁵ Cf. TM Nam 23775.

²⁶ Cf. TM Nam 34. 221 of 260 transcriptions have geminated *v*.

appears as doubled (Ἀμειννεύς), and the same phenomenon can be observed in other anthroponyms containing *Īmn-īw*: 13/15 of the transcriptions of *Ta-Īmn-īw*, “The one of Amun has come”²⁷, for example, have been written with double *v*. The high rate of the gemination of *n* in the renderings of some specific anthroponyms along with the lack of gemination in the transcriptions of others leads to think that, in some anthroponyms, gemination could in fact be due to the attempt to reflect the Egyptian syllable structure. Scholars do unfortunately not seem to be in agreement on the different structures of Egyptian syllables²⁸, but from the examples mentioned above it could be deduced that *Īs.t* and *īw* could start by a consonantal *yod* that was usually not represented in transcription. When these elements were situated in final position, the structure of their syllable, which was composed of consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC), is represented as -*νησ-*, -*νευ-*, with duplication of the previous consonant, which was the genitive *n* here²⁹. This hypothesis, which cannot be confirmed given the lack of agreement of scholars on the composition of Egyptian syllables structure, would explain the high rate of gemination in the renderings of some specific anthroponyms and the lack of it in others.

According to Greek transcriptions of Egyptian anthroponyms, four main dialects were spoken in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Bohairic in the Delta, Fayumic in the Fayum, Sahidic between approximately Oxyrhynchus and Lykopolis and Akhmimic between Panopolis and Elephantine. The area of Antaiopolis and Apollonopolis (U10) seems to be a transitional zone between Akhmimic and Sahidic, since some attestations containing the diagloss *a/o* are found mixed there³⁰. Since this is the area where

²⁷ Cf. TM Nam 1252.

²⁸ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 44-47; EDGERTON, W. F., “Stress, Vowel Quantity, and Syllable Division in Egyptian”, p. 1-17; FECHT, G., *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache*, Glückstadt, p. 188-196; JUNG, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, p. 36.

²⁹ Cf. ALLEN, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Language. An Historical Study*, p. 23: “Because vowels are unwritten in Egyptian, syllable structure and stress are essentially invisible. Although Coptic has vowelless words and syllables that begin and end with consonant clusters, it has traditionally been assumed that the syllables of Egyptian lexemes originally began with a single consonant and were either open (CV) or closed by a single consonant (CVC). In the most rigid analysis, all native lexemes are also presumed originally to have ended with a single consonant, whether or not one is written in preserved examples”; LOPRIENO, A., *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, p. 48: “Coptic syllabic patterns are similar to those of Late Egyptian, the only major difference being represented by the emergence of new patterns from the reduction to *schwa* (and eventually to zero) of the short vowel of pretonic open syllables and the development of biconsonantal onsets”.

³⁰ Cf. the dialectal map for *sn*, “brother”, in Appendix III. Cf. also the map for *snw*, “two”, in Appendix III: in Antaiopolis the variant -*σνευ-* is mainly found, whereas in Panopolis -*σνω-* is the most frequent. Other linguistic features seem also to be characteristic of this area, such as the vocalisation *ω* for *P3-rmt-n-* in composition, which, according to VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 173-174, is characteristic of abnormal Sahidic and according to CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 294-296, characteristic of Sahidic. Cf. Appendix IV. This variant is however only found in the Antaiopolites. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I. “The Ancient Egyptian Dialects in Light of the Greek Transcriptions of Egyptian Anthroponyms”, forthcoming.

some scholars have situated the Sub-Akhmimic dialect, one wonders if what has traditionally been called Sub-Akhmimic does not in fact correspond to the transitional area between Akhmimic and Sahidic and no specific dialect should be presupposed for that zone³¹. In addition, this transitional zone, which is conserved as the area of the Sub-Akhmimic was spoken by some scholars, seems to have been more reduced than what traditionally has been considered (cf. *infra*, the maps with the distribution of the Coptic dialects according to W. H. Worrell, P. E. Kahle and J. Vergote³²; and the map with the Egyptian dialects according to the Greek transcriptions of Egyptian anthroponyms). As pointed out by J. Quaegebeur, the documentation between Ankyropolis and Memphis is not well represented, but in some places of this area such as Herakleopolis the influence of Fayumic is found. It is consequently not possible to know if in this zone Sahidic with Fayumic influence was spoken or if it is a transitional area where the features of several dialects are found. Even though some specific features seem to be found for reduced areas, such as Θiv- and Xεv- for *Tj-šr.t-n-* in Elephantine and the Oxyrhynchites, respectively, there are not enough data to consider that a different dialect was spoken in these zones. In fact, the vocalisation of *ht* and other terms containing the diagloss *a/o* is *α* in Elephantine – the same as in Akhmimic –, and *o/ω* in Oxyrhynchus – the same as in Sahidic –. The impression here is that in these places Akhmimic and Sahidic, respectively, were in fact spoken, but at the same time there were local variants for some terms which were not shared with other regions and are consequently not decisive enough to affirm that in Elephantine and Oxyrhynchus other dialects than Akhmimic and Sahidic were spoken. It is not impossible, however, that features of other possible dialects are not represented or detected in the relatively small corpus of Egyptian elements attested in Greek transcription.

The chronology of the elements reflecting the dialectal diagloss *a/o* (cf. *ht*) and the lambdacism in anthroponyms in transcription³³ show that there is no solid evidence for the Fayumic dialect before the first century AD. In the Ptolemaic period only the *o* variants are generally found, as in Sahidic and Bohairic, the two dialects spoken around the Fayum. In the first century AD, Fayumic starts to emerge

³¹ Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I. “The Ancient Egyptian Dialects in Light of the Greek Transcriptions of Egyptian Anthroponyms”, forthcoming.

³² Cf. VERGOTE, J., “Les dialectes dans le domaine égyptien”, p. 237-249; VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 53-59; WORRELL, W. H., *Coptic Sounds*, p. 63-82.

³³ Cf. Appendix III.

and seems to develop in the second and third centuries AD. The variants with α for the terms containing the diagloss a/o are consequently improbable for the Ptolemaic period in the Fayum.

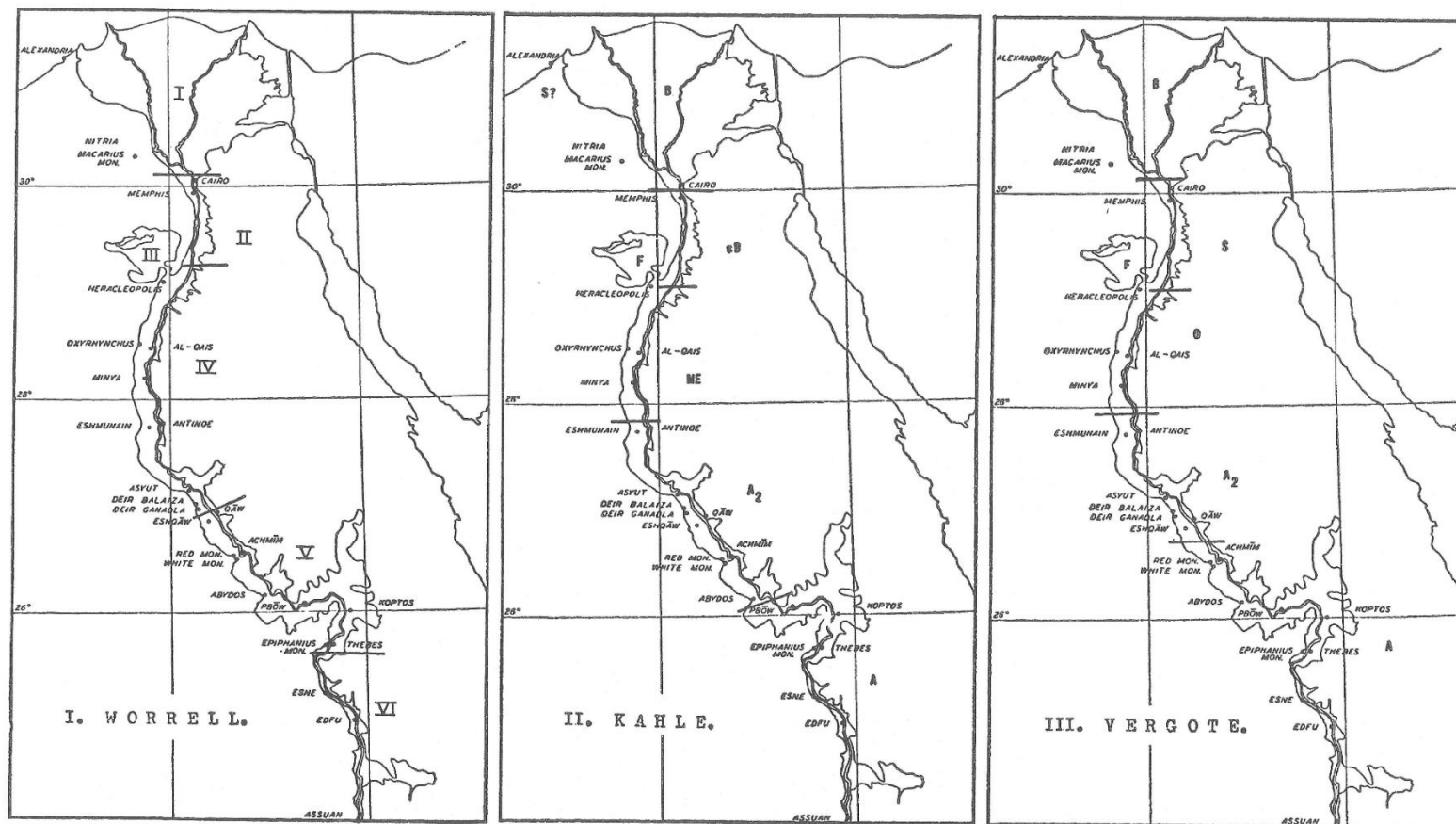
Even though the distribution of the dialects of the Egyptian of the pre-Coptic period has definitely been revealed after the study of the Greek transcriptions of Šꜣy by J. Quaegebeur³⁴ and confirmed by this dissertation, further research is needed on transcriptions of anthroponyms from the Graeco-Roman period. As it can be seen in the Appendix IV, most of the Egyptian elements attested in Greek transcription remain unstudied and some questions, such as the tense of the verbal forms represented in the variants Ἀπυγχις/Ἐπώνυχος (< $\dot{I}w=f- 'nh$), which seem to be dialectal, require a definitive answer³⁵. On the other hand, an overall analysis of the Demotic transcriptions of Greek anthroponyms – which has not been undertaken yet³⁶ – will possibly help to define the Egyptian syllable structures and confirm – or not – if Egyptian syllables always started by a consonant as it has traditionally been assumed³⁷.

³⁴ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique*.

³⁵ Cf. $\dot{I}w$ in the Appendix IV.

³⁶ A first survey can be found in CLARYSSE, W., “The Demotic Transcriptions of the Greek Names of the Eponymous Priests”. Cf. CLARYSSE, W., *ibidem*, p. 133: “We are fully aware that this is not a final study on the subject, but only a provisional guide for recognising Greek personal names in demotic transcription and a tentative inventory of the rules of transcription into demotic”.

³⁷ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 44: “Selon l’opinion la plus courante, une syllabe copte doit toujours commencer par une consonne”; ALLEN, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Language. An Historical Study*, p. 23.



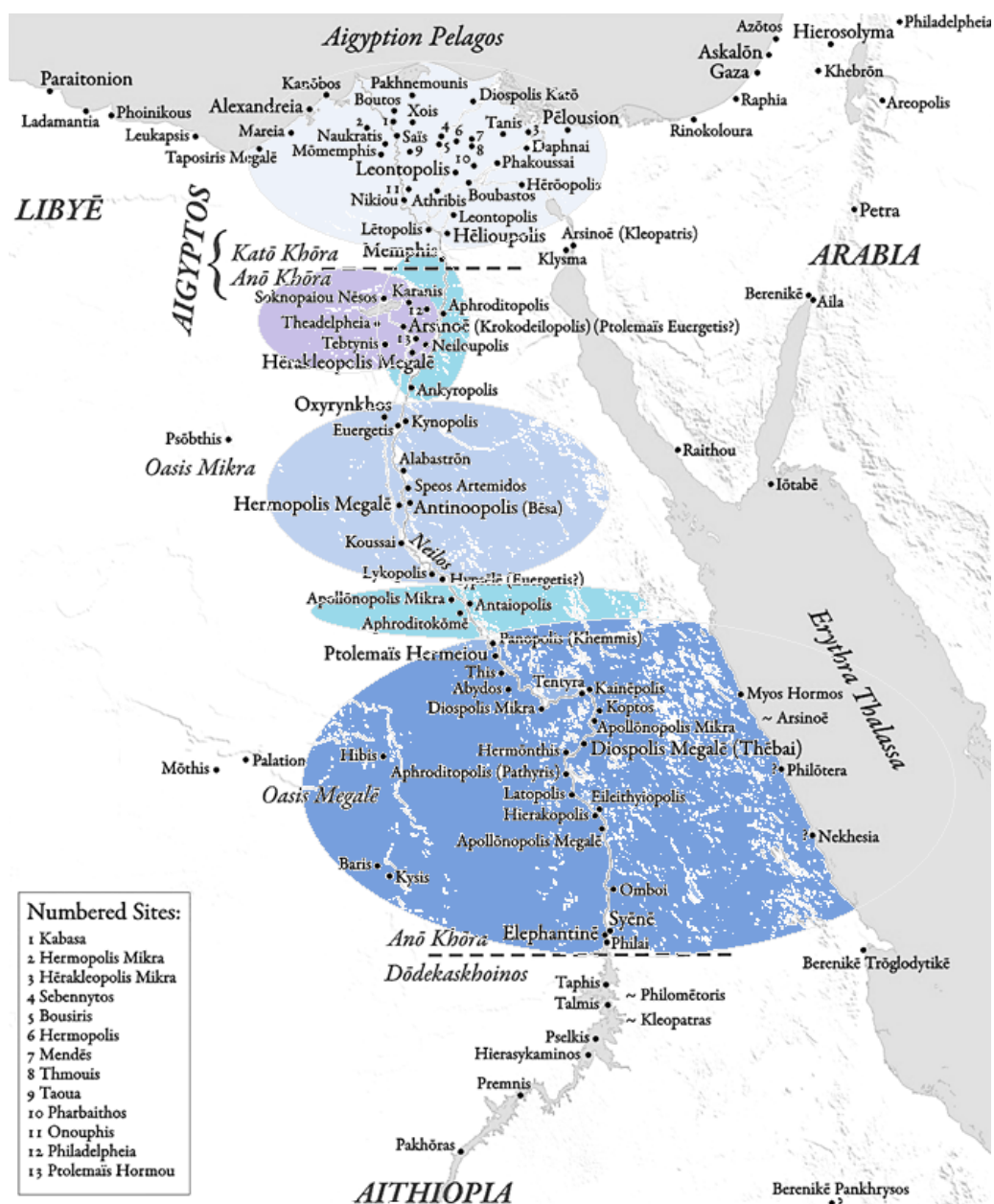
Distribution of the Coptic dialects according to W. H. Worrell, P. E. Kahle and J. Vergote

(image from VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 59)

I. WORRELL: zone I: Bohairic ; III: Fayumic; II and IV: Sahidic; and VI: Akhmimic; Sub-Akhmimic: spoken in the area of Qāw

II. KAHLE: A: Akhmimic; A₂: Sub-Akhmimic; ME: Medium Egyptian; F: Fayumic; sB: Semi-Bohairic; B: Boahiric; S: Sahidic

III. VERGOTE: A: Akhmimic; A₂: Sub-Akhmimic; O: Oxyrhynchite; S: Sahidic; F: Fayumic; B: Bohairic)



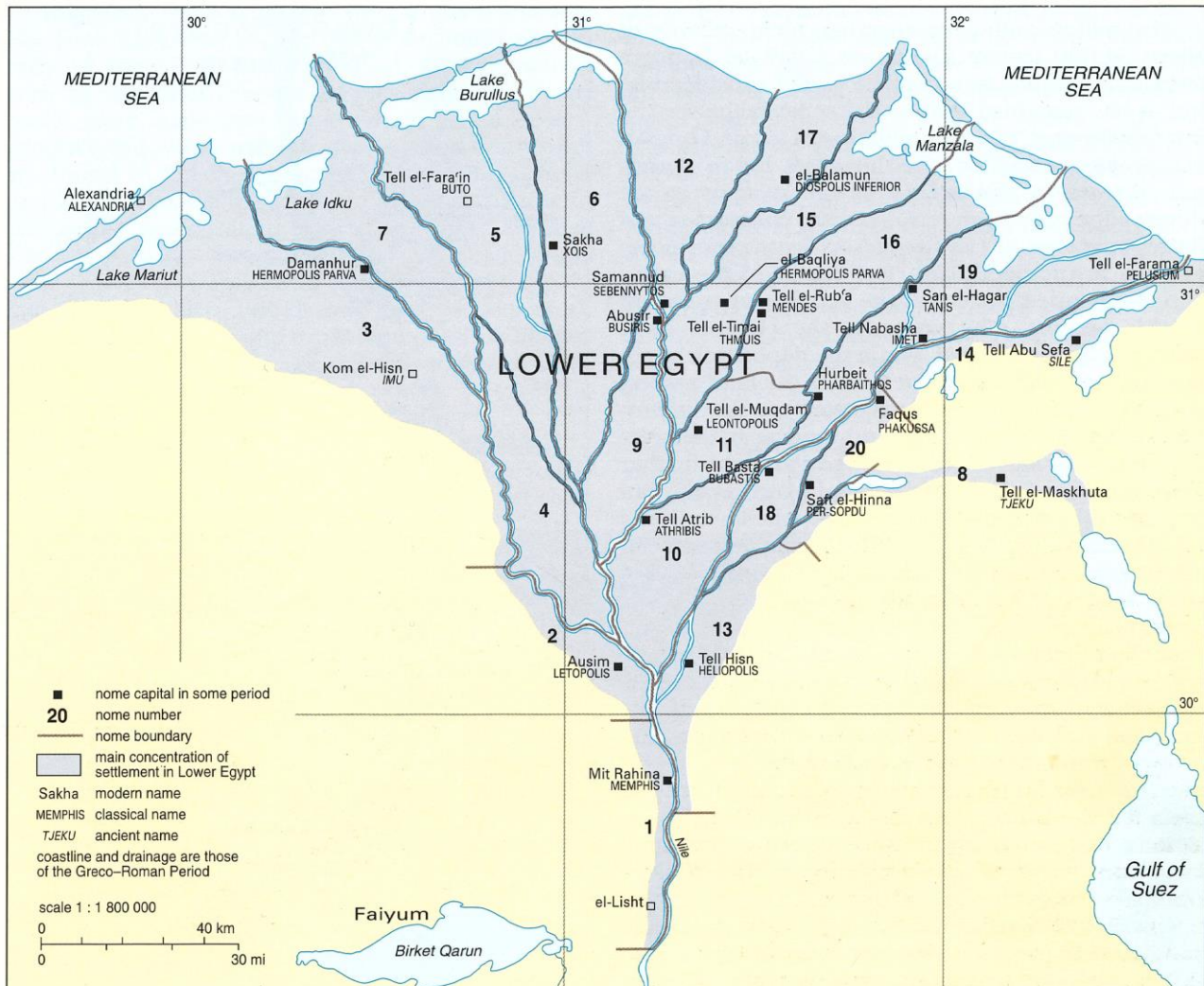
- Bohairic
- Fayumic
- Sahidic
- Area with linguistic influence of several dialects; transitional zone
- Akhmimic

Distribution of the Egyptian dialects according to the Greek transcriptions of anthroponyms

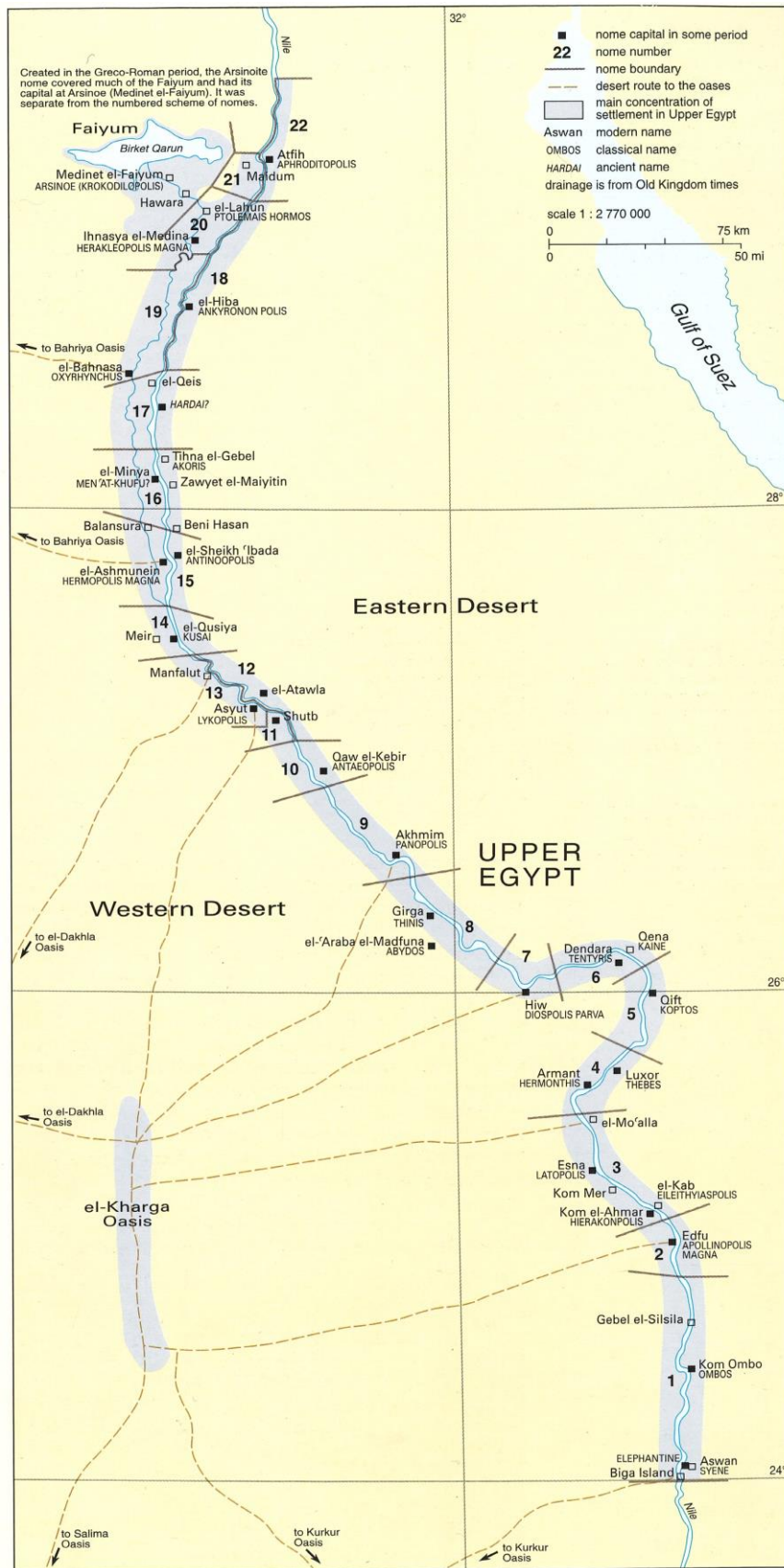
APPENDIX I

THE NOMES AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT EGYPT

THE NOMES OF ANCIENT EGYPT: LOWER AND UPPER EGYPT



BAINES, J., MALEK, J., *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, p. 15



THE NOMES OF ANCIENT EGYPT¹

Area	Number of nome	Name of the nome (main places) ²
Fayum (00)	00	Composed of the meris of Herakleides, the meris of Themistos, the meris of Polemon and the city area of Krokodilopolis
Lower Egypt (L)	L00	Alexandria
	L01	Memphites (Memphis, Meidum)
	L02	Letopolites (Ausim)
	L03	Gynaikopolites (Kom el-Hisn, Damanhur)
	L04	Prosopites (Zawyet Razin)
	L05	Saites (Sa el-Hagar)
	L06	Xoites (Sakha)
	L07	Menelaïtes (El-Giza)
	L08	Heroopolites (Tell el-Maskhuta)
	L09	Bousirites (Abusir)
	L10	Athribites (Tell Athrib)
	L11	Leontopolites (Tell el-Muqdam)
	L12	Sebennytes (Samanud)
	L13	Heliopolites (Tell Hisn)
	L14	Sethroites (Tell Belim, Tell el-Farama)
	L15	<i>Included in L16</i>
	L16	Mendesios (Tell el-Rub'a, Baqlia)
	L17	Diospolites Kato (El-Balamun)
	L18	Boubastites (Tell Basta)
	L19	Tanites (San el-Hagar)
	L20	Arabia (Faqus)

¹ Based on <http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/nomessurvey.php>.

² On the extension of each nome in km², cf. BAGNALL, R. S., *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 333-335.

	L21	Phthemphouth (Tanta)
Upper Egypt (U)	U01	(Elephantine, Kom Ombo)
	U02	Apollonopolites (Edfu)
	U03	Latopolites (Esna, Kom el-Ahmar)
	U04	Pathyrites (Gebelein) + Peri Thebas (Theban area)
	U05	Koptites (Qift)
	U06	Tentyrites (Dendera)
	U07	Diospolites Mikros (Hou)
	U08	Thinites (Abydos, Girga)
	U09	Panopolites (Akhmim)
	U10	Antaiopolites (Qaw el-Kebir) + Apollonopolites (Kom Isfaht)
	U11	Hypselites (Shutb)
	U12	(El-Atawla)
	U13	Lykopolites (Assiut)
	U14	<i>Included in U15</i>
	U15	Hermopolites (El-Ashmunein, El- Qusiya, Meir, El-Minya)
	U16	<i>Included in U15</i>
	U17	Kynopolites (El-Qeis)
	U18	<i>Included in U20</i>
	U19	Oxyrynchites (El-Bahnasa)
	U20	Herakleopolites (Inhnasya el- Medina, El-Hiba)
	U21	<i>Included in L01</i>
	U22	Aphroditopolites (Atfih)

THE FAYUM



DAVOLI, P., *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana*, p. 33

GENERAL CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT EGYPT³

Early Dynastic Period	3000-2686 BC
Old Kingdom	2686-2160 BC
First Intermediate Period	2160-2055 BC
Middle Kingdom	2055-1650 BC
Second Intermediate Period	1650-1550 BC
New Kingdom	1550-1069 BC
Third Intermediate Period	1069-664 BC
Late Period	664-332 BC
Ptolemaic Period	332-30 BC
Roman Period	30 BC-395 AD
Byzantine Period	395-642 AD
Islamic Egypt	642 AD-present

³ This and the following chronological tables are based on SHAW, I. (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 480-489. Cf. also LLOYD, A. B. (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, Oxford, 2010, p. XXII-XLIII.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATE PERIOD (664-332 BC)

26 th Dynasty	Psammetichus I	664-610
	Necho II	610-595
	Psammetichus II	595-589
	Apries	589-570
	Amasis	570-526
	Psammetichus III	526-525
27 th Dynasty (<i>First Persian period</i>)	Cambyses	525-522
	Darius I	522-486
	Xerxes	486-465
	Artaxerxes I	465-424
	Darius II	424-405
	Artaxerxes II	405-359
28 th Dynasty	Amyrtaios	404-399
29 th Dynasty	Nepherites I	399-393
	Psammuthis	393
	Hakorib	393-380
	Nepherites II	<i>ca.</i> 380
30 th Dynasty	Nektanebo I	380-362
	Teos (Tachos)	362-360
	Nektanebo II	360-343
31 st Dynasty (<i>Second Persian Period</i>)	Artaxerxes III Ochus	343-338
	Arses	338-336
	Darius III Codomannus	336-332

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD (332-30 BC)

Macedonian Dynasty	Alexander the Great	332-323
	Philip Arrhidaios	323-317
	Alexander II (IV of Macedon)	317-310
Ptolemaic Dynasty	Ptolemy I Soter	305-285
	Ptolemy II Philadelphos	285-246
	Ptolemy III Evergetes I	246-221
	Ptolemy IV Philopator	221-205
	Ptolemy V Epiphanes	205-180
	Ptolemy VI Philometor	180-145
	Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator	145
	Ptolemy VIII Evergetes II	170-116
	Ptolemy IX Soter II	116-107
	Ptolemy X Alexander I	107-88
	Ptolemy IX Soter II (<i>restored</i>)	88-80
	Ptolemy XI Alexander II	80
	Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos	80-51
	Kleopatra VII Philopator	51-30
	Ptolemy XIII	51-47
	Ptolemy XIV	47-44
	Ptolemy XV Caesarion	44-30

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ROMAN PERIOD (30 BC-323 AD)

Augustus	30 BC-14 AD
Tiberius	14-37
Caligula	37-41
Claudius	41-54
Nero	54-68
Galba	68-69
Otho	69
Vespasian	69-79
Titus	79-81
Domitian	81-96
Nerva	96-98
Trajan	98-117
Hadrian	117-138
Antoninus Pius	138-161
Marcus Aurelius	161-180
Lucius Verus	161-169
Commodus	180-192
Septimius Severus	193-211
Caracalla	198-217
Geta	209-212
Macrinus	217-218
Didumenianus	218
Severus Alexander	222-235
Maximin	222-235
Gordian III	238-242
Philip	244-249
Decius	249-251
Gallus and Volusianus	251-253
Valerian	253-260
Gallienus	253-268
Macrianus and Quietus	260-261
Aurelian	270-275
Probus	276-282
Diocletian	284-305
Maximian	286-310
Galerius	293-311
Constantius	293-306
Constantine I	306-337
Maxentius	306-312
Maximinus Daia	307-324
Licinius	308-324
Constantine II	337-340
Constans (co-ruler)	337-350
Constantius II (co-ruler)	337-361
Magnetius (co-ruler)	350-353
Julian the Apostate	361-363
Jovian	363-364

Valentinian I (west)	364-375
Valens (co-ruler, east)	364-378
Gratian (co-ruler, west)	375-383
Theodosius (co-ruler)	379-395
Valentinian II (co-ruler, west)	383-392
Eugenius (co-ruler)	392-394

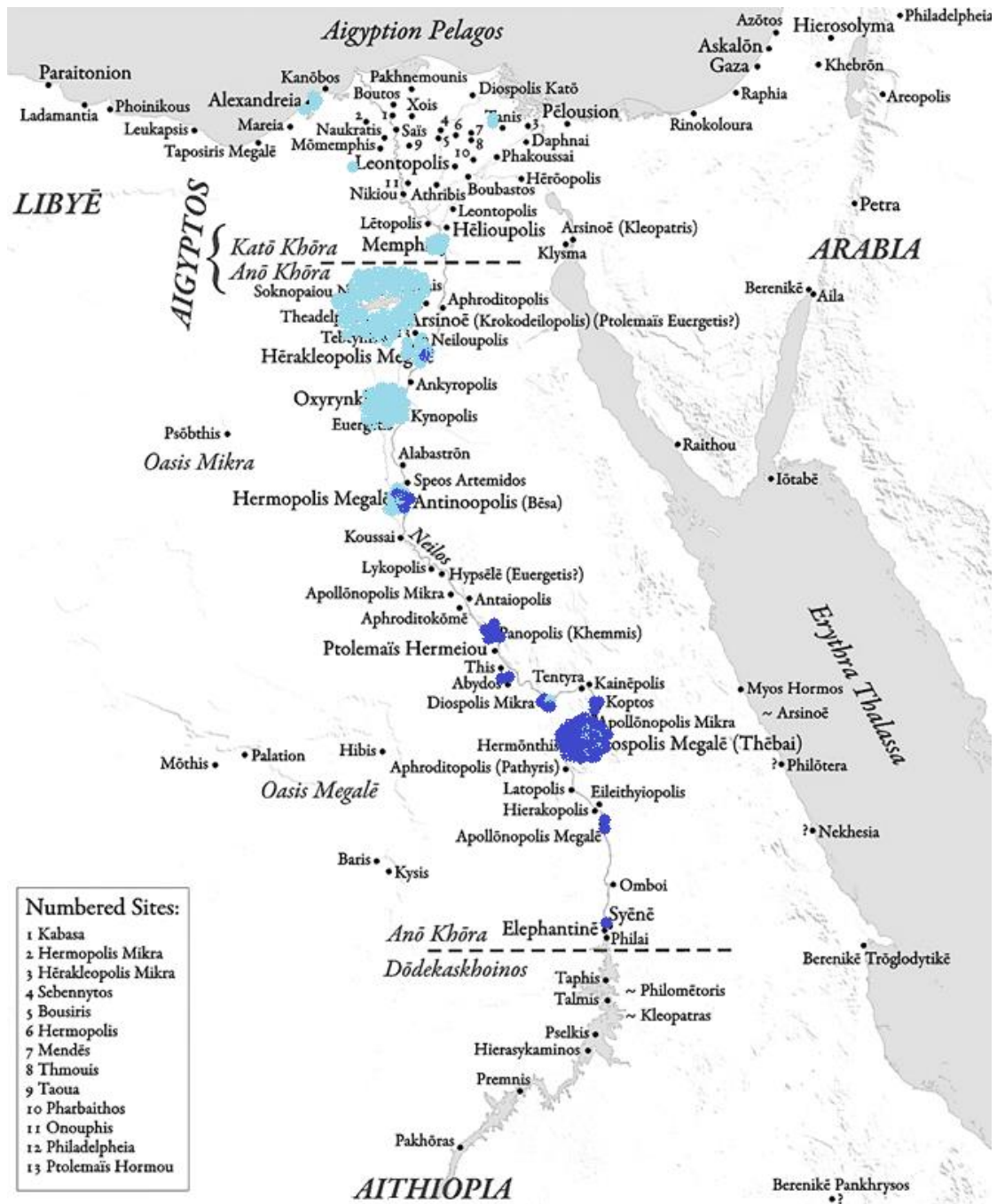
APPENDIX II

DIALECTAL MAPS

MAPS

1. MAP WITH THE DIFFERENT REPRESENTATIONS FOR $\dot{I}W$
2. MAP WITH THE DIFFERENT REPRESENTATIONS FOR $N\dot{H}$ IN FINAL POSITION
3. MAP WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF THE A/E VARIANTS FOR $\dot{H}SY$
4. MAP WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF THE A/O VARIANTS FOR $\dot{H}\dot{T}.W$
5. MAP WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF THE A/O VARIANTS FOR SN
6. MAP WITH THE DIFFERENT REPRESENTATIONS FOR SNW
7. MAP WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF THE A/O VARIANTS FOR $\dot{S}ZY$
8. DISTRIBUTION OF THE EGYPTIAN DIALECTS ACCORDING TO THE GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ANTHROPONYMS

1. MAP WITH THE DIFFERENT REPRESENTATIONS FOR *īw*

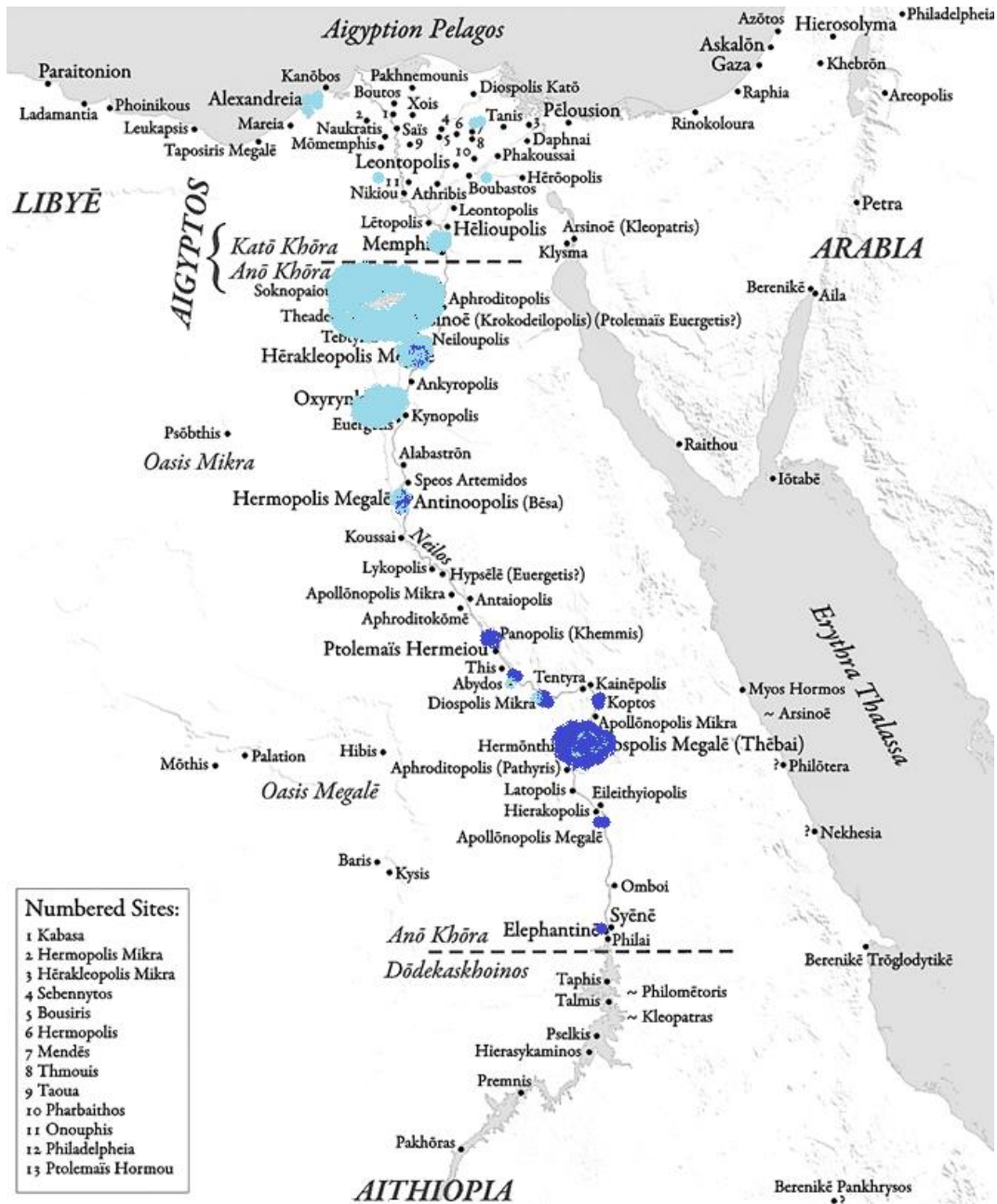


• Attestation with α-, δ-

• Attestation with ε-, ϵ-

(In initial and middle position; not included phonetic results of contractions)

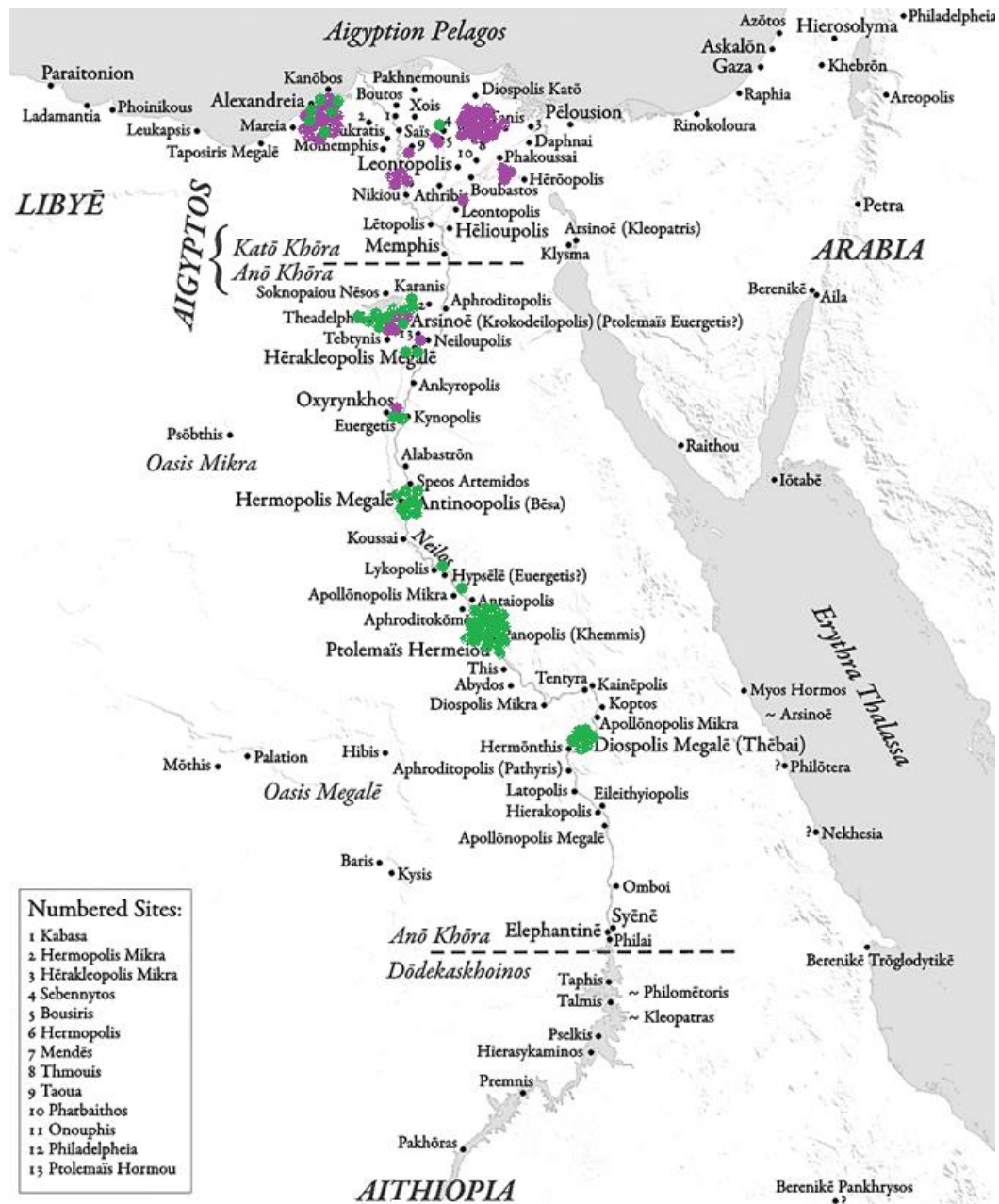
2. MAP WITH THE DIFFERENT REPRESENTATIONS FOR 'NH IN FINAL POSITION



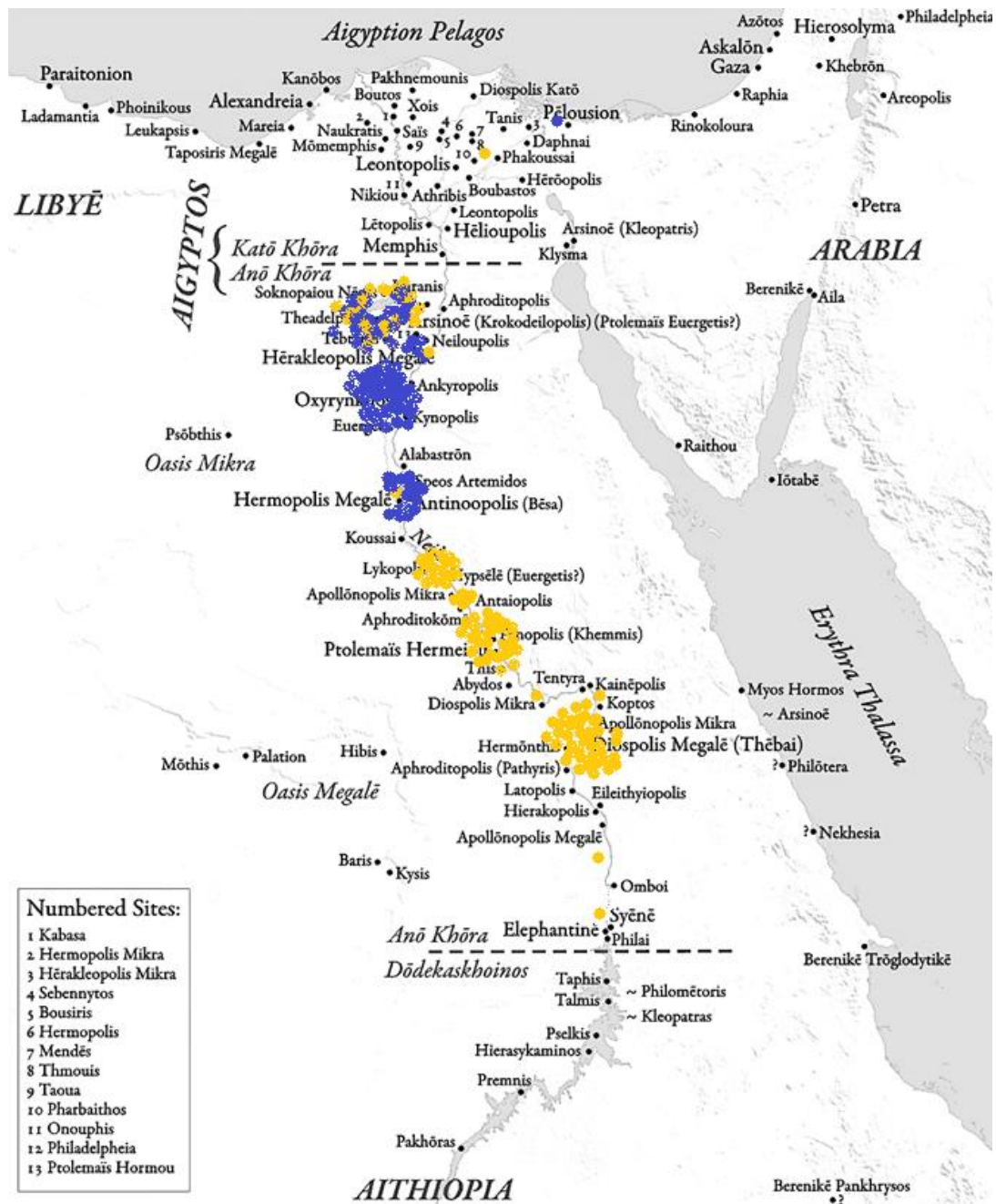
• Variant -υγχ/-υνχ- for 'nh in the transcriptions of the name $\dot{I}w=f$ - 'nh, “May he live” (final position) (cf. Ἀφουγχις)

• Variant -ωνυχ- for 'nh in the transcriptions of the name $\dot{I}w=f$ - 'nh, “May he live” (final position) (cf. Ἐπώνυχος)

3. MAP WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF THE A/E VARIANTS FOR *ḤSY*

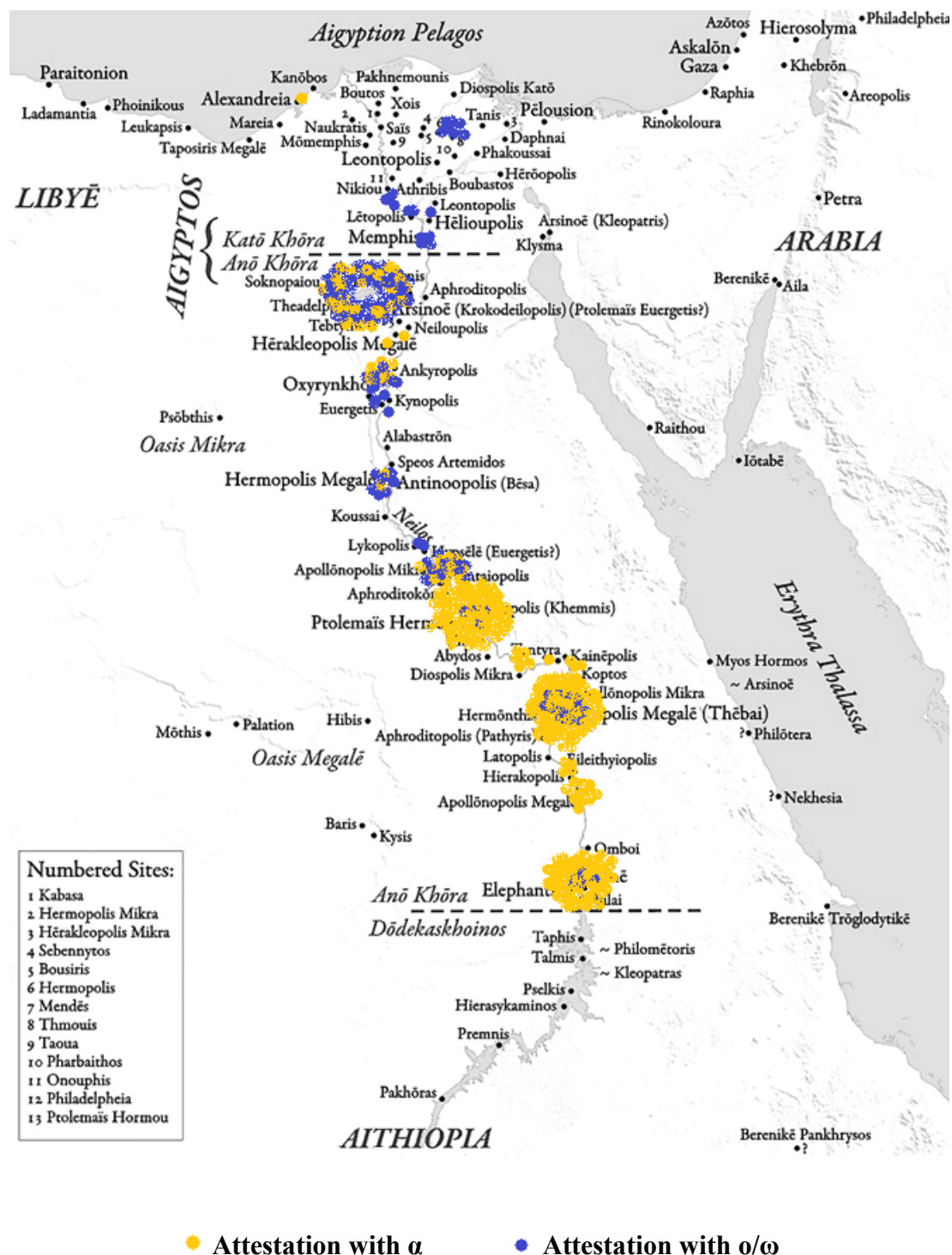


4. MAP WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF THE A/O VARIANTS FOR $\dot{H}\dot{T}.W$

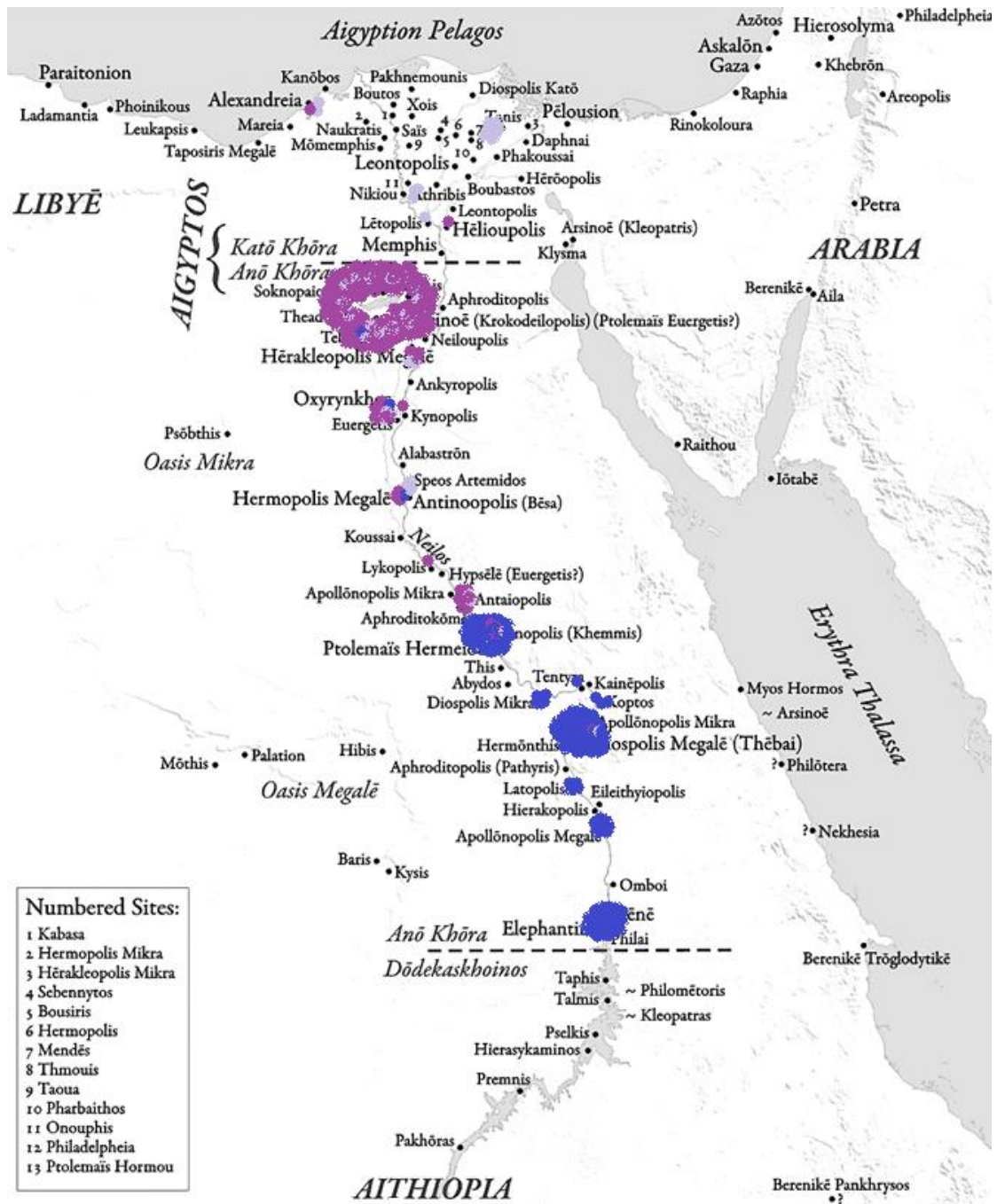


● Attestation with α ● Attestation with ω

5. MAP WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF THE A/O VARIANTS FOR SN

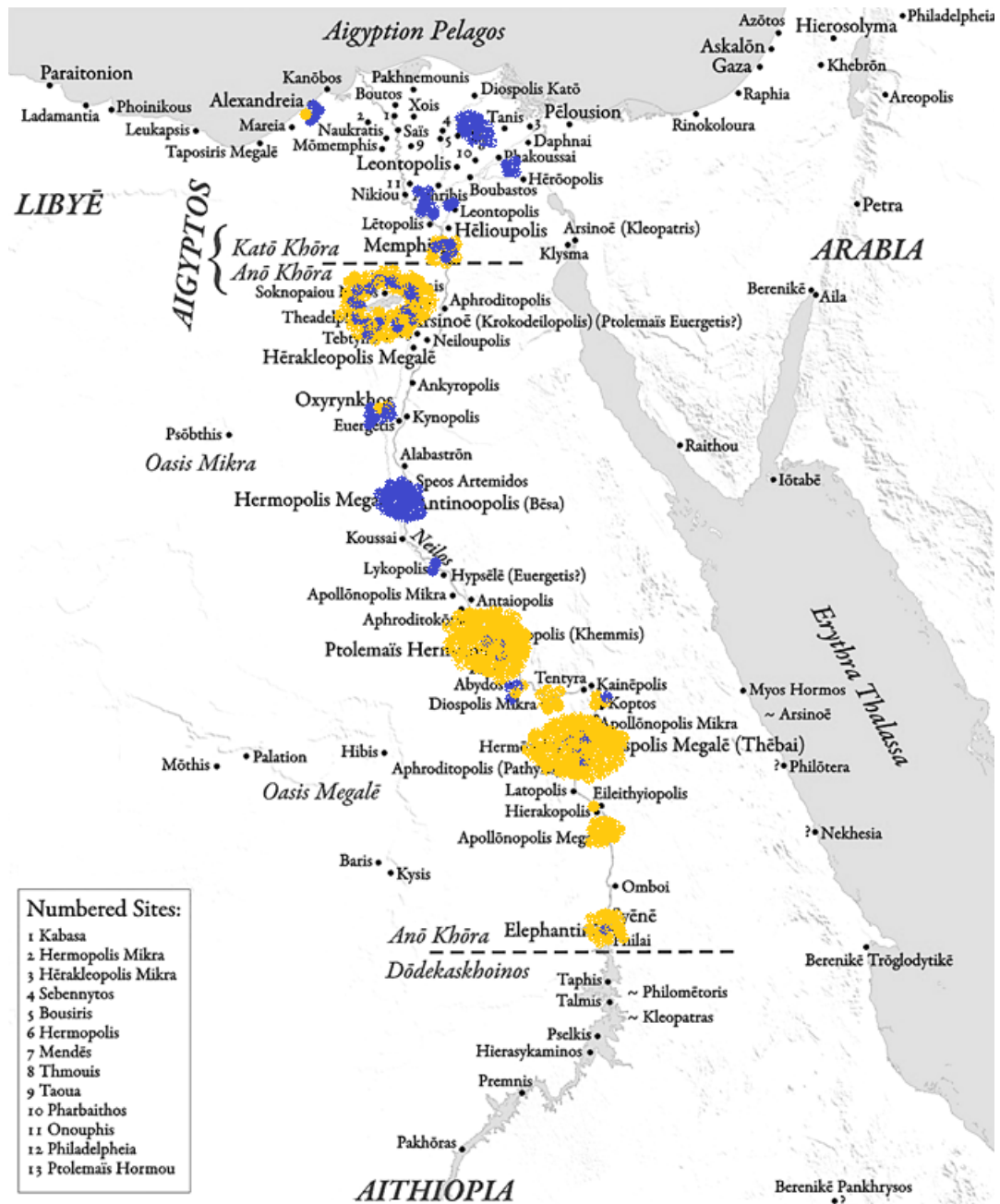


6. MAP WITH THE DIFFERENT REPRESENTATIONS FOR SNW



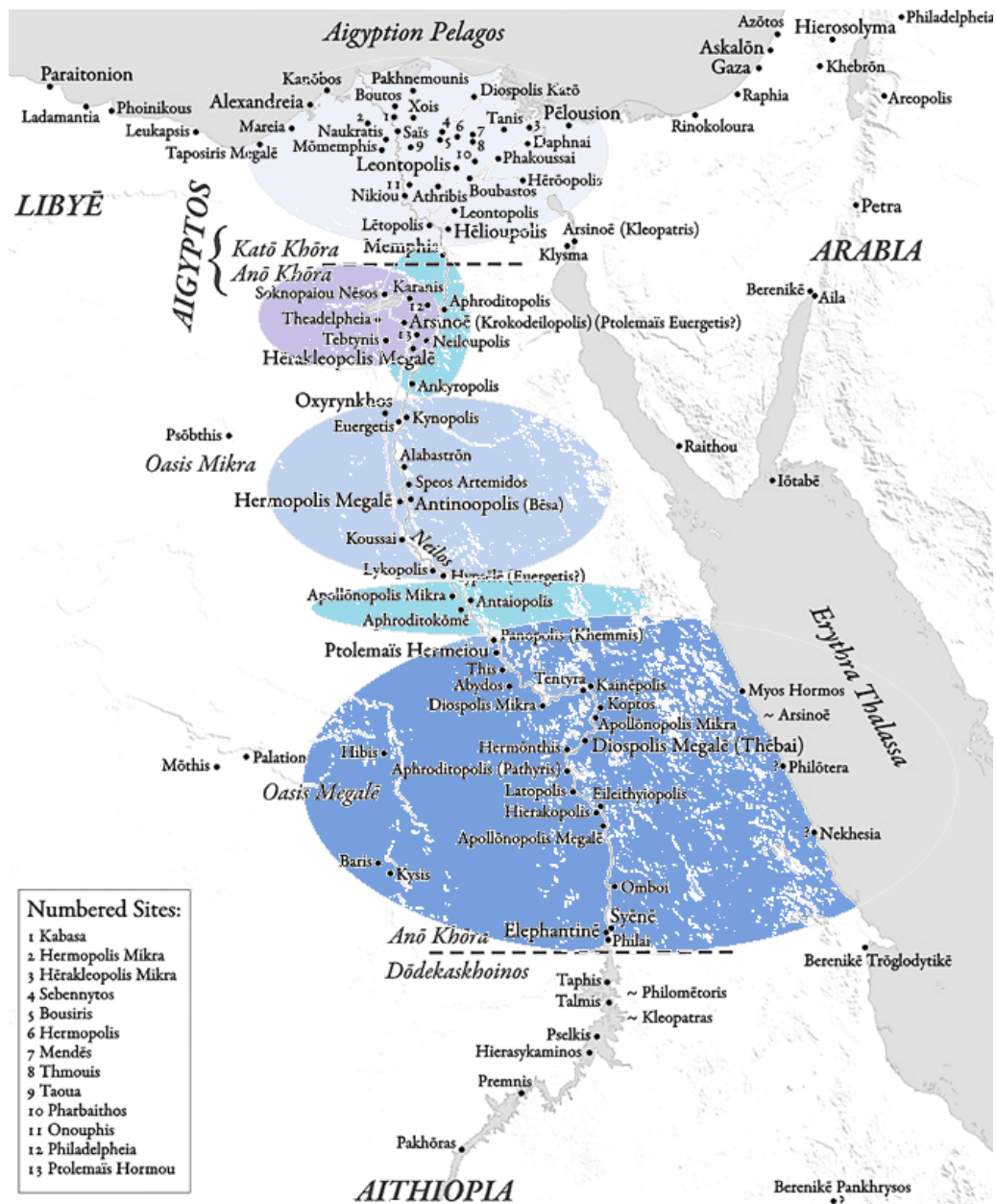
- Attestations of the variant -σναυ/-cnaγ-
- Attestations of the variant -σνευ-
- Attestations of the variant -σνω/-cνω-

7. MAP WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF THE A/O VARIANTS FOR Š3Y



● Attestation with α ● Attestation with o/ω

8. DISTRIBUTION OF THE EGYPTIAN DIALECTS ACCORDING TO THE GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ANTHROPONYMS



- Bohairic
- Fayumic
- Sahidic
- Area with linguistic influence of several dialects; transitional zone
- Akhmimic

APPENDIX III

LAMBdacISM IN GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPTIAN ANTHROponYMS

GREEK TRANSCRIPTIONS OF EGYPTIAN ANTHROPONYMS WITH LAMBdacISM

In more than 20 types of Egyptian anthroponyms in Greek transcription – 307 attestations –, the Egyptian liquid *r* has been rendered into Greek or Coptic as λ/λ:

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription with lambdacism	TM Nam
Is.t-wr.t	Isis the great	Ἐσουλ ¹ , Σούηλις ²	1 4	190
Is.t-rnp.t	Isis of the year/Isis is rejuvenation	Ἐσὸρλεμπις ³ , Ἐσὸρλομπις ⁴	1 1	178
Is(w)r	The Syrian	Σοῦλις	30	3018
Wn-nfr	Onnophris	Οὔναφλις ⁵ , ΟΥΕΝΔΑΕΛ ⁶ , ΟΥΕΝΔΒΕΛ ⁷ , ΟΥΕΝΔΒΛΙ ⁸	1 1 1 1	560
P3-whr	The dog	Πούολις ⁹ , Πούωλις ¹⁰	1 1	943
P3-qrr	The frog	Πεκρουλ ¹¹	1	796
P3-di-Ḥn-hr.t	He who has been given by Onuris	Πετένουλις ¹²	1	823

¹ In O. Kellis 53, 2: Ἐσουλ.

² In *CRIPEL* III 477, 2: Σου[ή]λιος; P. Ryl. Gr. II 112 a, 2: Σορήλεως; P. Sakaon 58, 2: Σουήλεως; SB X 10514, 5: Σούηλις.

³ In P. Ross. Georg. II 12, Ro. col. 2, 16: Ἐσορλέμπιο(ς).

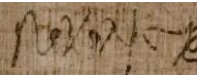
⁴ In SB XIV 11266, col. 1, 11: Ἐσορλόμπιος.


⁵ In Stud. Pal. X 153, 6: Οὔναφλις.

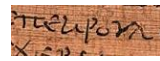
⁶ In P. Fay. Copt. 46, fr. A 2: [ΟΥ]ΕΝΔΑΕΛ.

⁷ In CPR IV 185, 3: ΟΥΕΝΔΒΕΛ.

⁸ In P. Lond. Copt. 1235, occ1: ΟΥΕΝΔΒΛΙ.

⁹ In P. Oxy. XLVIII 3397 Vo. 4: Πούολις .

¹⁰ In SB X 10563, 8: Πούωλις .

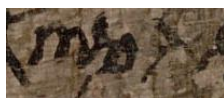
¹¹ In P. Petaus 116, 13: Πεκρουλ .

¹² In P. Lond. II 189, col. 3, 24: Πετένουλις.

P3-di-Wsir	He who has been given by Osiris	Πετόσιλις ¹³	1	893
*Pa-rnp.t	The one of the year	Πάλεμπις ¹⁴	3	753
*Pa-Hr	The one of Horos	Παολ ¹⁵	1	33280
Rhs	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁶	Λάουσις ¹⁷ , Λαοῦς ¹⁸	3 2	13313
Hr	Horos	Ὅλ, Ὠλ, ωλ ¹⁹ , ζωλ ²⁰ , ὥλοζ ²¹	185 31 2 1 4	356 + 26179
Hr=f- ^c nh	His face lives	Ἄλφυγχις ²²	1	4388
Hkr	The Arabian	Ἀκιάλις ²³	1	1863
Sbwrs	<i>Iranian name</i> ²⁴	Σάβουλις ²⁵	1	5615
*T3-ir-Is.t	She who has been made by Isis	Τελέησις, Θελέησις ²⁶	6 1	1297

¹³ In BGU XVI 2577 Ro., col. 6, 70: Πετόσιλις.

¹⁴ In P. Flor. I 21, Ro. 6: Παλέμπιος and 16: Πάλεμπις; and P. Meyer 15, 11: Πάλεμπι.



¹⁵ In P. Oxy. LIV 3746 Ro. col. 2, 24: Παολ

¹⁶ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 715, in which no translation is given. The word *rhs* is not listed in JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, or in ERICHSEN, W., *Demotisches glossar*. Lhs, which appears in JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter L, p. 14, with the meaning “breath”, does not seem to be the same word as the one represented in the proper name, since it appears in Coptic as ϣϣϣ/εϣϣ, with a different vocalisation. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 102; ČERNÝ, J., *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, p. 34; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 769-770.

¹⁷ In P. Dime III 12, GH 1, 7, 10 (reconstructed and excluded here) and 12; in the Demotic part (P. Dime III 12, DG 2 and DA 2) the Egyptian equivalent appears as *rhw*.

¹⁸ In P. Princ. I 8, col. 1, 1: Λαοῦ(τος); and SB XVI 12431, 12: Λαοῦς.

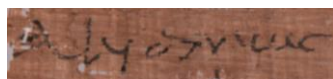
¹⁹ In CPR IV 50, 5 and 8: ωλ.

²⁰ In P. Lond. Copt. 1252, 20: ζωλ.

²¹ In BGU IV 1158, 6, 12, 20.



²² In P. Baden IV 75 b, 39: Ἀλφύγχι(ος)



²³ In P. Oslo II 20, 2: Ἀκιάλως at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.oslo;2;20>; Ἀκιάλως in the edition. On the variant Ἀκωρις, cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Hakorīs, an Egyptian Nobleman and his Family”, p. 235-243.

²⁴ Cf. HUYSE, P., *Iranische Namen in Nebenerlieferungen indogermanischer Sprachen*, n. 101.

²⁵ In P. Lips. I 106, Ro. 7: Σάβουλις. The name Ταβουν{v} in the edition appears corrected to at <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lips;1;106>.

²⁶ Presumably in I. Akôris 150, 1: Θελ[έ]η[σις].

T3-ir-B3st.t	She who has been made by Bastet	Τελούβεστις ²⁷	1	1350
T3-rmt.t-n-Is.t	The woman of Isis	Τλεμένησις, Τλέμησις ²⁸ , Τλέμνησις ²⁹	8 1 1	1444
T3-Hkr.t	The Arabian	Θακίαλις ³⁰	2	9467
*Ta-In-hr.t	The one of Onuris	Τάνουλις ³¹	1	1279
Ta-Hr	The one of Horos	Ταωλ ³² , Ταῦλις ³³	3 1	1243

Even though the confusion of *r* and *l* seems to occur in all the geographical areas, it is in the Fayum where the rate of interchange of *r* and *l* is the highest: 88.07 % (251) of the attestations with λ/λ for Egyptian *r* come from the Fayum³⁴, 2.10 % (6) from Lower Egypt³⁵ and 9.82 % (28) from Upper Egypt. This result is not unexpected, since lambdacism is a well-known dialectal feature of Fayumic³⁶. Of the 28 renderings with λ/λ for Egyptian *r* from Upper Egypt, 15 come from the Herakleopolites (U20), a nome close to the Fayum. Greek transcriptions consequently reflect the influence of Fayumic on the speech of the Herakleopolites³⁷.

²⁷ In P. Petaus 92, Ro. col. 2, 37: Τελουβέστεως.

²⁸ In P. Mich. IV 223 Ro. col. 72, 2197: Τλεμήσιο(ς). This anthroponym could be a ghostname for Τλεμνήσιος, but no image of the column in which the name is is currently available.

²⁹ In P. Mich. IV 223 Ro. col. 71, 2148: Τλεμνή(σιος).

³⁰ In P. Mich. IV 223 Ro. col. 35, 976 fr. 4 (p. 114), 3222.

³¹ In P. Congr. XV 14, col. 3, 43: Τανούλιτρο(ς).

³² In O. Mich. I 565, 5, 6 and 10.

³³ In SB XVI 12469, Ro. 24: Ταῦλις (animal name).

³⁴ Of which 4 are Coptic, attested in: P. Fay. Copt. 46, 2: [ΟΥ]ΕΝΔΑΘΕΛ; CPR IV 185, 3: ΟΥΕΝΔΑΘΕΛ; P. Lond. Copt. 1235, occ1: ΟΥΕΝΔΑΘΛΙ; P. Lond. Copt. 1252, 20: Ζωλ.


³⁵ The attestation in Stud. Pal. X 299, 4: Ἄπα Ὀ[λ], from the Memphites (L01) (seventh/eighth century AD) is partially reconstructed and has not been considered here.

³⁶ Cf. TILL, W. C., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, p. 7. The other main dialectal characteristic of Fayumic is the α instead of o/ω as vocalisation of words such as ḥt, “chet demon”, sn, “brother”, or Šzy, the name of the Egyptian god of fate. Cf. TILL, W. C., *ibidem*, p. 8. Another Egyptian word reflecting the diagloss a/o is ḥf, “snake”, which appears in Coptic as ϣⲟⲩ (Sahidic, Bohairic) and ϣⲁⲩ (Akhmimic, Sub-Akhmimic, Fayumic), but no anthroponym in Greek transcription containing it seems to be attested. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 740-741.

³⁷ This influence can also be appreciated for the diagloss a/o. Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*, p. 249: “Les nomes Memphite et Héracléopolite semblent donc se rallier en partie à la prononciation ai du Fayoum (...). Pour la répartition des formes en a, nous distinguons nettement deux domaines. Un premier qui comprend le Fayoum et qui s'étend jusque dans l'Héracléopolite”; p. 254-255: “Nous retrouvons la vocalisation fayoumique dans

	00	L00	L01	U02	U04	U09	U10	U15	U19	U20
λ	247	4	2	1	1	2	1	4	4	13
λ	4									2
Total attestations	251	4	2	1	1	2	1	4	4	15

Even though the individuals mentioned in the documents from Lower and Upper Egypt with names transcribing Egyptian *r* as λ/λ could come from the Fayum, the confusion of *r* and *l* in other parts of Egypt apart from the Fayum cannot be excluded³⁸. A list of the attestations of anthroponyms with λ/λ for Egyptian *r* from Lower and Upper Egypt is provided in the table below:

Nome	Documents and attestations	Date
L00	BGU IV 1158, 6: Ὡλῳι, 12: Ὡλος, 20: Ὡλον, Ὡλου	9 BC
L01	Stud. Pal. X 297, Ro. col. 1, 17: Ὡλ; Vo. col. 2, 16: Ὡλ	600-799 AD
U02	SB XVI 12431, 12: Λαοῦς	650-699 AD
U04	O. Bodl. I 234, 5: Σούλιος	144 BC (?)
U09	CRIPEL III 477, 2: Σου[ή]λιος	100-299 AD
	Short Texts II 801, B 2: Σούλιος ³⁹	225-275 AD
U10 (?)	Short Texts II 440, 2: Ὡλ	100-199 AD
U15	P. Brem. 37, 22: Σοῦλις 	117-120 AD
	I. Akôris 150, 2: Θελ[έ]η[σι]ς	30 BC-284 AD (?)
	Stud. Pal. VIII 1171, 1: Ὡλ	400-499 AD
	BGU XVII 2722, 12: Ὡλ	500-699 AD
U19	P. Oxy. LIV 3746 Ro. col. 2, col. 2, 24: Πασλ	319 AD
	P. Oxy. XLVIII 3397, Vo. 4: Πούολις	330-385 AD
	P. Oxy. XVI 1917, 40: Ὡλ	616-617 AD (?)
	SB X 10514, 5: Σούηλις	330-640 AD (?)
U20	P. Baden IV 75 b, 39: Ἀλφύγγ(ιος) (AD 147)	147 AD
	Stud. Pal. X 235, 6: Ὡλ	300-499 AD

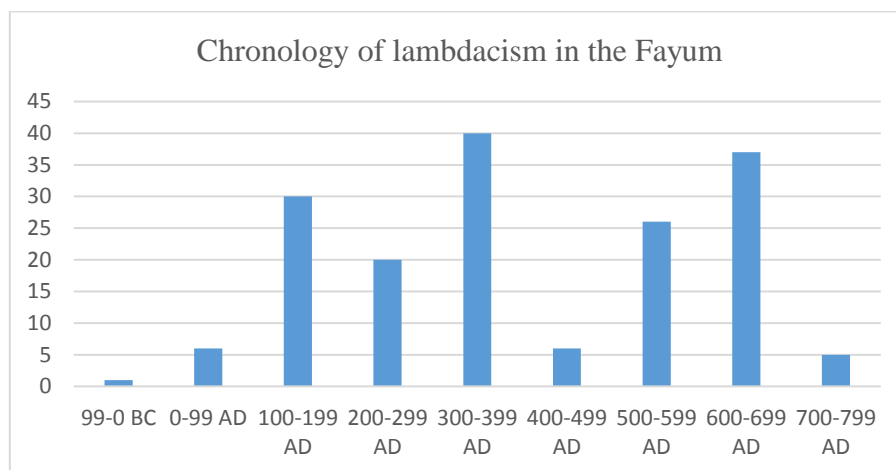
une partie du nome Héracléopolite, mais nous ne pouvons déterminer si l'influence de ce dialecte, qui semble se manifester encore dans la région au sud de Memphis, s'est exercée réellement jusque sur l'autre rive du Nil".

³⁸ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 107: "There is also evidence from Coptic documents of a fluctuation between λ and ρ in other dialect areas"; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 134 Cf. also VERGOTE, J., *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Les consonnes*, p. 109-110.

³⁹ The Demotic equivalent appears also with *l*. Cf. *Short Texts* II 801, A 3: *Swlys*.

	P. Ross. Georg. V 61, fr. B 6; B 16; Vo. C 3 ⁴⁰ : Όλ.	350-399 AD
	CPR VIII 53, 6: Όλ	400-499 AD
	CPR XIV 35, 1: Όλ	400-499 AD
	SB XX 14217, 1: Όλ	400-499 AD
	CPR VIII 56, 10: Όλ	400-599 AD
	CPR XIV 36, 6: Όλ	500-699 AD
	P. Michael. Gr. 126, 6: Όλ	538 AD
	CPR IV 50, 5 and 8: ωλ	700-799 AD

Except one attestation dated from 26 BC⁴¹, all the anthroponyms from the Fayum containing lambdacism date from the Roman period, as it can be seen in the graph below⁴².



⁴⁰ The attestations in P. Ross. Georg. V 61, Vo. fr. C14, and Ro. D 9; D 12 have been partially or totally reconstructed and have not been considered here.

⁴¹ In SB XVI 12469, Ro. 24: Ταῦλις. This is not an anthroponym, but the name of a red cow. In SB XVI 12469, Ro. 7, the name Θαῦρις occurs instead. The lines 20-31 of the text have been written by other man, which seems Egyptian, as other phonetic spellings show. Cf. REA, J. R., "Lease of a Red Cow Called Thayris", p. 278-279; 282.

⁴² In figures, 1 attestation with lambdacism date from the first century BC; 6 from the first century AD; 30 from the second century AD; 20 from the third century AD; 40 from the fourth century AD; 6 from the fifth century AD; 26 from the sixth century AD; 37 from the seventh century AD; and 5 from the eighth century AD.

Fayumic lambdacism seems consequently to originate in the first century AD and develop between the second and the fourth centuries AD. The attestations with λ/λ for Egyptian *r* from areas close to the Fayum, such as the Memphites (L01) and the Herakleopolites (U20), on which Fayumic may have had a certain influence, date from the second century AD onwards. Likewise, with the exception of 5 transcriptions⁴³, other attestations from the rest of the areas of Lower and Upper Egypt date from the Roman period onwards.

In some transcriptions of anthroponyms deriving from 4 different prototypes, Demotic *l* appears to have been rendered by Greek ρ/ρ. These attestations can be seen in the table below. These renderings date from the Roman period onwards and, except one from the Fayum⁴⁴, all of them come from Upper Egypt.

Egyptian name (prototype)	Translation	Most frequent Greek rendering	Attestations in transcription	TM Nam
P3-gyl	The little one	Πκύρις ⁴⁵	5	608
*Pa-t3-3lly	The one of the vineyard	πατρωρε	7	11308
Gl-d3d3 ⁴⁶	Meaning unknown ⁴⁷	Καρατίωθις ⁴⁸	1	390

⁴³ Σούλιος, in O. Bodl. I 234, 5, for which a certain date is not known; and the attestations in BGU IV 1158 (9 BC).

⁴⁴ Καρατίωθις, in P. Strasb. Gr. VIII 710, col. 2, 22.

⁴⁵ This name could also be interpreted as the Greek name Κύρις (cf. TM Nam 10044; *LGPN* I, p. 279) or the Persian Κύρος (TM Nam 3785) preceded by the Egyptian masculine article. It is not possible to know if the name Πεκύριος (TM Nam 26790) (P. Oxy. IV 732, 1 – partially reconstructed – and 9) also belongs to this prototype.

⁴⁶ On this anthroponym, cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teēphthaphōnukhos”, p. 96; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 987, who does not give a translation of the name.

⁴⁷ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teēphthaphōnukhos”, p. 96, n. 121: “Les noms Καλατυτις et Κατυτις semblent apparentés, mais leur sens reste inconnu (...). Remarquons toutefois qu’ils sont attestés comme épithètes divines”. The name Κάτυτις and its variants, from a prototype *G-d3d3*, means “The man of Gaza”. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1014, who translates the name by “Sklave”. Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., “À propos de l’identification de la « Kadytis » d’Hérodote avec la ville de Gaza”, p. 245-270; HOLM, C. E., *Griechisch-ägyptische Namenstudien*, p. 21-22. For *Gl-d3d3* cf. nevertheless the verb *gl*, “to entrust” (JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter G, p. 53), and also *gyl*, with the same root, “séjourner comme étranger” (VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 336-337; JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter G, p. 8), which appears as *ḡḡḡ*- in *nominalis status* in Sahidic and Bohairic. Cf. CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 807-809. The meaning of *d3d3*, “head”, is clear. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter D, p. 10; VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 334: *ⲭⲱⲭ* (Sahidic, Bohairic), “tête, chef”; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 799. On the interchange of *v* and *ω* as vocalisations of a same Egyptian word, cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ib, p. 58.

⁴⁸ In P. Strasb. Gr. VIII 710, col. 2, 22: Καρατίωθις.

Gl-šr ⁴⁹	The soldier	καρρωρε ⁵⁰	1	389
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⁴⁹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1033, who does not give a translation of the anthroponym. On the meaning of the name, cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter G, p. 53, 61-62.

⁵⁰ In O. Ashm. Copt. 1, 11: καρρωρε. On the other hand, more than 20 Demotic attestations with *r* (cf. *Qr-dʒdʒ*) occur in O. Dime I, II and III, from Soknopaiou Nesos, and alternate with the attestations of *Ql-dʒdʒ* in the same texts. All these texts date between 25 BC and 175 AD. In this name the *l* seems to have been the initial phoneme, which was later confused with *r*, since some Greek attestations with *λ* date from the Ptolemaic period. Cf. for example P. Count. 49 Ro., 199: [K]αλάτυτις, dated from the second century BC, or the many attestations from Tebtynis. Cf. for example P. Tebt. I 63 Ro. (col. 7, 167) – from 116-115 BC –; P. Tebt. IV 1110, col. 6, 174, 180 – from 115 BC –; P. Tebt. IV 1143, col. 1, 3, 9 – from 115-114 BC –; P. Tebt. IV 1108, col. 5, 102, 103 – from 104-101 BC –, ... For more examples of Greek transcriptions with *λ* dating from the Ptolemaic period, cf. TM Nam 390. Apart from the Demotic attestations with *l* in O. Dime, this name is also attested with *l* in P. Köln Dem. 2, 13-14, dated from 110 BC.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS ATTESTED IN ANTHROPONYMS IN GREEK TRANSCRIPTION

EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN ANTHROPONYMS ATTESTED IN GREEK TRANSCRIPTION

Egyptian element	Meaning (type of word ¹)	Position ²	Main TM Nam (example)	Most frequent Greek rendering (position ³)	Most frequent Greek morphological ending ⁴	Coptic equivalent (Dictionary: page) ⁵
ⲃⲃⲓ(.t)	Panther (S)	F	794	-αβω-/-εβω- ⁶	-ωζ, -ωτοζ	--- ⁷
ⲃⲃⲓⲱ	Meaning unknown (S)	F	2732	-αβολλου-	-οῦζ, -οῦτοζ	---
ⲃⲡⲉ	Duck, bird (S)	F	13083	-ωβτ (cf. <i>infra</i> , * <i>Mn-3pd</i>)	No Greek morphological ending	ⲱⲃⲧ (V: 248-249)
ⲃⲓⲓⲱ	Vineyard (S)	F	11308	-(ε)λολ-/(ε)λλωλ-/	-ιζ, -εωζ	ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ (S), ⲁⲗⲟⲗⲓ (B), ⲁⲗⲁⲁⲗⲓ (F), ⲉⲗⲁⲁⲗⲉ (A) (V: 41)
ⲃⲏ.t	Field (S)	F	673	-(α)χ-	-ῆζ, -ῆτοζ	ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲉ (S), ⲓⲱⲁⲓ (B) (V: 69-70)

¹ Adjective = A; Substantive = S; Verb = V; Particle = P; Pronoun = Pron.

² Absolute = A; Initial = I; Middle = M; Final = F.

³ Cf. previous note.

⁴ For the elements attested in absolute or/and final position.

⁵ The abbreviations used in this column are: C = CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*; V = VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*; A = Akhmimic; F = Fayumic; O = Old Coptic; S = Sahidic.

⁶ Presumably with α/ε alternation.

⁷ The Coptic term used for “panther” seems to have been the Greek loanword ⲭⲓⲕⲣⲓⲥ, ⲭⲓⲕⲣⲏⲥ (cf. Greek τίγρις). Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 325; CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 764.

Īw	Aged (A)	F	441	-(α)γο-, -(α)ο- or -(α)υ-	-ῆς, -ῆτος	ωε (O) (V: 248)
Ībt(y)	Oriental (A)	F	939	-ιευθ-, -εγεβθ-	-ης, -ου	ειεβτ (S), ειεβτ (B) (V: 40)
Īir	<i>Past participle of</i> iri, “to make” (V)	M	903	-ερε-	---	ερε- (V: 37)
Īir-di-s	<i>Past participle of</i> di, “to give”	F	42	-ορται-	-ος, -ου	--- ⁸
Īy-m-ḥtp	Imhotep	A, F	368, 862	Ἰμουθ- (A, F)	-ης, -ου	--- ⁹
Īy.t(y)	<i>Qualitative of</i> iy, “to come” (V)	F	549, 315	-ηιτ-, -ητ-	-ις, -ιος	ει (S), ι (B) (V: 59-60) ¹⁰
Īḥ	Moon (S)	I	27	Ἀ-, Ἀχ-, Ὁ-	---	ιοz (B), οοz (S, A), ααz (F) (V: 69)
Īw	<i>Particle and</i> <i>tense converter</i>	I, M	67, 1059	Ἀ-/α-/ Ἐ-/ε- (I, M) ¹¹	---	α-, ε- (V: 1-2, 37)
Ī(w).(t)	<i>Qualitative of</i> iy, “to come” (V)	F	34	-εϋ- ¹²	-εύς, -έως	ει (S), ι (B) (V: 59-60) ¹³

⁸ Cf., however, VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 45-46.

⁹ Cf., however, VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 160.

¹⁰ Cf. *infra*, Ī(w).(t), another qualitative of the same verb.

¹¹ The representation of the particle as Ἀ-/α- or Ἐ-/ε- is clearly dialectal. Ἀ-/α- appears to be the Bohairic, Fayumic and Sahidic variant and Ἐ-/ε- the Akhmimic. However, a grammatical satisfactory explanation on the dialectal distribution of these variants has not been found. Cf. QUAEGBEUR, J., “Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teéphthaphônukhos”, p. 88.

¹² The fact that Īw is situated in final position after the subject shows that it is a qualitative grammatical form. It is not possible to distinguish the rendering -εϋ- of and the morphological ending -εύς.

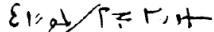
¹³ Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 59: “Nous ne possédons pas l’ancien qualificatif qui peut être reconstruit comme ο (...). Mais les noms propres de l’époque tardive emploient une forme plus récente, à savoir *-ēw”.

İwıw	Dog (S)	M, F	918, 7341	-εηου-, -εηου- ¹⁴	-εύς, -έως	--- ¹⁵
İwn	<i>Meaning uncertain</i> ¹⁶	F	762, 1305	-(ι)γων-	-ις, -ιος	---
İwn-mw.t=f	Pillar of his mother (S + S)	F	7939	-μουθ-	-ης, -ου	μααγ (S), μαγ (B) (V: 126)
İwr̥t	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁷	F	31506	Only attested in the bilingual document <i>Short Texts</i> II 721, B 3: [Νεφ]ουρητ, as rendering of <i>Nfr-İwr̥t</i> (A 3)	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	---
İb	Heart (S)	M	553, 541	In Greek transcription it is not possible to distinguish between <i>İb</i> and the definite masculine article <i>p3</i>	---	γβ= (O) (V: 243)
İbd	Abydos (S)	A, F	30402, 8200	-εβυθ- (A, F)	-ης, -ου/-ις, -ιος	εβωτ, δβωτ, δβοτ (V: 39-40)
İp.t	Opet (<i>toponym</i>) ¹⁸ (S)	F	8042	-ωφ-	-ις, -ιος/-εως	---
İp.t-wr.t	Epoeris (S + A)	A, F	2976, 1064	Ἐποηρ-, Ἐπογηρ- (A, F)	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
İmy	Character (S)	F	4833	-εμμ-	-ις, -ιος/-εως	---

¹⁴ The origin of this substantive is clearly onomatopoeic (with reduplication). Cf. DE VARTAVAN, C., *Vocalized Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian*, p. 23: “Many animal names are clearly onomatopoeic and possibly very remote of age”.

¹⁵ In Coptic, the term ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲣ (feminine ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲣⲉ), “dog”, from *whr(.t)*, seems to have been used instead. Cf. *infra*, *whr(.t)*.

¹⁶ Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “The Financial Problems of the Beer-seller Ameneus”, p. 16: “Rather it is a rare Egyptian name, typical of a limited area in (the north of) the Oxyrhynchite nome. The sign which we read as *Iwn* (?) may indicate a local divinity rather than the town *Iwn* – On – Heliopolis”. The toponym Helipolis appears as ⲱⲛ in Coptic. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 249.

¹⁷ In LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 640, this name  appears as *Nfr-t3-wr̥t*, “Schön ist die Rose (?)”. In JOHNSON, J. H., *CDD*, Letter İ, no term *İwr̥t* is listed. It does not seem to be the qualitative *İwr̥.t*, of the verb *İwr*, “to conceive, become pregnant” (cf. JOHNSON, J. H., *ibidem*, p. 73-74), which appears in Coptic as ⲱⲱ.

¹⁸ Cf. TM Geo 2985.

Imy(.t)	Cat (S)	F	802	-(α)μι- ¹⁹	-αυς, -αυτος	εμοϋ (SB), αμοϋ (S) (V: 42)
Imn	Amun (S)	A, I, M, F	<i>Numerous</i>	Different vocalisation depending on the position: -ου- (A, F) or -ε-/ο- (I, M)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	αμοϋν (V: 10-11)
In	To bring (V)	M	907	Most frequent rendered as -ομ- in the only anthroponym attested, <i>P3-in-mwt</i> ²⁰ , “The bringer of death” > Φομμοϋς, with μ transcribing Egyptian <i>n</i> due to assimilation	---	εινε (S), ινι (B), ντ- (S), εν- (B) (V: 64)
Ir.t-(n-)Hr-r.r=w ²¹	Inaros/“The eye of Horos is against them”	A, I, F	371, 10336, 12386	Ἰναρω-, Νααραν-	-αυς, -αυτος/ -ως, -ωτος	---
In-wwy	---	F	282	Only attested in Greek transcription in the name <i>Hr-in-wwy</i> , “Horos der Ratbringer” ²²	-οϋς, -οϋτος	---
Inpw	Anubis (S)	A, I, M, F	<i>Numerous</i>	The variant Ἀνουβ- seems to be characteristically attested in Greek derivations (cf. Ἀνουβίων, Ἀνουβάριον), and Ἀνουπ- in Greek renderings (cf. Ἀνουπορταῖος < <i>Inpw-i.ir-di-s</i>)	-ις, -ιος/ -ιος, -ίου	ανοϋπ (V: 13)
In-hr.t	Onuris (S)	A, F	16940,	-(ε)νουρ-	-ις, -ιος/-εως	ζοϋρε (O) ²³ (V: 160)

¹⁹ The origin of this substantive is onomatopoeic.

²⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 157.

²¹ On this name, cf. WEGNER, W., “Eine demotische Abrechnung und ein demotischer Brief aus Tebtynis (P. Hamburg D 45 und 46)”, p. 171. On the relation of this name with the popular Demotic literature, cf. RYHOLT, K., “A Sesostris Story in Demotic Egyptian and Demotic Literary Exercises (O. Leipzig UB 2217)”, p. 436-437.

²² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 791.

²³ In πανζοϋρε, “The one of Onuris”.

			823			
Īr(.t)	To make (V)	M	1350	This element occurs in anthroponyms with the structure: Definite article + <i>-īr-</i> + Deity name: <i>T3-īr-B3st.t</i> (> Τερόβαστις), “She whom Bastet has made”	---	ειρε (S), ιρι (B) (V: 65)
Īry(.w)	Companion (S)	F	682	The most frequent rendering is -ηρ-/ηρι-. It is not possible to know if the iota is part of the Egyptian element or of the Greek morphological ending -ις	-ις, -ιος	ηρ (B) (V: 53-54)
Īry-ḥms-nfr	Arsenuphis (S)	A, F	8055, 836	Thes most frequent renderings are -μαρσνουφ- and -ρανσνουφ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Īr.t=w-r.r=w	Their eye is against them	A	386	The only attested Greek rendering is Ἰθόρως ²⁴	-ως, -ωτος	--- ²⁵
Īhy	Ihy (S)	F	961	-οις	-οις, -οιτος	---
Īhy²⁶			1294	-αιῆς	-ῆς, -έους	---
Īḥ.t	Cow (S)	F	994	-αῆς	-ῆς, -ῆτος	εεε (SB) (V: 50)
Īs.t	Isis (S)	A, I, M, F	Numerous	Ἰσ-/Ισ- (A), Σ-, Ἰσε- (I), -εσ- (M), -ησ- (F)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	ησε (SO), ησι (B) (V: 55)

²⁴ LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 70, 87.

²⁵ Cf. Coptic εια, “eye” (VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 60).

²⁶ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 227, 1176-1177, 1090.

šw	Sheep (S)	F	958	-εσω- ²⁷	-ως, -ωτος	εσοϣ (S), εσωϣ (B), εσαϣ (AF) (V: 47)
šr	Isherou (<i>toponym</i> ²⁸) (S)	F	13906	-(ι)σρ- ²⁹	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
šwr	Syrian (A)	A, F	3018, 815	-εσουρ-	-ις, -ιος/-εως	εωϣρ (S) ³⁰ (V: 167)
š(.t)	Kushite (A)	A, F	2919, 7268	-εκυσ-	-ις, -εως	εσωϣ (S), εθωϣ (B) (V: 50)
štm	Atum (S)	A, I, F	8881, 83, 781	The vocalisation of the element in absolute and final position is generally υ (cf. Ἀθυμ-/ -αθυμ-) and at the beginning ε or ο (cf. Ἀθεμμ-/Ἀτομ-)	-ις, -εως	αθωμ (V: 4)
Ym	Lake (S)	F	44	The Greek transcriptions of this element seem to reflect the diagloss <i>a/o</i> (cf. -ιαμ-, -ωμ-)	-ις, -ιος	ειομ (S), ιομ (B), ιαμ (AF) (V: 63)
Yt	Father (S)	A	28327	Ειωτ	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ειωτ (S), ιωτ (B) (V: 67)
‘3(.t)/‘(3)y/‘w	Great (A ³¹)	I, M, F	66, 966, 9409	ʾA-/α- (I, M), -ω-, -ο- or -ου- (F)	-ως, -ωτος	αιδι (SB), αiei (F), qualitative οι (SB), αει (A), ωει (abnormal S)

²⁷ In one Greek transcription. This Egyptian term appears however in other anthroponyms not attested in Greek transcription. Cf. QUAEGERBEUR, J., “Teēphibis, dieu oraculaire?”, p. 24: “Le nom hiéroglyphique *qd-hr-p3-šw* est à traduire “le visage du bélier a dit” et doit être rapproché du culte du bélier (*p3-šw/εσοϣ*). L’onomastique se révèle donc être une source d’information non négligeable pour notre connaissance des cultes des animaux sacrés”.

²⁸ Cf. TM Geo 10887.

²⁹ Only one Greek rendering.

³⁰ In the name πωϣρ.

³¹ It can also be an adverb.

						(V: 5-6)
ꜥm	Herdsman (S)	F	713	-(α)-μης ³²	-ῆς, -έους/-ῆτος	αμε (abnormal S), αμη (F) (V: 9)
ꜥn	Baboon (S)	F	804	-εν-	-ις, -εως	ην (S), εν (B), εεν (O) (V: 53)
ꜥw-rd	His great deeds are enduring ³³	F	545	This element appears in Greek as -ορ(ε)ίτης	-ης, -ου	---
ꜥbq	Raven (S)	A	11	The most frequent rendering is Αβυκ-, but others such as Αβοκ- or Αβωκ- are also attested	-ις, -ιος/-εως	αβωκ (S, B) (V: 4)
ꜥn-wšb		F	733	The only Greek transcription of this element appears in the name Παγγωσβις ³⁴ (< Pa- ꜥn-wšb)	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
ꜥnq.t	Anukis (S)	A, F	27127, 18064	Ἄνουκ-/-(α)νουκ-	-ις, -ιος	---
ꜥn=w-tꜥy		A	61	Ἄνουθ-	-ιος, -ίου/ -ις, -ιτος/ -ις, -ιος	---
ꜥnh	To live (V)	I, M, F	56, 5991, 67	In initial and middle position the most frequent rendering is Ἀγχω- (prospective), and in final position -υγχ- in the Fayum, the Delta and between Hermopolis and the Herakleopolites, and -	-ις, -ιος/-εως/ -ος, -ου	ων2, qualitative ον2 (V: 250)

³² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 161, 356.

³³ Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Nephorites, Founder of the 29th Dynasty and his Name”, p. 216: “The meaning of the name is therefore probably “his great (resp. strong) deeds are enduring”. In demotic the verb *rd* is replaced by an unetymological noun “feet” or “character”, trying to render the actual pronunciation of a name of which the meaning was unclear to the writer”.

³⁴ In the bilingual text P. Lille Dem. II 54, Gr. 2.

				ωνυχ- between Elephantine and Panopolis. The grammatical forms represented in -υγχ-/-ωνυχ- are unknown (infinitive, qualitative?) – or whether or not they represent the same form –, but their dialectal distribution seems clear		
‘r’r/ ‘l’l	Shrewmouse (S)	A, M, F	70, 35973, 5718	The most frequent rendering is - (ε)λιλ(ι)-. The ending of the element is hidden by the Greek morphological ending -ις	-ις, -ιος	λλια (S, B), λλιλι (B) (V: 8)
‘l	<i>Meaning unknown</i>	M	702	-αλ-	---	---
‘lw	Child	F	1208	Mostly transcribed into Greek as -(α)λου-. The Greek morphological ending is -οῦς	-οῦς, -οῦτος	λλογ (V: 7)
		F	706	There are only two Greek transcriptions in SB XVI 12416, 6 and 7: Παλτύτιος (< <i>Pa- ‘lt</i>)	-ις, -ιος	---
‘h’	Lifespan (S)	F	7949	Represented as -αις into Greek in the attestations of the name Πετεχενσέβαις (< <i>P3-di-Hnsw-nb- ‘h’</i> , “He who has been given by Khonsu, lord of lifespan”) ³⁵	-ις, -ιος	λζε (SA), λζι (B), εζι (F) (V: 22)
‘h’=f-dy	He stays/ He is present ³⁶	A, F (?)	8912, 38374 (?)	Ἀφθαῖος	-ιος, -ίου	ωζε (S), οζι (B) (V: 225)

³⁵ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 339.

³⁶ Cf. DE MEULENAERE, H., QUAEGEBEUR, J., “Notes de prosopographie thébaine. Deuxième série”, p. 216, who translate the name as “il se tient (debout) ici, il est présent”.

ḥm	Eagle (S)	M, F	17404, 679	-αχομ- (M), -αχομ-, -αχομ (F)	-ις, -ιος	αχομ (V: 22)
š-ihy	Asychis	A, F	80, 967	Ἀσυχι- (A), -ασουχι- (F)	-ις, -ιος	--- ³⁷
š-sdm=f	Assythmis (S)	A, F	24697, 10999	Ἀσσυθμ-, -ασμηφ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	---
W	They (Suffix pron.)	M, F	10299, 897	-ο- (M), -υ- (F)	-εός, -έως/-εῦτος	-ΟΥ (V: 228-229)
W ₃	Meaning unknown (in hypocoristics)	F	785, 1215	-υῆς	-ῆς, -ῆτος	---
W ₃ h ³⁸	To free (V)	I	553	Ῥα-, Οὐα-	---	ΟΥΩ (V: 230)
W ₃ dy.t	Uadjjet (S)	F	746	-ουιτ-, -ουτ-	-ῆς, -ῆτος/ -ης, -ου	-ΕΤΩ, -ΟΥΤΟ (V: 165)
W ₃ ³⁹	Sacred boat (S)	F	22391	Mostly rendered as -γω-. On the Demotic and Greek equivalence, cf. the bilingual text <i>Short Texts</i> II 546, A 1: M ₃ ' - wiz.t ⁴⁰ and B 1: Μάγως	-ως, -ωτος	---
Wynn(.t)	Jonian/Greek (A)	A, F	586, 8173, 6313	-ουαιανεν-	-ις, -ιος	ΟΥΕΙΕΝΙΝ (S), ΟΥΕΙΝΙΝ (B), ΟΥΑΙΕΝΙΝ (A), ΟΥΙΕΝΙΝ (F), (V: 231)
W'b	Priest (S)	F	13373, 11752	-ουηβ-	-ις, -ιος	ΟΥΗΗΒ (S), ΟΥΗΒ (B) (V: 230)

³⁷ Cf., however, Coptic αϣ (Sahidic, Bohairic), εϣ (Fayumic) for šj (VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 20).

³⁸ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter W, p. 13-14: “to liberate, to free, to save”.

³⁹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter W, p. 3-6.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Short Texts* II, p. 207: “The final .t was written as marker of the gender of Mauo herself, not of the word wiz, ‘bark’, contained in the orthography of her name”.

Wp-w3.wt	Upuaut (S)	I, F	565, 878	Όφ(ι)- (I), υφω(ι)- (F) ⁴¹	-ωις, -ωιτος/ -ιως, -οιτος	ειοπε (S), ιοπι (B) + ογοει (S), ογοι (B) (V: 65, 231)
Wp.t	Messenger (S)	F	7917	Rendered as -απις in the only attestation in Greek in the bilingual document <i>Short Texts</i> II 598, A 1 (Demotic) and B 1 (Greek) ⁴²	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	ειοπε (S), ιοπι (B) (V: 65)
Wm	To eat (V)	M	36998	-ουαμ- ⁴³	---	ογωμ (SB), ογαμ- (SB) (participle) (V: 232-233)
Wmt.t⁴⁴	Wall (S)	F	777	-ουαμτ-	-ις, -ιως/-εως	ογομτε (V: 233)
Wn⁴⁵	Light (S)	F	687	-γων-	-ις, -ιως	ογοειν (S), ογωνι (B) (V: 231)
Wn	To exist (V)	I, M	560, 10389	Όν-, Ούεν-, Γεν-,	---	ογν- (V: 233-234)
Wnš(.t)	Wolf (S)	A, F	8095, 942	Ούωνσ-, Γουνσ-	-ις, -ιως/-εως	ογωνω (SBF), ογανω (A) (V: 235)
Wr(.t)	Great (A)	M, F	20160, 575	-ορ- (M), -οηρ-, -ουηρ- (F)	-ις, -ιως	ογηρ (S, B) (V: 236)

⁴¹ It is not possible to know if the *iota* is part of the root or of the Greek morphological ending.

⁴² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 297; VYCICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 65.

⁴³ VYCICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 232-233.

⁴⁴ Cf. PN 111.6; Demotisches Namenbuch p. 422; CDD W, 2009, p. 78.

⁴⁵ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 358-359.

Wrš(.w)	Guardian (S)	A, I, M, F	569, 568, 22891, 8175	Ὀρσε(υ)-, Ὀρσ(η)- (A, F), -ορσε- (I, M)	-εύς, -εὔτος/ -ῆς, -έους/-είους	ογερωε- ⁴⁶ (V: 237)
Wrt	Rose (S)	F	13583	-ουορτ-	-ις/ίς, -ιος/ίδος	ογρτ (S), ογερτ (B) (V: 236)
Wlm⁴⁷	High Priest of Heliopolis (S)	F	937, 6016	ολημ-	-ις, -ιος/-εως	---
Whr(.t)	Dog (S)	A, M, F	14612, 26630, 943	-ουωρ- ⁴⁸	-ις, -ιος/-εως	ογζορ (masculine), ογζοορε ογζωρε (feminine) (V: 242)
Wsr	Osiris (S)	A, I, M, F	22711, 575, 895, 893	Ὀσιρ- (A), Ὀσορ- (I), -(ο)ρ-, -σορ- (M), -(ο)σιρ- (F)	-ις, -ιος	ογσιρε, ογσιρι (O) (V: 238)
Wsr⁴⁹	To be strong (V)	I	570	Ὀσε- ⁵⁰	---	---
Wgš(.t)	Kushite (A)	F	8176, 1438	-οαξ-, -ουαξ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Wty	<i>Unknown</i>	F	13374	-ουητ- ⁵¹	-ις, -ιος/ -ιος, -ίου/ -ος, -ου	---

⁴⁶ In the name ογερωενογρε.

⁴⁷ Cf. P. Ashm. I, p. 91, n. 25 on the name *Pz-wlm*: “A personal name formed on the title of the high priest in Heliopolis (...). This name was popular at Hawara at this late time, to judge from its occurrence in our texts”.

⁴⁸ Most frequent rendering in the transcriptions of both the masculine (*whr*) and feminine (*whr.t*) nouns.

⁴⁹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter W, p. 162.

⁵⁰ Presumably one Greek attestation in UPZ II 177, 19: Ὀσέφ[θαιος (< *Wsr-Pth*, “Ptah is strong”). Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 127

⁵¹ In in the renderings of the name *Hr-wty*. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 796

Wt-t3.wy	The primordial god of both lands	F	1146	-οτου-	-οῦς, -οὔτος	---
Wd3	To be prosperous (V)	I, F	581, 310	Ὅτε-/Ὅσε- (I) ⁵² , -υωτ-/υωθ- (F) ⁵³	-ης, -ου	ογχαῖ (S, B), ογοχ (qualitative) (V: 242)
Wd3(.t)	<i>Udjat</i> eye (S)	F	13844	-υαθ-, -υατ- ⁵⁴	-ις, -ιος	---
B3⁵⁵	<i>Ba</i> (S)	I, M	103, 12999	Βι- (-βι-) (I, M)	---	βαῖ (V: 25)
B3-nb-Dd.t	Ram lord of Mendes (S)	A, F	14633, 839	Βενδητ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	-τη† (Mendes) ⁵⁶ (V: 341)
B3k(.t)	Servant (S)	A, I	86, 88	Βωκ (A), Βοκ- (I)	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	βωκ (B, F) (V: 26-27)
B3st.t	Bastet (S)	A, I, F	554, 556, 984	Ὅβαστ- (A, F), Ὅβεστ-/Ὅβοστ- (I)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	--- ⁵⁷
By	<i>Meaning unknown (in hypocoristics)</i>	F	671, 1155	-βη-/βι-	-ις, -ιτος	---
Byy	<i>Unknown</i>	F	13586	-αια(ι)- ⁵⁸	-ις, -ιτος	---
Byk(.t)	Falcon (S)	A, F	9003, 12998	Βηκ-/Βηχ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος	βηϛ (SF), βηχ (B) (V: 34)

⁵² In initial position it is a *sdm=f* grammatical form.

⁵³ In final position it is a qualitative.

⁵⁴ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1172.

⁵⁵ In the Egyptian anthroponyms attested in Greek transcription it is always followed of *nh*, “the living *ba*” or “the *ba* is living”.

⁵⁶ In the name σιμεντη†.

⁵⁷ Cf., however, βοβαστω and βογβασ† in VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 25.

⁵⁸ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1060.

Bw-ir- rh(.s/f/y)	The one who is not known ⁵⁹ (<i>negative participle</i>)	I, F	2478, 8180, 1332	-βριχ-	-ις, -ιος	--- ⁶⁰
Bne	<i>Meaning unknown</i>	A	8948	Βαν- ⁶¹	-ος, -ου	---
Bny	Swallow (S)	F	12473	ΒΕΝΗ	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ΒΗΝΕ (S), ΒΗΝΙ (B) (V: 28)
Bnw	<i>Benu bird (S)</i>	F	5434	-βεν-, -βενν-	-ις, -εως	---
Bnpy⁶²	Iron (S)	A (?), F	8991, 23811	Βενιπ-, Βανιπ-	-ις, -εως	ΒΕΝΙΠΕ (S), ΒΕΝΙΠΙ (B) (V: 29-30)
Bl	Blind (A)	A, F	95, 249	Βελλ(η)- (A, F)	-ῆς, -έους/-ῆτος	ΒΛΛΕ (V: 27)
Bht	Edfu (<i>toponym</i>) (S) ⁶³	F	10429, 31989	-βαχθ-	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
Bh	Bouchis (S)	A, F	105, 895	Βουχ-/βουχ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Bhn	Pylon (<i>toponym</i>) (S) ⁶⁴	F	726, 22580	-(β)χουν-	-ις, -ιος	---
Bs	Bes	A, I, F	100, 9010, 250	Βησ-/Βης (A, I, F)	-ις, -ιος	ΒΗC (V: 31)
P	Pe	F	7942	-πο(ι)-	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---

⁵⁹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter B, p. 36-37.

⁶⁰ Cf., however, VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 118, 128.

⁶¹ GASCOU, J., “Un nouveau calendrier de saints égyptien (P. Iand. inv. 318)”, p. 384.

⁶² From *by3 b p.t*, literally “metal from the sky”.

⁶³ Cf. TM Geo 269. The Coptic names attested derive from *Db3*: ΕΤΒΟ, ΤΒΟ, ΘΒΩ.

⁶⁴ Cf. TM Geo 10635.

	(<i>toponym</i>) (S) ⁶⁵					
P₃	The (<i>masculine definite article</i>)	I, M	<i>Numerous</i>	Π-, Πε-, Φ-, Φε-	---	π-, πε-, φ- (V: 157)
P₃y	This one of-	I, M	4791, 13787	Πι-	---	πι (SB) ⁶⁶ (V: 158)
P₃-rmt-n	The man of...	I, M	<i>Numerous</i>	Πρεμ-, Προμ-/ Πρωμ- ⁶⁷	---	ρμ- (S), ρωμ- (abnormal S), ρεμ- (B), λεμ- (F) (V: 173-174; C: 294- 296)
P₃-syf⁶⁸	The child	A, F	1000, 21898	-ψυφ-, -ψοιφ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος	---
P₃-šr-n-	The son of...	I, M	<i>Numerous</i>	Ψεν- (I, M)	---	ωε-, ωι- (V: 269)
P₃typ₃	<i>Unknown meaning</i>	A	10984	Πάτιπις ⁶⁹	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
P₃-tnfy	The dancer	A	1003	Σωμφι-	-ις, -ιος	---
P₃-dī-	He who has been given by...	I, M	<i>Numerous</i>	Πετε-, Πατε- (I, M)	---	πετε- ⁷⁰
Pa	The one of- (Pron.)	I, M	<i>Numerous</i>	Πα-/Φα- (I, M)	---	πα-, φα- (V: 157)

⁶⁵ Cf. TM Geo 10704.

⁶⁶ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 158: “forme atone du démonstratif πη”.

⁶⁷ Generally rendered as Πρεμ-, but as Προμ-/ Πρωμ- in the Antaiopolites (U10). Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I. “The Ancient Egyptian Dialects in Light of the Greek Transcriptions of Egyptian Anthroponyms”, forthcoming.

⁶⁸ This term appears in compounds. Cf.

⁶⁹ In 3 attestations in SB I 5370, Ro. 1 and Vo. 1; SB X 10391, 1. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 450.


⁷⁰ Cf. the name πετεμοϣτ in VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 165.

Pay	Island (Soknopaïou Nesos) (S) ⁷¹	F	7303, 35498	-παι-	-ις, -ιτος/ -ιος, -ίου	---
Pa-hy	<i>Meaning unknown</i>	I	10429	Παχι ⁷²	---	---
Pyʒws	Bald (A)	A	5245	Ποῦς	-οῦς, -οῦτος	---
Pyn	Mouse (S)	F	11170	-πιν-	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	πιν (S), φιν (B) (V: 160)
Pyt	Libyan (A)	A, F	686, 285	Φαγατ-, -παγαθ- (A, F)	-ης, -ου	παίετ (F), φαίατ (B) (V: 159)
Pp	Pepi (S)	F	7929	-πιφ(ι)- ⁷³	-ις, -ιος	--- ⁷⁴
Pn	This (pron.)	M	27205	-πονν-/ -πον- ⁷⁵	---	---
Plts	<i>Meaning unknown</i>	A	13160	Πέλντις ⁷⁶	-ις, -ιος	---
Pr (ʒ)	House (S)	M	13603	-πα-	---	φαρ-, -πωρ (S), -φωρ (B) (V: 162, 177)
Phṯ	Strength ⁷⁷ (S)	F	66	-παθ-	-ης, -ου	παστε (O) (V: 167)

⁷¹ Cf. TM Geo 2157.

⁷² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 406.

⁷³ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 309.

⁷⁴ Cf., however, VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 161, under the term **παιοι**, “little bird”: “Il se peut que le nom royal de  Pypy « Phioys » (MANÉTHON) serait donc inexacte, sciemment inventée pour ne pas donner le nom de « poussin » à des grands rois. Les noms désignant des oisillons sont souvent des onomatopées”.

⁷⁵ In the name Ἀκέποννις (< *Hk3-pn-īy*, “This Heka has come”).

⁷⁶ In the only Greek attestation in P. Cairo Preis. (2) 20, 16. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 474.

⁷⁷ This word is always preceded by ʒ, composing the epithet “great of strength”. Cf. Coptic **παστε** in VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 167.

Psmṯk	Psametichos (S)	A	952	Ψαμμητιχ-	-ος, -ου	--- ⁷⁸
Pṯh	Ptah (S)	M, F	1339, 570	-φθ(α)-	-ις, -ιος	πταλ (S, O) (V: 166)
Ftw	Four	I, M, F	8185, 23113, 13066	Φθου- (I, M, F)	-οῦς, -οῦτος	ϣτοουγ (S) (V: 281)
F	He (suffix pron.)	M, F	67, 56	-π-, -φ-	-ις, -ιος/-έως	-ϣ (V: 279)
M3y(.t/.w)	Lion (S)	A, F	4157, 275	-μουι-, -μοι- (singular), -μγευ- (plural)	-ις, -ιτος	μογι, μγε (V: 109)
M3y-ḥs	Fierce looking lion (S + A)	A, F	475, 274	Μιευσ-/Μιεύς, Μιυσ-/ Μιυς (A, F)	-εὔς, -εὔτος/ -ις, -ιος	---
M3^ˁ	True (A)	I, M	13193, 269	Μαιε- (I), -μα- (M)	---	μητ (SO), με (S) (V: 105-106)
M3^ˁ.t	Maat (S)	I, M	443, 14	Μα- (I, M)	---	με (S), μηι (B) (V: 105)
M-3ḥ.t	In the horizon	F	268	-μαχ-	-ις, -ιος	--- ⁷⁹
My	Who is in (<i>preposition</i>)	M	8775	-μα-	---	--- ⁸⁰
Mw	Water (S)	F	30295	-μου ⁸¹	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	μοουγ (V: 126-127)
Mw.t	Mut (S)	A, I, F	10653, 479, 1076	μουθ-, μουτ- (A, I, F)	-ης, -ου	μογτ ⁸² (V: 165)

⁷⁸ Cf., however, VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 133.

⁷⁹ Cf., however, VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 44.

⁸⁰ Cf., however MMO=, in *status pronominalis* (VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 112).

⁸¹ One attestation in transcription in the name Παπμου (P. Lond. IV 1474 descr.) (< Pa-p3-mw, “The one of the water”).

⁸² In the name πετεμογτ.

Mw.t	Death (S)	F	907	-μου-	-οῦς, -οῦτος	ΜΟΥ (V: 107)
M-P⁸³	In Pe	F	15335	-πα(ι)	-ις, -ιτος	---
Mm	Doum palm (S)	F	811, 12648	-(μ)αμ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Mn	Min (S)	A, M, F	4104, 7932, 865	Μιν- (A, F), -μ- (M)	-ις, -ιος	--- ⁸⁴
Mn	To be enduring (V)	I, F	476, 1130	Μον- (I) ⁸⁵ , -μην- (F) ⁸⁶	-ις, -ιος	ΜΟΥΝ (SB), ΜΗΝ (<i>qualitative</i>) (V: 114)
*Mn-3pd	Gooseherd (S)	F	13083	-μανωβερ	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ΜΑΝΕ (SA), ΜΑΝΙ (BF) ⁸⁷ ; ΨΙΜΑΝΩΒΕΤ (<i>< *P3-šr-n-mn-3pd</i> , “The son of the gooseherd”) (V: 115-116; 248-249)
Mnwṯ	Menut (S)	A	10593	Μενουθ- ⁸⁸	-ος, -ου	---
Mn-nfr	Memphis ⁸⁹	A, F	34880,	Μεμφ- ⁹¹ (A, F)	-ις, -ιος/	ΜΝΦΕ, ΜΕΝΦΙ

⁸³ Cf. *supra* the toponym *P*.

⁸⁴ Cf., however, the name ΜΗΝΔ in VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 114-115.

⁸⁵ In initial position it is a *sdm=f* grammatical form.

⁸⁶ In final position it is a qualitative.

⁸⁷ Cf. also VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 116: ΜΑΝΕ-2ΤΟ (Sahidic), ΜΑΝΕ-2ΘΟ (Bohairic): “« palefrenier » est litt. le « gardien » ou « berger » (ΜΑΝΕ-) du « cheval » (2ΤΟ S, 2ΘΟ B)”.

⁸⁸ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 592.

⁸⁹ Literally, “The beauty is enduring”. On this abbreviated term, cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 117.

⁹¹ With μ instead of ν due to the assimilation with the following φ.

	(<i>toponym</i>) ⁹⁰ (S)		22856, 16931		-ίς, ίδος	(V: 117)
Mn-n=s	To bring ashore (V)	F	719	-μενησ-, -μοννασ-	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i> / -ᾱς, -ατος	---
Mnh	Young (A)	F	712, 1254	-μεν(ω)-	-ως, -ωτος	---
Mnh	Excellent (A)	A, I, F	453, 13212, 925	-μεγχ-/μενχ- (A, I, F)	-ῆς, -έους	--- ⁹²
Mnt	Montu (S)	I, M, F	13216, 22868, 720	Μεντ-, Μοντ-/Μονθ- (I, M), -μωνθ- (F)	-ης, -ου	ΜΟΝΤ ⁹³ (V: 174-175)
Mr-ih	Supervisor of cattle (S)	F	798	-λαια-	-ας, -ου	λο (O), εζε (SB) (V: 93; 42, 50, 165)
Mry	Beloved (<i>participle</i>) (A)	M	18229	-μαι(ε)- ⁹⁴	---	ΜΔΙ- (V: 106-107)
Mr-wr	Mnevis (S)	A, F	22525, 15	-μνευ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος	---
Mrš(.t)	Red (A)	A, F	4149, 926	Μερσ- (A, F)	ις, -ιος	ΜΗΡΩ (SB) (V: 121)
M-ḥ3.t	In advance	F	457	-μη-	-ῆς, -ῆτος	<i>Preposition</i> + ze (SB) (V: 285, 314-315)
Mhy.t	Mehit (S)	F	956	-μου-	-οῦς, -οῦτος	---
M-ḥb	In feast	F	270	-μα(ι)-	-ις, -ιος	<i>Preposition</i> + zon (SB), zann (F)

⁹⁰ Cf. TM Geo 1344.

⁹² Cf., however, VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 116.

⁹³ In the toponym ϣΜΟΝΤ, ΕϣΜΟΝΤ.

⁹⁴ In the only Greek attestation in UPZ II 180 a, col. 34, 6: Πετεμαιένουρις (< *P3-di-mry-Īn-ḥr.t, “He who has been given by the beloved of Onuris”).

						(V: 307)
Mḥ=f ⁹⁵	Pillar of his mother (S)	F	258	-μηφ-	-ις, -ιος	--- ⁹⁶
M-Ḥb	In Chemmis	F	177, 251	-vχηβ-/ -χηβ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Mḥn	Hierakopolis (<i>toponym</i>) (S) ⁹⁷	F	17992	-μηχ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Ms	To be born (S)	I, M, F	467, 16890, 27	Μεσ- (I, M), -μασ-/ -μωσ- (F)	-ις, -ιος	μιε (S), μιι (B), μεс- (SB), μαс- (B), qualitative मोε (S), मोि (B) (V: 121)
Msy- 3.t	Great of births (goddess) (S + A)	A, F	10601, 10318	-μεσιω-	-ως, -ωτος	μεσιω (S), μεσιου (A) (V: 122)
Msn	Mesen (<i>toponym</i>) (S) ⁹⁸	F	260	-μσν-	-ις, -ιος	---
Msh(.t)	Crocodile (S)	A, F	35765, 803	Ἀμψαι-, -εμσαι-, -ομσαι- ⁹⁹	-ις, -ιος	мса2 (V: 123)
Msdr	Ear (S)	A, I, M, F	4052, 471, 1255, 6050	Μεσθα-/Μεστα- (I, M), -μσσθα- (F)	-α, -ας	μααε (S), μαω (B), μεχ= (F), μεωτ= (O) (V: 132)
Mty	Soldier (S)	A, F	10551, 33473	Ματοι- (A, F)	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ματοι (SB), μαται (F) (V: 125)

⁹⁵ Non-etymological writing of *iwn-mw.t=f*, “pillar of his mother”.

⁹⁶ Etymologically related to **αμαε**, “saisir, s’emparer” (VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 11).

⁹⁷ Cf. TM Geo 848.

⁹⁸ Cf. TM Geo 269.

⁹⁹ Various renderings and vocalisations, for which there is not a satisfactory explanation.

Mtn	Aphroditopolis ¹⁰⁰ (<i>toponym</i>) (S)	F	579	-μωτ-	-ης, -ου	---
Mtr	Sacrem emblem of Khnum (S)	M, F	5795, 7919	-μηθ-/-μητ-	-ις, -ιος	---
N₃	Plural article	I, M	<i>Numerous</i>	-νε-, -ν-, -νο-	---	Ν (S), ΝΕ (S), ΝΙ (B) (V: 133)
N₃	<i>Meaning unknown (in hypocoristics)</i>	F	725, 1267	-να-	-ᾱς, -ᾱτος	---
N₃y=f	<i>Possessive</i>	I	545	Νεφ- ¹⁰¹	---	Cf. ΝΑ- (V: 135)
N₃y=w- ḥmnw.īw	Ogdoad (S)	F	186	-ναχομνευ-	-εύς, -έως	-ΩΜΗΝ (masculine), ΩΜΗΝΕ (feminine) (V: 264)
Nīw.t	Town (S)	I	10699	Να- ¹⁰²	---	---
Nī.t	Neith (S)	I, F	549, 872	-νειθ-, -νητ-, -νιθ-, -νιτ-	-ιος, -ιος	---
N=y	To me	M	877	Rendered as -νι- in the anthroponym Πετενίσις (< <i>P₃- di-n=y-Īs.t</i> , “He who has been given to me by Isis”)	---	--- ¹⁰³
N^ʿšt	Strength	F	4407, 8781	-νασ-, -ννησ-, -νησ-	-ιος, -ιος	ΝΑΩΤΕ (V: 148-149)

¹⁰⁰ Cf. TM Geo 11266.

¹⁰¹ LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 626.

¹⁰² In the name Νάρμουθς (< **Nīw.t-Rnn.t*).

¹⁰³ Cf. however, the genitive *n* in VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 134.

Nw₃.t	Tentyris (<i>toponym</i>) ¹⁰⁴ (S)	F	12396	-vov-	-oũς, -oũτος	--- ¹⁰⁵
Nwn	Nun (S)	F	13918	-voun-	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	ΝΟΥΝ (V: 143)
Nb(.t)	Lord (S)	I, M	498, 24111	Mostly rendered as -veβ-, -voβ-. When it is followed by the suffix pronoun, it can be rendered as -νηφ-	---	ΝΗΒ (BO) (V: 138)
Nb.t-ḥw.t	Nephthys (S)	F	871	-veβθω-	-ως, -ωτος	ΝΕΒΘΩ (O) (V: 140)
Nfr	Beautiful, good, perfect (A)	A, I, M, F	7204, 541, 934, 280, 560	Mostly rendered as Νεφερ- and Νουφ- in absolute position, as Νεφερ- at the beginning, as - νεφερ-, -νεφρ-, -φερ- and -φορ- in middle position and as -vovφ- at the end. The fact that the variant -vovφρ- mainly occurs in the renderings of <i>Wn-nfr</i> (> Ὠνωφρις) leads to think that - vovφ- and -vovφρ- are different forms: - vovφ- probably the adjective “good” and -vovφρ- the qualitative of the verb “to be good” ¹⁰⁶	-ιος, -ιως	ΝΟΥΦΕ (S), ΝΟΥΦΙ (B), ΝΟΥΦΕ (S), ΝΟΥΦΙ (B) (V: 150)

¹⁰⁴ Cf. TM Geo 2312.

¹⁰⁵ The Coptic name of this town is ΤΕΝΤΩΡΙ (and other variants).

¹⁰⁶ Cf., however, ALLEN, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Language. An Historical Study*, p. 40: “Egyptian *r* is normally retained as *r/l in Common Coptic only where it was originally at the beginning of a syllable, and has otherwise become *ʔ or *y: thus, *nfrt* *náfrat > ALM ΝΑΦΡΕ, B ΝΟΥΦΙ, F ΝΑΦΛΙ, S ΝΟΥΦΕ “good” vs. *nfr* *náfir > ALS ΝΟΥΦΕ, BF ΝΟΥΦΙ “good” (...). This change is visible already in Old Egyptian, and it continues throughout the history of the language. Only two explanations are possible for this

Nfr-tm	Nefertum (S)	F	876	-νοφθιμ-, -νεφθειμ-, -νεφθιμ- ¹⁰⁷	-ιος, -ιος	---
Ns	Belonging to	I, M	194, 18099	Ἔσ-, Z- or Σ- (I, M)	---	---
Nsw	King (S)	M	864	-σ-, -σε-, -σο-	---	---
Nh.t	Sycamore (S)	F	10449, 11344	-vouei-	-(ε)ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	ΝΟΥΞΕ (S), ΝΟΥΞΙ (B) (V: 151)
Nhy	Protector (S)	F	1131	-vouχ-	-ιος, -ιος	---
Nhm	To save (V)	I	489	Ναομ-	---	ΝΟΥΞΜ (S), ΝΟΥΞΕΜ (B), qualitative ΝΑΞΜ (S) (V: 152)
Nhs	Ethiopian (A)	A, F	10701, 930	-νασ-/νας	-ᾱς, -ᾱτος/ -ιος, -ιος	--- ¹⁰⁸
Nht	To be strong (V)	A (?), I, M, F	<i>Numerous</i>	Νεχθ- (I, M), -ναχθ- (F)	-ιος, -ιος	ΝΟΥΩΤ, <i>qualitative</i> ΝΑΩΤ (V: 148)
Nk3.w	Necho	A	15232	Νεχω-	-ως, -ωτος	---
Nty-m	Who is in (<i>relative and preposition</i>)	M	17932	-τεν- ¹⁰⁹	---	ΕΤ-, ΕΤΕ- (V: 47)
Ntr	God (S)	F	749, 974	-vouθ- (singular), -vθηρ- (plural)	-ιος, -ίου/ -ιος, -ιος	Singular ΝΟΥΤΕ (S); ΝΟΥΤ (B) Plural ΕΝΤΗΡ (S) (V: 44, 145-146)

consistency: either *r* had the single primary realization *[r] in all stages of Egyptian, or its alternant realization as *[l] was subject to the same phonological change. The parallel between F ΝΑΦΛΙ/ΝΟΥΦΕ (<náflat/náfil) and AL ΝΑΦΡΕ/ΝΟΥΦΕ (<náfrat/náfir) argues for the latter”.

¹⁰⁷ Several renderings attested, but none with a lot of attestations.

¹⁰⁸ Cf., however, the name ΦΙΝΕΕC in VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 244.

¹⁰⁹ In the name Πετετένσητις (SB V 7592, 3) (< *P3-di-nty-m-Stt*, “He who has been given by the one who is in Setis”).

Nd-īṯ=f	Who protects his father	F	261	-νδωτ-/-ντωτ-	-ης, -ου	--- ¹¹⁰
R3-mḥt	Nothern gate	F	10415	-ρεμιθ-	-ης, -ου	ρo + m2it (V: 171, 130)
Ry.t	Cell (S)	F	755	-ρι-	-ις, -ιος/ -ις, -ιτος	ρι (S, B) (V: 171)
R^c	Ra	M, F	3961, 553	-ρ- or -ρε- (M), -ρη- (F)	-ῆς, -ῆτος	ρη (SBO), ρε (FO) (V: 170)
Rwš	To take care (V)	M, F	30720, 38	-ρως-	-ις, -ιος	ρooyw (S), ρooyw (B) (V: 179)
Rp3.t	Fresh (A)	F	6218	-ρπω-	-ως, -ωτος	---
Rpy	Temple (S)	F	22793, 5037	-ρπη-, -ρφη-	-ις, -ιτος	ρηε (S), ερφει (B) (V: 176)
Rpy.t	Triphis (S)	F	1221	-ριφ-	-ις, -ιος	-ριπε (V: 221)
Rmt(.t)	Man/Woman (S)	M, F	10429, 26072	-ρε- (M), -ρωμε (F)	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ρωμε (S), ρωμι (B) (V: 172)
Rn	Name (S)	M	17	-ριμ- ¹¹¹	---	ραν (SB), ρεν (A), ριν= (S), ρεν= (B) (V: 176)
Rnn.t	Thermuthis (S)	A, F	21717, 884	Ἑρμουθ- (A), -ρμουθ- (F)	-ις, -ιος	-ρμουτε (S), -ρμουθι (S) (V: 163)
Rnp.t	Year/ Rejuvenation (S)	I, F	1016, 178	Ῥεμπ- (I), -ρεμφ- (F)	-ις, -εως	ρομπε (S), ρομπι (B), ρμπ- (V: 175)
R.r=w	Against them	F	756, 524	-ραυ-, -ρω-	-ως, -ωτος/ -αυς, -αυτος	ερο= (V: 37)

¹¹⁰ Cf., however, VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 68.

¹¹¹ With assimilated μ before f.

Rlw	Lion (S)	F	240	-λολου-, -λιλου-	-οῦς, -οὔτος	---
Rhw/lhw	Unknown	F	704	-λευ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Rhs	Unknown	A	13313	Λαυσ-/Λαυς	-ις, -ιος	---
Rh-s	To be wise	F	167, 13816	-ορχῆς	-ῆς, -ῆτος	ρωαε (S), ρωαι (B) (V: 179)
Rs	To watch over	F	1399	-ροις-/ρωις-	-ις, -ιος	ροεις (S), ρωις (B) (V: 172)
Rsy	Southern (A)	F	17990, 10630	-ρης-/ρης	-ῆς, -ήους/ -ις, -ιος	ρης (V: 178)
Rs(.t)¹¹²	Awakening ¹¹³	F	18397	-ρσω-	-ως, -ωτος	ρσω (V: 177)
Rše	Delight (S)	A, F	27501, 25988, 8215	as -ρασι-, -ρασε-, -ραωε (A, F)	-ις, -ιτος/ <i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ραωε (V: 179)
Rt	Harpokrates (abbreviated, in hypocoristics)	F	752, 12419	-ρατ- or -ραθ-	-ης, -ου	---
Rt	Agent ¹¹⁴	F	8216	-ρητ, -ρητ	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ρητ (V: 179 ¹¹⁵)
Lyn	Smith (S)	A, F	10146, 5972	Ληειν (A), -λην- (F)	-ις, -ιος	---
Lw3	Unknown ¹¹⁶	F	613	-λου-, -λογ	-οῦς, -οὔτος	---
LI	Swine (S)	F	703	-λαυλαυ-	-αυς, -αυτος	ριρ (SB), ρααρ (S) (V: 177)

¹¹² On this term in the name *Tzy=f-rs(.t), cf. WEGNER, W., “Eine demotische Abrechnung und ein demotischer Brief aus Tebtynis (P. Hamburg D 45 und 46)”, p. 170.

¹¹³ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter R, p. 62-63.

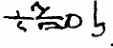
¹¹⁴ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 198.

¹¹⁵ Cf. VYICHL, W., who translates the term as “administrateur, mandataire, représentant, agent fiduciare”.

¹¹⁶ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter R, p. 76-77.

Llw	Young man/woman (S)	A, F	429, 1428	-λολου- (A), -λελου- (F)	-οῦς, -οὔτος	λελογ (S), λιλογ (A) (V: 97-98)
Lmnt	<i>Unknown</i> ¹¹⁷	A	425	Λαμενθ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Hb(w)	Ibis (S)	A, F	21978, 904	Ἰβ-/Ἰβοι- (A), -(φ)ιβ- (F)	-ις, -ιος	ιβωι (S), ιιπ (B) (V: 289)
Hry	To be satisfied (V)	I, M	331, 10299	-εριε-, -εργε- (I, M)	---	ρρε (S), ρερι (B) (V: 310)
Hqr	<i>Unknown</i> ¹¹⁸	F	13872	-αγορ-	-εις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
Hkr(t)	Arabian (A)	A, F	218, 3165	Ἀκωρ-, Ἀκιαρ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	---
H3.t	Heart, the best one (?) (especially in shortened forms)	F	683, 1236	-η-	-ῆς, -ῆτος	3H (V: 285)
H3.t-h3.t	<i>Unknown</i> ¹¹⁹	A	214	Ἀει-, Ἀη-	-εις, -ειτος/ -ῆς, -ῆτος/-έους	---
Hy	<i>Unknown (in hypocoristics)</i>	F	698, 1249	-ι-, -ει-	-ις, -ιτος	---
H'py	Hapi (S)	A (?), F	23817 (?), 1133	-ωπ(ι)- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος	--- ¹²⁰
Hw3	<i>Unknown</i> ¹²¹	F	10337	-εϋ-	-εύς, -εὔτος/ -ις, -ιος	---
Hwn	Youth (S)	A	354	Ὀν-	-ῆς, -ῆτος/-έους/-ήους	---
Hwt	Male (A)	F	7928	-(φ)αυ-	-αυς, -αυτος	3OYT (S), 3WOYT (B)

¹¹⁷ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 725. This name could have Libyan. Cf. RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 204.11.

¹¹⁸ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1201: .

¹¹⁹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 776.

¹²⁰ Cf., however, *ειεπο*, “river”, in VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 67.

¹²¹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 270.

						(V: 319)
Ḥw.t-Ḥr	Hathor (S)	A, I, F	16562, 315, 1363	ⲗⲟⲏⲣ- (A), Ⲁⲑⲉⲣ- (I), -ⲁⲑⲱⲣ- (F)	-ⲓϥ, -ⲓⲟϥ	ⲛⲗⲟⲱⲣ, ⲗⲟⲱⲣ, ⲗⲟⲱⲣ (V: 291)
Ḥb₃	<i>Unknown</i> ¹²²	A	8323	Ⲁⲃⲱ-	-ⲱϥ, -ⲱⲧⲟϥ	---
Ḥby.t	Salle de fête	F	773	-(ⲑ)ⲏⲃ(ⲓ/ⲉⲓ)-	-ⲓϥ, -ⲓⲟϥ	ⲛⲃⲱ (V: 288)
Ḥp	Apis (S)	A, I, M, F	2108, 905, 892, 1312	-ⲁⲡ- (A, I, M, F)	-ⲓϥ, -ⲓⲟϥ	ⲛⲗⲡⲉ (S), ⲛⲗⲡⲓ (B) (V: 306)
Ḥf(.t)	Serpent (S)	F	908 (m.), 10319 (f.)	(Φ)ⲁⲡ-, (Φ)ⲱⲡ- (masculine <i>ḥf</i>), -ⲡⲱ (feminine <i>ḥf.t</i>)	-ⲓϥ, -ⲓⲟϥ/ -ⲟϥ, -ⲟϥⲧⲟϥ	ⲛⲟⲡ, ⲛⲟⲱⲱⲓ (SB) (masculine), ⲛⲟⲱ (SB) (feminine) (V: 319)
Ḥmwl	Armful (A)	A	324	Ⲙⲁⲏⲗ-	-ⲓϥ, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
Ḥm-ntr	Prophet priest (S)	M, F	26385, 609	(Φ)ⲉⲙⲛ- (M), (Φ)ⲁⲛⲧ (F)	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ⲛⲟⲛⲧ (SB) (V: 306)
Ḥn₃	<i>Unknown</i> ¹²³	A	219	Ⲁⲛⲱ- ¹²⁴	-ⲱϥ, -ⲱⲧⲟϥ	---
Ḥn=w	To trust ¹²⁵	F	1274	-(ⲁ)ⲛⲉⲱ-	-ⲉϥ, -ⲉϥⲧⲟϥ	ⲛⲛⲉ- (S), ⲉⲛⲛⲉ- (SB), ⲛⲛⲗ= (S) (V: 303)
Ḥnb	Heneb (S)	A, I, F	2934, 9250,	Ⲉⲙⲃⲏⲛ, Ⲁⲙⲃⲏⲛ (A, I, F) ¹²⁶	-ⲏⲛ, -ⲉⲟⲛϥ	---

¹²² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), DN, p. 779.

¹²³ Cf. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), DN, p. 854.

¹²⁴ In one Greek transcription in the bilingual text P. Hawara 2, Gr. 2: Ἀνωτοϥ.

¹²⁵ Cf. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), DN, p. 1204.

¹²⁶ With assimilation of *n* before *b*.

			514			
Ḥr	Horos (S)	A, I, M, F	<i>Numerous</i>	ᾠρ- (A), Ἀρ- (I, M), -υρ- (F)	-ις, -ιος/ -ος, -ου	ἡρ, ἡρ-, ἡρ- (V: 307-308)
Ḥr	Face (S)	I, F	309, 932	Ἄ- (I), -ω- (F)	-ως, -ωτος	ἡο (SB), ἡα (F) (V: 286)
Ḥsy(.t)	Blessed, saint (A)	A, F	337, 899	-ασι-/εσι- (A, F) ¹²⁷	-ῆς, -ήους	ἡσιε (S), ἡσιε (B) (V: 313-314)
Ḥk3	Heka (S)	A, I, F	1860, 217, 7946	Ἄκη- (A, F), Ἄκε- (B)	ῆς, -ήους	ἡκ (SB), ἡκο (S) (V: 294)
Ḥtp	To be pleased (S)	I, M, F	346, 27231, 36	Ἄτπε-/Ἐτπε- (I, M), -ωθ-/ωτ- (F)	-ης, -ου	ἡτπ, qualitative ἡτπ (V: 316)
Ḥtr	Twin (S)	A, I, M, F	317, 16712, 17762, 11001	-ατρ-, -αθρ- (A, I, M, F)	-ῆς, -ήους	ἡτρε (S), ἡρε (B) (V: 316)
Ḥtr	Horse (S)	F	33192	ἡτο ¹²⁸	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ἡτο (S), ἡθο (B) (V: 315)
Ḥd3	<i>Unknown</i> ¹²⁹	F	13616	(Θ)ἡθα- ¹³⁰	-ᾱς, -ᾱτος	---
Ḥ3	To leave (V) ¹³¹	M	923, 13924	-κα-	---	ἡε (V: 284)

¹²⁷ The vocalisation α/ε is dialectal.

¹²⁸ An only Greek attestation in CPR IX 45, 12.

¹²⁹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1080, where no translation is given. The term does not seem related to Egyptian *ḥd*, “white, bright”, although the Greek rendering could fit with Coptic ἡτ, ἡτε. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 314.

¹³⁰ Cf. P. Ryl. Gr. II 219, 15: Θἡθᾱτος.

¹³¹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1238.

Hy	Khonsu (<i>hypocoristic</i>)	F	643	-χωι-	-οις, -οιτος	---
Hy	High (A)	F	32667, 10263	-χυι-	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	ϣωι (SB) (V: 259)
Hy-bi3.t	<i>Unknown</i> ¹³²	A, F	128, 26744	Χιβω-	-ως, -ωτος	---
H'y	To appear (V)	I	110	Χαι-, Χαιε-	---	ϣα (S), ϣαι (B) (V: 253)
Hwy	Offering table (S)	F	766	-χευ(ε)ι-	-ις, -ιος	ϣηγε (S), ϣηογι (B) (V: 274)
Hbr	Comrade	F	13618	-χβερ-	-ις, -ιος	ϣβηρ (V: 257)
Hps̃	Sword (S)	A (?), F	17844 (?), 255	-χυψ-	-ις, -ιος	ϣωπω (V: 269)
Hm	Young (A)	A, F	12900, 287	-χημ- (A) -χημ-, -(ψ)ημ- ¹³³ (F)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	ϣημ (V: 262)
Hmnw	Hermopolis (<i>toponym</i>) ¹³⁴ (S)	F	10430, 39459	-χμουσν-	-ις, -εως	ϣμουγν (V: 264)
Hmt	Three	I, M	121, 8228	-χεμ-, -χεμτ- (I, M)	---	ϣομντ (S), ϣομτ (B) (V: 264)
Hn-Mn	Panopolis (S)	F	28252	-χονμιν-	-ις, -ιος	ϣμιν (V: 264)
Hnsw	Khonsu (S)	A, I, M, F	19495, 125, 23795, 844	Χωνσ- (A), Χενσ-/Χεσ- (I, M), -χωνσ-/χων- (F)	-ῶν, -ῶντος/ -ις, -ιος	---
Hrw	Voice	F	269	-χορ-	-ος, -ου	ρροϣ

¹³² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), DN, p. 1081; RANKE H., PN I, p. 366.18-20: "Die Hochgemute".

¹³³ When the masculine definite article precedes, $p3 + h > \psi$.

¹³⁴ Cf. TM Geo 816.

						(V: 311)
Ḫt(.w)	Chet demon (S)	F	795, 13049	-χυτ-, -χοιτ- (singular), -χατ-, χωτ- (plural)	-ης, -ου	---
Ḫnm	Khnum (S)	A, I, M, F	129, 141, 10432, 30144	Χνουβ-, Χνουμ- (A, F), Χονο-, Χονομ- (I), -χνεμ- (M), -χνουβ-, -χνουμ- (F)	-ις, -εως	(Φ)ΝΟΥΜ (V: 244)
Ḫnm	Well (S)	F	768	-χομβ-	-ις, -ιος	ΖΟΝΒΕ (V: 305)
Ḫl (‘3)	Monk (S)	I, M	320, 27372	ελλ-, Ζελλ- (I, M)	---	ΖΑΛΟ (S) (V: 297)
Ḫlp3.t	Navel	F	13894	-χολπε	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ΖΑΠΕ (V: 298)
Ḫr	Under, with (preposition) ¹³⁵	M	790	-χορ-	---	ΖΑ, ΖΡ- (V: 282, 284)
Ḫr	Phoenician (A)	F	789	-χιρ-, -χοιρ-	-ος, -ου/ -ις, -ιος	---
Ḫrd(.w)	Child (S)	A, F	2640, 117	-χρατ- (A, F)	-ης, -ου	ḪΡΟ† (B), ΖΑΔ† (F), ḪΡΩΤ (O) (V: 283)
S	She (suffix pron.)	M, F	302, 57	-σ-	-ις, -ιος	-C (V: 180-181)
S	He/She (dependant pron.)	M, F	489, 13924	-σ-, -ς	-ᾱς, -ᾱτος	C (V: 180)
S-n-ḫm3	Seller of salt (S)	F	12966, 10322	(Ψ)ανμου-	-οῦς, -οῦτος	CΔ, ΖΜΟΥ (V: 181, 299)
S3	Son (S)	I, M	1119, 298	-σι- (I, M)	---	CΙ- (V: 182)
Sy	Osiris (shortened form)	F	760, 1306	-σι-	-ις, -ιτος	---

¹³⁵ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 210-211.

Sy	To be satisfied	I	1114	Σιε-	---	---
Syf	Child (S)	F	1000	(Ψ)υφ-, (Ψ)οιφ- ¹³⁶	-ις, -ιος/-εως	---
Sw	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹³⁷	F	8244	-ση(ο)υ- ¹³⁸	-εις, -ειτος	---
Swnw	Doctor (S)	F	27183	(Ψ)εινε, (Ψ)εινε ¹³⁹	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ϣαειν (S), χινι (B) (V: 185)
Swn.t	Sixth day festival (S)	F	10437	Rendered as -σην-	-ις, -εως	---
Sbk	Sobek (S)	A, I, M, F	1122, 1130, 6098, 1308	-σουχ- (A, F), Σοκ-, -σοκ- (I, M)	-ος, -ου/ -ις, -ιος	--- ¹⁴⁰
Spd	Sopdu/Sothis (S)	A, F	20290, 1300	Σοθ- (A), -σαφθ- (F)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	-ϣοτε, -ψατε, -ϣα† (V: 221)
Sbt	Wall (S)	F	750, 12472	-σαπτ-, -σαφθ-, -(ψ)ωβθ- ¹⁴¹	-ις, -ιος	ϣοβτ (S, B), ϣαβτ (A) (V: 185)
Sbt(.t)	Hill (S)	M, F	24502, 23522	-σεβθ- (M), -σεβθ-, -σιβτ- (F) ¹⁴²	-ις, -ιος	ϣιβτ (S) (V: 184)
Sm3-t3.wy	Uniter of both lands (S)	A, I, F	1044, 5708,	Σεμθευ-, Σενθευ- (A, F), Σεμθο- (I)	-εύς, -έως/ -οῦς, -οῦτος	ϣωμ (C: 334)

¹³⁶ The *s* is contracted as ψ after the masculine definite article: $p3 + s > \psi$.

¹³⁷ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 215: *P3-sw* ⲉⲓⲡⲥ, where no translation is given.

¹³⁸ The *s* is contracted as ψ after the masculine definite article: $p3 + s > \psi$.

¹³⁹ Cf. the bilingual document *Short Texts* II 804, A 5. Cf. previous note.

¹⁴⁰ Cf., however, the term ϣογκη, “Mercury”, in VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 200.

¹⁴¹ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 185: ϣοβτ (Sahidic, Bohairic); ϣαβτ (Lycopolitan): “mur, muraille, rempart”. The *s* is contracted as ψ after the masculine definite article: $p3 + s > \psi$.

¹⁴² Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 184: ϣιβτ, “colline”.

			301			
Smn	To establish	I	13466	Σμαν-, Σβαν- ¹⁴³	---	CMINE (S), CMN- (S), CMNT= (S) (V: 189)
Sn(.t/.w)	Brother/Sister (S)	I, M, F	1029, 12096, 12962	Mostly rendered as Σαν-/Σον- in all the positions, reflecting the diagloss <i>a/o</i> . In plural, it mainly appears as -σναυ-, -σνευ-, -σνω-, also with dialectal differences. The feminine <i>sn.t</i> , “sister”, appears as -σων- at the end (cf. TM Nam 12673) and as -σονε-, -σενε- in middle position (cf. TM Nam 1446, 17908)	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	CON (SB), CΔN (AFO)/ CΩNE (SAF), CΩNI (BF) (V: 190)
Snw	Two	F	953	-σναυ-, -σνευ-, -σνω- ¹⁴⁴	-ως, -ωτος/ -εύς, -εὔτος/ -αυς, -αυτος	CNΔY (SB), CNEY (AF), CNΩ (abnormal S) (V: 192-193)
Snw	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁴⁵	F	1181	-σνου-	-οῦς, -οὔτος	---
S-n-Wsr.t	Sesostris ¹⁴⁶ (S)	A	1098	Σεσοωσ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Sr	Official ¹⁴⁷ (S)	I	1117	Σιρ-	---	CIOYP (V: 185-186)

¹⁴³ Cf. the bilingual document *Short Texts* II 343, 4. Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 927.

¹⁴⁴ The different vocalizations are dialectal.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1085.

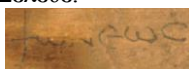
¹⁴⁶ Literally, “The man of the powerful one (f.)”.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 932.

Slw	<i>Meaning unknown</i>	A	12000	Σελευε ¹⁴⁸	<i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	---
Shy	Powerful (S)	F	7947	-σιχ(ι)-	-ις, -ιος	ϣιϣι (V: 275)
Shn	Official (S)	F	8249	Rendered as (Ψ)ων-, with the <i>s</i> contracted as <i>ψ</i> after the masculine definite article ¹⁴⁹	-ις, -εως	--- ¹⁵⁰
Shm	Letopolis (S)	F	8273	-σχιν-	-ις, -ιος	-ϣημ ¹⁵¹ (V: 33)
S.t	Place (S)	M, F	780, 20828	-σε- (M), -σ(η)- (F)	-ῆς, <i>genitive unknown</i>	σε- (V: 182)
stw/stʒ.t=w	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁵²	F	816	-σταν-	-αυς, -αυτος	---
Sty	Satis (S)	F	6106	-στ(ι)- ¹⁵³	-ις, -ιτος	---
Sth	Seth	A, F	18981, 25959	-σηθ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος	cht (V: 198)
Stʒ=w-tʒ-wty	May they avert the calamity ¹⁵⁴	A, F	1147, 21892	Στοτοητι- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	τστο (S), ογειτε, ογειτε (S) (V: 222, 238)
Stt	Setis	F	17932,	-σητ-	-ις, -ιος	---

¹⁴⁸ O. Bodl. II 1762, 15: Σελευε; O. Theb. Gr. 136, 5: Σελευε.

¹⁴⁹ In the bilingual text *Short Texts* II 467, 1: Φώνεως



¹⁵⁰ Related however to the verb *caʒne* (Sahidic), *caʒni* (Bohairic), which, according to VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 206, means “procurer, administrer (...), ordonner, équiper”. *Shn* is a causative of *hn*.

¹⁵¹ In the name *boʒhēm* (VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 33).

¹⁵² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 155, who does not offer any translation. Cf. also the verb *stʒ*, “to pull, drag”, in JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter S, p. 489-495.

¹⁵³ Cf. P. Count. 19 [Greek], 32.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter W, p. 197-198: *Wty(.t)*: “destruction”.

	(<i>toponym</i>) ¹⁵⁵		11263			
S_dm	To listen	F	303	-συθ-, -συτ-, -συθμ-, -συτμ-	-ις, -εως	ϸωτμ (V: 199)
S_d.t	Fire, light (S)	F	5042	-σατε, ϸατε, ωατε ¹⁵⁶	-ις, -ιος	ϸατε (S), ϸα† (B) (V: 197)
Š₃y	Shai (S)	A, I (?), M (?), F	7561, 13498 (?), 17899 (?), 757	Mostly rendered as -σοι-, -σαι-, -(ψ)οι-, -(ψ)αι- (with contraction of the masculine definite article and š) in all the positions, with reflection of the diagloss <i>a/o</i> ¹⁵⁷	-ις, -ιτος	ωαι, ωοι (cf. TM Nam 7561) (V: 258)
Š₃´-hpr.t	The one who came into being first ¹⁵⁸	A	1027	Σαχηρη-	-ις, -ιος	ωα- (S), ωοηε (S) (V: 253, 268)
Š´y	Sand (S)	F	6150	-(ψ)ω- ¹⁵⁹	-ως, -ωτος	ωω (SB), ωογογ (A) (V: 255)
Š´-rt.wy.t=f	Meaning unknown ¹⁶⁰	A	13499	Σαραρεχθ- ¹⁶¹	-ος, -ου	---
Šw	Shu (S)	M, F	200, 764	-(σ)- (M), -σω- (F)	-ως, -ωτος	---

¹⁵⁵ Cf. TM Geo 2105.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 197: ϸατε (Sahidic), ϸα† (Bohairic): “feu, flamme”. Cf. also QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 195.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 177-275.


¹⁵⁸ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 963; RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 367.10: “Die zuerst Entstandene”. Cf. also JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Š, p. 30-31. On this divine epithet, cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l’onomastique*, p. 73-75.

¹⁵⁹ The š is contracted as ψ after the masculine definite article: *p3* + *s* > ψ.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 962, who does not give a translation.

¹⁶¹ Cf. the bilingual document *Short Texts II* 720, Ro. 1.

Šbytyt	Meaning uncertain ¹⁶²	A	5687	Σεβτιτ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Šp-n-	Gift of ... (S)	I	1144	Σπεμ- ¹⁶³ , Σπεν-, Σπενν-, Σπον-, Σπονν-	---	Ϡαπ (V: 267-268)
Špšy	Noble (A)	A, F	13628, 10324	-σεψ(ι)-, -σαιψ(ι)- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος	δαπει (O) (V: 268)
Šm ^ε	Meaning unknown ¹⁶⁴	I	1042	Σαμα-, Σεμε-	---	Ϡωωμε (S), Ϡομ (B) (V: 262)
Ššnt.t	Meaning uncertain ¹⁶⁵	F	13629	-σαντε ¹⁶⁶	No Greek morphological ending	---
Šsm.t.t	Smithis	A	20675	Σμιθ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Ššnq	Sesonchis	A	1097	Σεσογγ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Št ₃	Mysterious	F	4433	-(ψ)ηθ-	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	-Ϡωτ ¹⁶⁷ (V: 310, 271)
Št ¹⁶⁸	District	F	39	-σθω-	-ως, -ωτος	---
Qy-šw.ty	High of feathers ¹⁶⁹	F	160	-κασωθη- ¹⁷⁰	-ης, <i>genitive unknown</i>	κοογ (C: 130);

¹⁶² Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Š, p. 78-79. Cf. also LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 963: , who does not give a translation.

¹⁶³ With assimilated μ.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 96.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Š, p. 217.

¹⁶⁶ Only one Greek transcription in UPZ II 180 a, col. 11, 12: Τσαντε.

¹⁶⁷ In the name ϠρηϠωτ, “Horos the mysterious”.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Š, p. 230: “piece of land”.

¹⁶⁹ Epithet of Min. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Q, p. 3-5; Letter Š, p. 18.

¹⁷⁰ Only one Greek transcription.

Qbh-hꜣt=s	Her heart is cool ¹⁷¹	A	13507	Κοβαετησ-	-ις, -ιος	ΚΒΞΩ= (V: 73)
Qn	To embrace (V)	M, F	266, 8768	-κονν- (M), -κιν- (F)	-ις, -ιος	ΚΟΥΝ= (SB), ΚΟΟΝ=, ΚΟΝ= (A), ΚΟΝ=, ΚΟΝΝ= (S) (V: 82)
Qrbn	Axe (S) ¹⁷²	A	410	Κελεβιν-	-ις, -ιος	ΚΕΛΕΒΙΝ (V: 76)
Qlwd	Kollouthos (S)	A, F	415, 22908	Κολλαυθ-	-ις, -ιος	ΚΟΛΛΟΥΘΟΣ, ΚΟΛΛΟΥΘ ¹⁷³ (V: 78)
Qlnd	Kolanthes (S)	A, F	19307, 19354	Κολανθ- (A, F)	-ᾱς, -ᾱτος	ΚΟΛΑΝΘ (V: 79)
Qll	Pitcher (S) ¹⁷⁴	A	114	Χαλιλ- ¹⁷⁵	-ῆς, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
K3	<i>Ka</i> (S)	M	476	-κο-	---	---
K3(.w)	Bull (S)	I, F	2637, 916	Κο-, Χο- (I), -κω-, -χω- (F)	-ως, -ωτος	ΚΟ (V: 71)
K3p=f-h3	He hides behind	I	7892	Χαβον-, Χαπον-	---	κωπ (S), χωπ (B) (V: 84)
K3-mw.t=f	Bull of his mother	A, F	393, 13041	Καμητ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος	--- ¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Q, p. 22-23. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 976.

¹⁷² Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Q, p. 59: “axe, pickaxe”. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 992.

¹⁷³ This name could etymologically be related to the term ΚΕΛΛΟΧ, “little dog”. Cf. VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 78.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter Q, p. 77; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 995, who does not give any translation.

¹⁷⁵ In P. Lille Dem. II 71, Vo. 2.

¹⁷⁶ Cf., however, VYCICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 126.

K3-ḥr-k3	<i>Meaning unknown</i>	A	139	Χοιαχ ¹⁷⁷	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
Kp	Bird Catcher (S) ¹⁷⁸	F	10360	-χωιφ- ¹⁷⁹	-ις, -ιος	---
Knḥy	Chapel (S)	F	1127, 23482	-κον-, -κην-	-ις, -εως	κν2ε (S), κε2νι (B) (V: 84)
Kd3	<i>Meaning unknown</i>	F	10362	-κηθ- ¹⁸⁰	-ιος, -ίου	---
G'y	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁸¹	A	388	Καη-	-ῆς, -ῆτος	---
Gyl	Stranger (A) ¹⁸²	A, F	608, 18202	-κουλ-, -κυλ-, -κωλ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος	σωλ, with the root of the verb σοειλε (S) (V: 336-337)
Gwy(.t)	Little (A)	A (?), I, M, F	18710, 31336, 27701, 11048	-κουι- (A, I, M, F), Καν- (I) ¹⁸³	-ις, -ιτος	κογι (V: 73)

¹⁷⁷ Presumably one Greek transcription in P. Cairo Zen. II 59294 + P. Cairo Zen. IV, Vo. 22: Χοίαχις



¹⁷⁸ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 278; RANKE, H., *PN I*, p. 120.5: “Der Vogelfänger”.

¹⁷⁹ Only one Greek transcription in P. Petrie III 29 e, 4: Φχώιφιo[ς]. Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 278.

¹⁸⁰ Only one Greek rendering in the bilingual text T. BM Arlt 38, B 1, as equivalent to the Demotic name *P3-qd3* (A 3).

¹⁸¹ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1018, where no translation is given.

¹⁸² Cf. JOHNSON, J. A. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter G, p. 8.

¹⁸³ It appears as Καν- in initial position in some examples from the Fayum dating from the Roman period (cf. TM Nam 16967). On κα + ν as a feature of Fayumic, cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 73.

Gbr	Left-handed (S)	A, F	9709, 17910	Καβιρ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος	ἑβοῦρ (S), ἑβιρ (A) (V: 336)
Gbk	Geb (S)	F	700	-κηβκ-, -κοιβ- ¹⁸⁴	-ις, -ιος	---
Gm	<i>Kem</i> bull (S)	A, F	3564, 701	-καμ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος/-εως	ḡam ¹⁸⁵ (V: 340)
Gm	To find ¹⁸⁶	I	417	Κομ(ο)-	---	ḡine (S), ḡn- (S), ḡnt= (S) (V: 342)
Gmwl(.t)	Camel (S)	A, F	7031, 27428	-καμουλ-, -κιαμουλ-	-ις, -ιος/ <i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	ḡamouλ (S), xamouλ (B) (V: 341)
Gr n p.t	Dove ¹⁸⁷ (S)	A, F	25516 + 27489, 12488	-κραμπε, -κρομπ- (A, F)	-ία, -ίας	ḡroompe (B), xrampi (abnormal F), ḡrampeṯ (A) (V: 346)
Grr/Krr	Frog (S)	A, F	207, 796	-κρουρ- (A, F) ¹⁸⁸	-ις, -ιος	κρουρ (V: 86)
Gl	To betake	I, M	399, 1426	Καλ-, Κελε- (I, M) ¹⁸⁹	---	ḡoeie (S), ḡale- (S), ḡalw= (S) (V: 336-337)
Gl̥	Lame (A)	A, F	391, 4393	-καλ(η)- (A, F)	-ῆς, -ῆτος/-έους	ḡale (V: 337)

¹⁸⁴ Mostly rendered as -κηβκ- in the Fayum and as -κοιβ- in Upper Egypt.

¹⁸⁵ This word is possibly related to κame, “black” (cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 81).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1024.

¹⁸⁷ Literally, “Bird from the sky”.

¹⁸⁸ Term with onomatopoeic origin. Cf. DE VARTAVAN, C., *Vocalized Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian*, p. 28.

¹⁸⁹ With alternation of *a/e* in all the geographical areas.

Glw	To entrust (V) ¹⁹⁰	F	13891	-κλεου- ¹⁹¹	-οῦς, -οὔτος	δοειλε (V: 336-337)
Gl-šr	Warrior (S)	A, F	389, 12038	Καλασιρ-	-ις, -ιος	δαλασιρε (V: 339)
Gl-d3d3	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁹²	A	390	Καλατυτ-	-ις, -ιος/ -ης, -ου	χωχ (last term) (V: 334)
G-d3d3	Gaza (S)	A, F	396, 4394	-κατυτ- (A, F)	-ις, -ιος/ -ης, -ου	χωχ (last term) (V: 334)
T3	Feminine definite article	I, M	<i>Numerous</i>	Τε-, Τ-, Θ- (I, M)	---	τ, τε, †, θ (V: 208)
T3(.wy)	Land (S)	F	1040, 1422	-τω- (singular), -του- (dual)	-ως, -ωτος	το (S), θο (B) (V: 209-210)
T3y	This of... (f.)	I, M	13903, 26622	-τι-, -τε- (I, M)	---	τε, † (V: 208-209)
T3-rmt-n-	The woman of...	I, M	1444, 28768	Τρεμ-, Τρομ- (I, M) ¹⁹³	---	--- Cf. <i>supra</i> , P3-rmt-n-
T3-šr.t-n-	The daughter of...	I, M	<i>Numerous</i>	Σεν-, Θεν-, Θιν- (I, M)	---	ωερε (S), ωερι (B) (in non-composition) (V: 269) Cf. also <i>supra</i> , P3-šr-n-
T3-dī-	She who has been given by	I, M	1360, 10345	Τετε- Τατε- (I, M)	---	--- Cf. <i>supra</i> , P3-dī-

¹⁹⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1216, who translates the name *Ta-glw* as “Die, die sie (der Gottheit) anvertraut haben”. Cf. also JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter G, p. 56-59: “to entrust, deposit”.

¹⁹¹ In the only Greek transcription in *Short Texts* II 467, A 1.

¹⁹² Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 987.

¹⁹³ Mostly rendered as Τρεμ- in all the areas and as Τρομ- in the Antaiopolites (U10).

Ta-	The one of – (pron.)	I, M	<i>Numerous</i>	Τα-, Θα- (I, M)	---	τα, θα (V: 208)
Tyw	Five	F	940	-τι-, -τιου-	-ις, -ιτος/ -οῦς, -οῦτος	ⲧ, ⲧⲟϣ (V: 223)
Twtw	Totoes (S)	A, M, F	1436, 12550, 998	Τιθο-, Τοθο-, Τοτο- (A, M, F)	-ῆς, -ῆτος/-ήους	Cf. TM Nam 1436
Twtw	Statue (S)	A, F	28399, 10274	Τουωτε ¹⁹⁴ (A) -τουθ-/-τουωθ- (F)	-ις, -ιος/ -ης, -ου	τοϣωτ (S), θοϣωτ (B) (V: 224)
Tb3	Apollonopolis (<i>toponym</i>) (S) ¹⁹⁵	F	8775	-τβω-	-ως, -ωτος	ετβο, τβο, θβω (cf. TM Geo 269)
Tfn.t	Tefnut (S)	F	200	-τφην-	-ις, -ιος	---
Tn	Tebtynis (S)	F	782	-τυν-, -θυν-	-ις, -ιος	---
Tny	Teny (<i>toponym</i>) ¹⁹⁶ (S)	F	4947	-τειν-	-ις, -ιος	---
Tr=w	<i>Meaning unknown</i>	I, F	12541, 31690	-τηρου- (I, F)	-ις, -ιος/ <i>No Greek morphological ending</i>	---
Tr.t	<i>Meaning unknown</i> ¹⁹⁷	F	11316	-τηρ-	-ις, -ιος	---
Thy	Drunkenness (S)	F	497	-τιχ-, -τειχ-	-ις, -ιος/-εως	ⲧⲓϥ (V: 225)
Tš	Limit, frontier (S)	A, I	1353, 1352	Τεσ- (A), Τεσε- (I)	-ῆς, -ῆτος/-ήους	τωω, τωω (S), θωω, θωω (B) ¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ In P. Lond. V 1722, 4: μ]ητρὸς Τουωτε. The Egyptian term for “statue”, *twtw*, can be both masculine and feminine.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. TM Geo 269.

¹⁹⁶ Patinios Dioryx. Cf. TM Geo 6383.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 431, where no translation is given. Cf. also JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter T, p. 250.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. however ϣεωε (Sahidic), θεωε (Bohairic), “neighbour”, with the same root. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 225.

						V: 224-225
Tš	Mars (S)	F	16590	-τυσ-	-ις, -ιος	τωρω (V: 221)
Tzy	To seize (V) ¹⁹⁹	I	1040	Σε-	---	χι- (S), σι- (B) χαγ- (S), σαγ- (B) (V: 323)
Tzy-n.im=w	May (the god) seize them ²⁰⁰	A	1028	Σαμου-	-υς, -υτος/ -ως, -ωτος	Cf. <i>supra</i> , <i>Tzy</i>
Tzy-dy	Bearer of the haircock (S)	A, F	1118, 8805	-σισοι- (A, F)	-ις, -ιτος	χιχωι, σιχωι (S), χιωι (B) (V: 334)
Tb	<i>Meaning uncertain</i> ²⁰¹	I	11987	Σεβε-	---	χεμ- ²⁰² (V: 327)
Dwn	Thonis (S)	A, I, F	1384, 1383, 307	Θων- (A, I, F)	-ις, -ιος	---
Dnī.t	Part ²⁰³ (S)	I	1342	Τηιον-	---	τοε (S), τοι (B), ταιε ταειε (A) (V: 210)
Dbz.w	Avenging demons (S)	F	732	-γβαυ-, -τβευ-	-εύς, -εὔτος/ -ις, -ιος/	τβε, τβη ²⁰⁴ (V: 165)

¹⁹⁹ Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter T, p. 1: “To take, seize”.

²⁰⁰ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1348.

²⁰¹ In the name for “Sebennytos”. Cf. JOHNSON, J. H. (ed.), *CDD*, Letter T, p. 15; Letter T, p. 153-154. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 327: “« (Ville du) Veau divin » ou sim.”.

²⁰² In the toponym χεμνογ†, Greek Σεβέννυτος (< *Tb-ntr*).

²⁰³ Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1283.

²⁰⁴ In the name πετβε, πετβη.

					-ῆς, -ήος/ -οῦς, -οὔτος	
Dm3	Djeme (S)	F	761	-σημ-	-ις, -ιος	ⲭⲏⲙⲉ (S), ⲉⲙⲓ (B) (V: 327)
Dḥwty	Thoth (S)	A (?), I, M, F	16935 (?), 1397, 18780, 1093, 13806	Θοτ- (I, M) θωτ-, θωθ, θωντ (A, F)	-ης, -ου/ -ίς, -ίδος	ⲑⲟⲟϣⲧ (S, O) ²⁰⁵ (V: 58, 160)
Dtm	Mass (?)	F	1301	-σατμ- ²⁰⁶	-ις, <i>genitive unknown</i>	---
Dd	To say (V)	I	1322, 2622	Κα- ²⁰⁷	---	ⲭⲱ, ⲭⲉ- (V: 323-324) ⲕⲁ- ²⁰⁸ (V: 82)
Dd-ḥr	The face says	A, I, F	1349, 1336, 10955, 25681	Τεω-/Θεω-(A, F) Θεα-/Τεε- (I)	-ως, -ωτος	---

²⁰⁵ Cf. also the name ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲑⲟⲟϣⲧ, “The baboon of Thot”.

²⁰⁶ Only in one attestation in UPZ II 180 a, col. 3, 6: Τάσατμς (< *Ta-dtm* (?)). Cf. LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1225.

²⁰⁷ Only in one attestation in SB X 10483, 1: Καμεντεβωνχ; LÜDDECKENS, E. (ed.), *DN*, p. 1366.

²⁰⁸ In the name ⲕⲁⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉⲱⲛⲭ, attested in Old Coptic.

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CONCLUSIONES
Y PERSPECTIVAS
(ESPAÑOL)

Las transcripciones griegas de los nombres propios egipcios no solo revelan la vocalización de las palabras egipcias y la naturaleza del acento egipcio, sino que también ayudan a delimitar las dialetos dialectales del egipcio del período pre-copto y contribuyen a la datación de algunas características de la Koiné. El conocimiento de la datación de una variante lingüística (cf. el nombre Παχοίτης en lugar de Παχύτης < *Pa-hṯ* o las diferentes variantes con la isoglosa dialectal *a/o* en el Fayum) o las posibles áreas geográficas de la que puede proceder dependiendo de su vocalización o de otras características lingüísticas (cf. Πανεχώτης y Πανεχάτης < *Pa-nḫt.w*; o Θίννησις y Θέννησις < *Tḫ-šr.t-n-Ḳs.t*) puede ayudar a los editores a establecer lecturas de antropónimos o resoluciones de abreviaciones correctas y evitar así la creación de nuevos nombres fantasma. Como ya se ha apuntado en el caso de las transcripciones demóticas de los antropónimos griegos¹, los editores, cuando no son capaces de diferenciar entre dos letras, atribuyen errores inexistentes a los escribas antiguos. El análisis de las transcripciones griegas de los nombres egipcios muestra que los errores de los editores son de hecho mucho más frecuentes que los de los escribas antiguos.

Como revelan las transcripciones griegas de *As Ḳmn*, “Amón”; *Ḳs.t*, “Isis”; *Hr*, “Horus” – y también de otros elementos, y especialmente de nombres de divinidades como *Mnt*, “Montu”; *Hnsw*, “Khonsu”; *Sbk*, “Sobek”; and *Dḥwty*, “Thot”² –, la transcripción en posición absoluta y final es la misma: cuando estos elementos aparecen en estas posiciones, su vocalización aparece representada con una vocal griega etimológicamente larga; por otra parte, cuando aparecen al principio o en el medio de un antropónimo, la transcripción de la vocalización generalmente fluctúa entre ε y ο – etimológicamente breves –, o incluso no se representa, como puede observarse en el siguiente cuadro:

Elemento egipcio	Transcripción griega más frecuente			
	Posición absoluta	Posición inicial	Posición medial	Posición final
Ḳmn	Ἀμουν-	Ἀμεν-	-αμεν-	-αμουν-
Ḳs.t	Ἡσε	Σ-, Ἐσε-	-εσ-	-ἦσ-
Mnt	---	Μεντ-,	-μεντ-,	-μωντ-

¹ Cf. CLARYSSE, W., “The Demotic Transcriptions of the Greek Names of the Eponymous Priests”, p. 134: “As a general rule the demotic scribes made far less copyists’ errors than has been generally assumed. More often than not it was the editor who could not distinguish between two resembling letters in a cursive hand or a damaged passage. When new material became available either in Greek or demotic texts, scholars were able to establish the true reading but quite often the original error was incorrectly attributed to the demotic scribe”.

² Cf. Apéndice IV.

		Μοντ-/Μονθ-	-μοντ-/μονθ-	
Hr	Ωρ-, Υρ-	Αρ-	-αρ-	-υρ-
Hnsw	Χωνσ-	Χενσ-/Χεσ-	-χενσ-, -χεσ-	-χωνσ-/χων-
Sbk	Σουχ-	Σοκ-	-σοκ-	-σουχ-
Dhwtj	Θωτ-	Θοτ-	-θοτ-	-θωτ-

Puesto que la oposición entre vocales largas y breves probablemente no existieron en egipcio, las diferentes vocalizaciones que dependen de las posiciones de los elementos dentro de los antropónimos revelan que, puesto que el griego tenía símbolos tanto para las vocales breves como para las largas, éstas se utilizaron para indicar la sílaba sobre la que recaía el acento. Así, las vocales griegas etimológicamente largas se emplearon para indicar la situación del acento egipcio, mientras que las sílabas con vocales etimológicamente breves o sin vocalización parecen haber sido átonas³. La alternancia de ε y ο como transcripciones del *schwa* egipcio /ə/ en sílabas no acentuadas, que también pueden aparecer sin vocalización, junto con la asimilación de vocales en sílabas no acentuadas (cf., por ejemplo, las transcripciones de *-i.îr-di-s*), muestran que el acento egipcio era fuertemente intensivo. La vocalización de algunos elementos revela que, desde el punto de vista acentual, no había en realidad cuatro posiciones en las que los elementos onomásticos pudieran aparecer en un nombre (absoluta, inicial, medial y final), sino sólo dos: la posición medial podría de hecho considerarse como una especie de posición inicial secundaria, y la posición final como una posición absoluta secundaria, puesto que los elementos previos al que estaba acentuado parecer haber sido proclíticos. Este hecho aparece ilustrado para los ejemplos de *Îmn*, *Hnsw* y *Sbk* en la siguiente tabla:

Position (accentual point of view)		Transcripción griega más frecuente ⁴	Antropónimo egipcio (prototipo)	Traducción	TM Nam
Absoluta	Absoluta absoluta	Ἄμ <u>ου</u> νις	Îmn	Amón	1990
		Χ <u>ῶ</u> νσις	*Hnsw	Khonsu	19495
		Σ <u>ου</u> χος	Sbk	Sobek	1122
	Absoluta secundaria	Σενάμ <u>ου</u> νις	T3-šr.t-n-Îmn	La hija de Amón	1056
		Σέν <u>χω</u> νσις	T3-šr.t-n-Hnsw	La hija de Khonsu	1062
		Σέν <u>σ</u> ου <u>χι</u> ς	T3-šr.t-n-Sbk	La hija de Sobek	1087

³ Estamos por tanto de acuerdo con LOPRIENO, A., *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, p. 36: “As a general rule, the opposition between short and long vowel is not phonological, but determined by the respective syllabic structure: long vowels appear in open stressed syllables, and short vowels in closed syllables and in open unstressed syllables”.

⁴ La vocalización de *Îmn*, *Hnsw* y *Sbk* aparece en negrita. La vocal en la que el acento egipcio se situaría está subrayada.

Initial	Absolute initial	Ἀμενώθης	Īmn-ḥtp	Amun está satisfecho	36
		Χεσθώτης	Ḥnsw-Dḥwty	Khonsu-Thot	127
		Σοχώτης	Sbk-ḥtp	Sobek está satisfecho	1123
	Secondary initial	Τααμεννέως	Ta-Īmn-iw	La de Amun ha venido	1252
		Σενχεσθώτης	T3-šr.t-n-Ḥnsw-Dḥwty	La hija de Khonsu-Thot	13806
		Τασόκμηνις	Ta-Sbk-mn	La de Sobek es perdurable	6098

La coincidencia en la vocalización de los elementos en posición absoluta y final permite deducir que la representación original de elementos como *Īs.t* y *Ḥr*, que aparecen principalmente como Ἰσις (derivación griega) y Ὠρος en posición absoluta, fue Ἡσ- (cf. Copto *Ḥse*) y Ὑρ- (cf. las transcripciones en cuneiforme), respectivamente, puesto que las variantes -ἦσ- y -ὑρ- son las mejor atestiguadas en posición final.

Aunque el análisis de las desinencias morfológicas griegas de los antropónimos egipcios en transcripción no ha sido un objetivo específico en esta investigación, es posible extraer algunas conclusiones sobre este tema. De hecho, la representación de la vocalización de los elementos y al mismo tiempo la elección de desinencias morfológicas específicas para los antropónimos que terminan con un determinado elemento permite afirmar que la elección de algunas desinencias dependía de la situación del acento egipcio en los nombres propios⁵. Así, como puede verse en el cuadro *infra*, las desinencias -ις, -ιος/-εως – que la más frecuente en las transcripciones griegas de antropónimos –; -ις, -ιτος; -ης, -ου⁶; y -ος, -ου se utilizaban cuando el acento estaba situado en la sílaba previa (acento

⁵ P. W. Pestman indicó que la desinencia morfológica en griego de los nombres egipcios dependía de la terminación egipcia, pero no parece haberse dado cuenta de que el acento también jugó un papel importante. Cf. PESTMAN, P. W., *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*, p. 485: “Which ending was to be used in a particular case, depended on the ending of the Egyptian name; a -ς was appended when the Egyptian name ended in a vowel, and -ις (sometimes -ης) when it ended in a consonant”. Cf. también GRIFFITH, F. L., *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. III, p. 188-196.

⁶ De acuerdo con PESTMAN, P. W., *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*, p. 495: “Whenever an Egyptian name ends in one of the consonants *t, ḫ, d* or *ḏ*, the Greek ending is occasionally -ις (...), but usually -ης”. Sin embargo, esta regla no siempre parece aplicarse, puesto que en el archivo de los choachytes están atestiguadas excepciones como Σενίμουθις en lugar de Σενιμούθης (< *T3-šr.t-iy-m-ḥt(p)*, “La hija de Imhotep”, TM Nam 1072). Estas excepciones no aparecen explicadas por PESTMAN, P. W., *ibidem*, p. 495: “Neither do I know why category C consists of two groups of names. It may be that the first group (in -ης) originally contained the masculine names and the second one (in -ις) the female names, but the evidence collected here in list C shows that by the end of the second century Greeks and Egyptians did not clearly distinguish between the two

parosítono)⁷, mientras que desinencias como -ᾱς, -ᾱτος; -αυς, -αυτος; -εὺς, -έως/-εὔτος; -ῆς, -έους/-ῆτος; -οῦς, -οὔτος; -ως, -ωτος; y -ωνς, -ωντος⁸ aparecen cuando el acento estaba situado en la última sílaba (oxítono) y por consiguiente caía en la propia desinencia. Esto parece confirmarse por la elección de desinencias diferentes para el mismo element de forma excepcional: así, por ejemplo, el antropónimo *P3-Nhs*, “El etíope” o “El hombre de Etiopía”, que se compone por el artículo definido masculino (proclítico) y el término *Nhs*, aparece como Πνᾱς, -ᾱτος y también como Πνᾱσις, -ιος/-εως. En estas variantes, el acento sólo podía estar situado sobre la α, que aparece como vocalización en la variante Πνᾱσις y al mismo tiempo como vocalización y parte de la desinencia Πνᾱς. De la misma forma, en los nombres con la desinencia -ῆς, -έους/-ῆτος, el acento parece caer en la última sílaba (cf. Βελλῆς < *Bl*; Ἀσιῆς/Εσιῆς < *Hsy*; Ἀτρῆς < *Htr*), lo cual parece confirmado por los testimonios coptos, en los que una última vocal acentuada aparece escrita (cf. ⲃⲗⲗⲉ, ⲛⲁϥⲓⲉ (sahídoco)/ ⲉϥⲓⲉ (bohaíroco), ⲛⲁⲧⲣⲉ, respectivamente⁹). La no acentuación de la sílaba previa se refleja en Βελλῆς/ⲃⲗⲗⲉ, donde una vocal etimológicamente breve ε aparece representada en griego como transcripción del egipcio /ə/, mientras que en copto no aparece ninguna vocal.

Desinencias más frecuentes ¹⁰	Antropónimo en transcripción griega (ejemplo) ¹¹	Antropónimo egipcio (prototipo)	Traducción	TM Nam
-ᾱς, -ᾱτος	Πανᾱς	Pa-n3	<i>Significado desconocido (hipocorístico)</i>	725
	Πνᾱς	P3-Nhs	El etíope	930
	Πέμⲁⲩⲥ	P3-imy	El gato	802

groups”. Las excepciones con la desinencia -ις para las terminaciones egipcias en *t, t̥, d, d̥* podrían sin embargo considerarse como variantes itacísticas de -ῆς.

⁷ En los antropónimos con la desinencia -ις, -ιτος (cf. Φμόις < *P3-m3y*; Σίσοις < *T3y-dy*), el acento parece haber estado situado en la o como es posible deducir de las variantes Φμούεις, Φμούις y Σίσωις, Σισώεις).

⁸ Sobre las terminaciones -αυς, -αυτος and -ωνς, -ωντος, cf. CLARYSSE, W., “Greek Accents on Egyptian Names”, p. 182-183: “For several names of this group -ως, -ωτος is a variant of -ωνς, -ωντος and -αυς, -αυτος. Here there is a *w* in Egyptian, which is sometimes rendered in Greek and sometimes dropped, because Greek did not have the group *ωυ* (...). I suggest to follow the general rule of Greek words in -ως, which is confirmed by Herodian (...). The group *ωυ* is then considered a diphthong”.

⁹ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 27; 313-314; 316, respectivamente.

¹⁰ Para las desinencias bien atestiguadas cuatro ejemplos se han considerado; para aquellas con menos testimonios, dos ejemplos se han considerado. Algunas desinencias apenas atestiguadas, como -ία, -ίας or -ίς, -ίδος, no se han incluido aquí. Cf., sin embargo, Apéndice IV, donde aparecen las desinencias morfológicas atestiguadas para los elementos que componen los antropónimos egipcios en transcripción griega.

¹¹ La vocal acentuada aparece en negrita.

-αυς, -αυτος	Πετέφανς	P3-di-p3-ḥwṯ	El que ha sido dado por el macho	7928
-εύς, -έως/-εὔτος	Ἀμεννεύς	Īmn-iw	Amón ha venido	34
	Πεεῦς	P3-iwiw	El perro	7341
	Σναχομνεύς	Ns-n3-ḥmny.w	Él/Ella pertenece a la Ogdóada	186
	Σεμθεύς	Sm3-t3.wy	El unificaror de las dos tierras	1044
-ῆς, -έους/-ῆτος	Βελλῆς	Bl	El ciego	95
	Μεγχῆς	Mnh	El excelente	453
	Ἀσιῆς/Ἐσιῆς	Ḥsy	El santo	337
	Ἀτρῆς	Ḥtr	El gemelo	317
-ης, -ου	Ἰμοῦθης	Īy-m-ḥtp	Imhotep	368
	Πετεαρμούθης	P3-di-Ḥr-iwn-mw.t=f	El que ha sido dado por Horus, el pilar de su madre	7939
	Ἀρυώτης	Ḥr-wd3	Horus es próspero	310
	Παμώνθης	Pa-Mnṯ	El de Montu	720
-ις, -ιως/-εως	Ἀμένωφίς	Īmn-m-Īp.t	Amón en Opet	8042
	Ὅσορόρις	Wsir-wr	Osiris el grande	575
	Πάχουμις	P3-ḥm	El águila	679
	Βῆκις	Byk	Halcón	9003
-ις, -ιτος	Φμόις	P3-m3y	El león	928
	Σίσοις	T3y-dy	El portador del rizo	1118
-ος, -ου	Ἀμορταῖος	Īmn-i.ir-di-s	Amón es el que la/lo ha dado	42
	Ἦρος	Ḥr	Horus	356
-οῦς, -οὔτος	Ταλοῦς	Ta-ṯw	El del niño	1208
	Τανοῦς	Ta-Nw3	El de Tentyris	12396
	Λολοῦς	Llw	Joven hombre	429
	Ψανμοῦς	P3-s-n-ḥm3	El vendedor de sal	12966
	Πέβως	P3-3b3	La pantera	794

-ως, -ωτος	Ψενθμεσίως	P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -ms-ʿ ₃ .t	El hijo de la Grande de nacimientos	10318
	Πνεφέρως	P ₃ -nfr-ḥr	El de la cara bonita	932
	Τιτως	T ₃ y-t ₃	Este de la tierra	1422
-ους, -ουτος	Ἰθόρως	Ḳr.t=w-r.r=w	Su ojo está contra ellos	386
	Ψιντέσους	P ₃ -šr-n-t ₃ -i ₃ w	El hijo de la oveja	958

La elección de una desinencia específica para cada elemento egipcio depende por consiguiente de las características acentuales y fonológicas del elemento egipcio, hasta el punto de que en algunos antropónimos no es fácil distinguir entre el final de la raíz del elemento egipcio y el principio de la desinencia griega porque ambos están integrados. Así, los nombres que finalizan con el estativo del verbo *iw*, “venir”, acaban en -εύς (cf. Ἀμεννεύς < *Ḳmn-iw*, “Amón ha venido”) – y -εύς parece ser la transcripción *iw* y la terminación morfológica al mismo tiempo –. No es posible por tanto saber si el nombre Ἀρεύς¹² – siempre que no aparezca en un texto bilingüe o en documentos que aludan a un *milieu* egipcio, es una transcripción de *Hr-iw*, “Horus ha venido”, o un nombre de origen griego relacionado con el dios Ares con la desinencia -εύς¹³. Del mismo modo, en los nombres con las desinencias -οῦς, -οῦτος y -ως, -ωτος, la transcripción del elemento egipcio final termina en -ου- y -ω-, respectivamente (cf. Λολοῦς < *Llw*, “Joven hombre”, Coptic λελογ/λιλογ¹⁴; Μεσίως¹⁵ < **Msy-ʿ₃.t*, “Grande de nacimientos”, Coptic μεσιω¹⁶), y estas terminaciones forman parte al mismo tiempo de la transcripción del elemento y de la desinencia morfológica.

¹² Cf. TM Nam 263.

¹³ El nombre Ἀρεύς aparece de hecho en el *LGP*N y está bien atestiguado en lugares como Esparta desde el s. IV a. C. hasta el s. II d. C.

¹⁴ In sahidico y achmímico, respectivamente. Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 97-98.

¹⁵ TM Nam 10601.

¹⁶ Cf. VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 122.

Las transcripciones griegas de los antropónimos parecen por tanto confirmar que el acento egipcio sólo podía caer en la última o la penúltima sílaba (cf. por ejemplo Πετέσουχος < *P3-di-Sbk*, “El hijo de Sobek”; Ψενθμεσίως < *P3-šr-n-t3-ms- ʒ.t*, “El hijo de la Grande de nacimientos”), según lo indicado por J. Vergote¹⁷. En las transcripciones de antropónimos egipcios, ninguna evidencia puede encontrarse sobre el hecho de que la antepenúltima sílaba pudiera estar acentuada¹⁸.

El reflejo del fuerte acento de intensidad característico de la lengua egipcia en la representación de la vocalización de los elementos y la elección de una desinencia morfológica específica para los antropónimos en transcripción lleva a pensar en qué medida el acento egipcio pudo haber contribuido al cambio de la naturaleza del acento griego, que originalmente era un acento tonal, en el griego hablado en Egipto. Este cambio de naturaleza de acento griego está estrechamente relacionado con la pérdida de distinción cuantitativa y la consiguiente confusión de vocales breves, largas diptongos, especialmente en sílabas no acentuadas¹⁹. Aunque el cambio de un acento tonal a un acento de

¹⁷ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 47: “Chaque mot copte porte l’accent sur l’avant-dernière ou sur la dernière syllabe, qui, seule, est pleinement vocalisée tandis que les syllabes atones ont un point vocalique /ə/ ou une de ses variantes (...). Lorsqu’un substantif forme avec un autre substantif ou avec un adjectif un mot composé, il peut perdre son accent et sa voyelle : il se met alors à « l’état construit », que nous caractérisons, dans la grammaire, par un petit trait, p. ex. Ⲫⲁⲭⲟⲉⲓⲣ, feuille (Ⲫⲱⲙⲱⲉ) d’olivier ; ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲓⲥⲉ jour (ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ) de naissance, anniversaire ; ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ, parfum, litt. bonne odeur (ⲉⲩⲟⲩ)”. Cf. también JUNGE, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, p. 36: “The stress falls on either the last syllable (ultima) or the last but one syllable (penultima) of the word – the “tonic syllable”; the stress may be shifted when grammatical endings and suffixes increase the number of syllables. Stressless – “pretonic” or “post-tonic” – syllables can be severely shortened”.

¹⁸ Cf. LOPRIENO, A., *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, p. 37: “Independent of morphological patterns, the stress falls in Egyptian on either the ultimate (oxytone) or the penultimate (paroxytone) syllable of a word (...). Since the stress can only affect the last two syllables of an Egyptian word, the governing rule of syllabic patters is known with the German term *Zweisilbengesetz* (“law of the two syllables”). For the prehistory of the Egyptian language, some scholars posit a situation in which, as in the related Semitic languages, the stress could also affect the antepenultimate syllable (*Dreisilbelgesetz*, i.e. “law of the three syllables”); FECHT, G., *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache*, Glückstadt, p. 189-215; ALLEN, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Language. An Historical Study*, p. 12: “Native Coptic lexemes generally have from one to three syllables, with a single stress on the last or penultimate syllable”; p. 24: “The stress of many Egyptian lexemes can be reconstructed on the basis of their vocalized Coptic descendants: for example, ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ/ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲩ “thicken” < *wamát. Based on these, stress seems generally to have corresponded to the Coptic preference for final or penultimate syllables, except for lexicalized compounds such as *ḥām-naṯur (*ḥm-nṯr* “priest”, literally “god’s servant”) > ⲛⲟⲩⲩ. The existence of such exceptions, however, makes it conceivable that some inflected forms also had antepenultimate stress”. El ejemplo mencionado por J. P. Allen no es completamente seguro, puesto que en el antropónimo Φαντ < *P3-ḥm-nṯr*, “El sacerdote profeta” (TM Nam 609), como en copto ⲛⲟⲩⲩ, *nṯr* aparece en una forma reducida y el nombre completo en griego aparece como una única sílaba – posiblemente debido a la analogía con formas como Φεμνε-, que representa *P3-ḥm-nṯr* en composición (cf. por ejemplo Φεμνεσοῦχος < *P3-ḥm-Sbk*, “El sacerdote profeta de Sobek”, TM Nam 26385), aunque también puede tratarse de un antropónimo abreviado –, que es la sílaba acentuada. Es la transcripción griega o la forma copta y no la escritura egipcia histórica, en la cual algunos elementos que no se pronunciaban de acuerdo con las transcripciones podían aparecer representados, la que debe tenerse en cuenta.

¹⁹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 325: “Quantitative distinction was lost in Egypt by the beginning of the Roman period. This is indicated by the frequent interchanges of

intensidad parece haber sido propio de la evolución natural de la propia lengua griega y haber ocurrido en todas las áreas geográficas, el acento intensivo egipcio pudo haber intensificado este proceso en el griego hablado en Egipto, puesto que el porcentaje en el intercambio de vocales largas y breves es más frecuente en Egipto que en cualquier otra parte de la Koiné, como indica F. T. Gignac²⁰.

Aunque la geminación de consonantes ha sido considerada como una característica de la Koiné²¹, no es fácil saber en qué medida esto se aplica a las transcripciones de antropónimos egipcios. En las transcripciones griegas, la geminación es especialmente frecuente en algunos nombres específicos e inexistente en otros. Así, en el 32.5 % de las transcripciones de *P3-šr-n-Īs.t*, “El hijo de Isis”²²; 67.6 % de las transcripciones de *T3-šr.t-n-Īs.t*, “La hija de Isis”²³; 5/7 de las representaciones de *T3-šr-n-p3-šr-n-Īs.t*, “La hija del hijo de Isis”²⁴; 3/1 de las transcripciones de **P3-šr-n-t3-šr.t-n-Īs.t*, “El hijo de la hija de Isis”²⁵, la *n* de genitivo aparece como geminada (cf. Ψέννησις, Σέννησις, Σεψέννησις,

etymologically long and short vowels and diphthongs from the early Roman to the late Byzantine periods. The symbols for diphthongs interchange with those for long or short vowels without distinction”.

²⁰ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 325-326: “The loss of quantitative distinction reflects a change in the nature of the Greek accent (...). Classical Greek had a pitch accent, and meter was determined by quantity. Modern Greek word accent, coinciding with the historical pitch marks, is at once musical, quantitative, and intensive (...). This transfer and subordination of quantity is indicated in the language of the papyri indirectly by the loss of distinction between etymologically long and short vowels and the lack of distinction in phonological development between vowels with acute or circumflex accent, and directly by the confusion of vowels more frequently and unconditionally in unaccented syllables than in accented syllables, as well as by the phenomena of vowel loss in unaccented syllables. The frequency of these phenomena in the papyri as compared with the rest of the Koine indicates a greater force and prominence of stress in the accent of Egyptian Greek. A stronger stress accent in Egypt is the result of bilingual interference. In Coptic, the stress accent was so strong that few vowels quantities were distinguished in unaccented syllables”. Cf. también LEJEUNE, M., *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, p. 283: “En grec ancien, le rythme du mot est quantitatif et repose sur l’opposition de syllabes brèves et de syllabes longues ; il est dépendant du ton. C’est seulement dans le passage au grec moderne, quand un accent d’intensité se sera superposé au ton, que le rythme quantitatif, sous sa forme nouvelle, coïncidera avec le rythme accentuel”; p. 298: “Le grec ancien a donc largement subordonné le ton au rythme, aussi longtemps que la nature du ton s’y est conservée. Quand, sur les syllabes qu’intonait le grec ancien, se développera un accent d’intensité, c’est, au contraire, le rythme qui changera de caractère et sera subordonné à l’accent”.

²¹ Cf. GIGNAC, F. T., *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I, p. 154: “Single consonants are very frequently doubled in writing and contiguous identical consonants very infrequently represented by a single letter through the Roman and Byzantine periods, as elsewhere in the Koine. This indicates the identification in speech of single and double consonants corresponding to the loss of quantitative distinction in vowels, which occurred under the influence of the stress accent”.

²² Cf. TM Nam 976. 130 transcripciones de un total de 400 contienen v geminada.

²³ Cf. TM Nam 1065. 48 transcripciones de un total de 71 v contienen v geminada.

²⁴ Cf. TM Nam 13644.

²⁵ Cf. TM Nam 23775.

Ψενσεννήσις). Igualmente, en el 85 % de las transcripciones de *Īmn-īw*, “Amón ha venido”²⁶, la *n* de *Īmn* aparece como geminada (Ἀμηννέως), y el mismo fenómeno puede observarse en otros antropónimos que contienen *Īmn-īw*: 13/15 de las transcripciones de *Ta-Īmn-īw*, “El de Amón ha venido”²⁷, por ejemplo, se han escrito con doble *v*. El alto porcentaje de geminación de *n* en las transcripciones de algunos antropónimos específicos, junto con la ausencia de geminación en las transcripciones de otros, lleva a pensar que en algunos antropónimos la geminación puede deberse al intento de reflejar la estructura silábica del egipcio. Los diferentes autores no parecen, desafortunadamente, estar de acuerdo en la estructura de las diferentes sílabas del egipcio²⁸, pero de los ejemplos mencionados anteriormente puede deducirse que *Īs.t* y *īw* podían empezar por una *yod* consonántica que no se representaba en transcripción generalmente. Cuando estos elementos estaban situados en posición final, la estructura silábica, que se componía de consonante-vocal-consonante (CVC), aparece representada como -νησ-, -νευ-, con geminación de la consonante previa, que en este caso era la *n* de genitivo²⁹. Esta hipótesis, que no puede confirmarse dada la falta de acuerdo de los autores sobre la composición de la estructura silábica del egipcio, explicaría el alto porcentaje de geminación en las transcripciones de algunos antropónimos específicos y su ausencia en otros.

De acuerdo con las transcripciones griegas de antropónimos egipcios, en el Egipto Greco-romano se hablaba cuatro dialectos principales: bohaírico en el Delta, fayúmico en el Fayum, sahídico entre aproximadamente Oxyrhynco y Licópolis y achmímico entre Panópolis y Elefantina. El área de Antaiópolis y Apolonópolis (U10) parece haber sido una zona de transición entre el achmímico y el sahídico, puesto que algunos testimonios que reflejan la diaglosa *a/o* se encuentran mezclados allí³⁰.

²⁶ Cf. TM Nam 34. 221 de 260 transcripciones contienen *v* geminada.

²⁷ Cf. TM Nam 1252.

²⁸ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 44-47; EDGERTON, W. F., “Stress, Vowel Quantity, and Syllable Division in Egyptian”, p. 1-17; FECHT, G., *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache*, Glückstadt, p. 188-196; JUNGE, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction*, p. 36.

²⁹ Cf. ALLEN, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Language. An Historical Study*, p. 23: “Because vowels are unwritten in Egyptian, syllable structure and stress are essentially invisible. Although Coptic has vowelless words and syllables that begin and end with consonant clusters, it has traditionally been assumed that the syllables of Egyptian lexemes originally began with a single consonant and were either open (CV) or closed by a single consonant (CVC). In the most rigid analysis, all native lexemes are also presumed originally to have ended with a single consonant, whether or not one is written in preserved examples”; LOPRIENO, A., *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, p. 48: “Coptic syllabic patterns are similar to those of Late Egyptian, the only major difference being represented by the emergence of new patterns from the reduction to *schwa* (and eventually to zero) of the short vowel of pretonic open syllables and the development of biconsonantal onsets”.

³⁰ Cf. los mapas dialectales para *sn*, “brother”, en el Apéndice III. Cf. también el mapa para *snw*, “two”, en el Apéndice III: en Antaiópolis la variante -σνευ- aparece principalmente, mientras que en Panópolis -σνω- es la más frecuente. Otras

Puesto que esta es la zona en la que los autores han situado el dialecto sub-achmímico, estos resultados llevan a la pregunta de si lo que tradicionalmente se ha llamado dialecto sub-achmímico no se corresponde en realidad con el área de transición entre el achmímico y el sahídico y no con un dialecto específico que deba ser supuesto en esa zona³¹. Además, esta zona de transición, que algunos autores consideran como el área donde se hablaba el achmímico, parece haber sido más reducida que lo que tradicionalmente se ha considerado (cf. *infra*, los mapas con la distribución de los dialectos coptos de acuerdo con W. H. Worrell, P. E. Kahle y J. Vergote³²; y el mapa con los dialectos egipcios de acuerdo con las transcripciones griegas de antropónimos egipcios). Como indicó J. Quaegebeur, la documentación entre Ankyrópolis y Memphis no está bien representada, pero en algunos lugares de esta zona como Heracleópolis la influencia del fayúmico puede constatarse. No es por tanto posible saber si en esta zona se hablaba sahídico con influencia achmímica o si se trata de una zona de transición donde pueden encontrarse rasgos de varios dialectos. Aunque algunas características específicas parecen encontrarse en áreas reducidas, como Θiv- o Xev- para *Tʒ-šr.t-n-* en Elefantina y el nomo de Oxyrhynco, respectivamente, no hay datos suficientes para considerar que un dialecto diferente se hablaba en esas zonas. De hecho, la vocalización de *ht* y otros términos que contienen la diaglosa *a/o* es *α* en Elefantina – la misma que en achmímico –, y *o/ω* en Oxyrhynco – la misma que en sahídico –. La impresión aquí es que en esos lugares achmímico y sahídico, respectivamente, se hablaban, aunque al mismo tiempo había variantes locales para algunos términos no compartidas con otras regiones y por consiguiente no suficientemente decisivas para afirmar que en Elefantina y Oxyrhynco se hablaban otros dialectos diferentes al achmímico y el sahídico. No es imposible, sin embargo, que los rasgos de otros posibles dialectos no aparezcan representados o no se hayan detectado en el corpus relativamente pequeño de elementos egipcios atestiguados en transcripción griega.

La cronología de los elementos que reflejan la diaglosa dialectal *a/o* (cf. *ht*) y el lambdacismo en antropónimos en transcripción³³ muestran que no hay una evidencia sólida de que el fayúmico se

características lingüísticas también parecen haber sido características de esta área, como la vocalización *ω* para *Pʒ-rmt-n-* en composición, que, de acuerdo con VYICHL, W., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 173-174, es una característica de sahídico anormal y de acuerdo con CRUM, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 294-296, del sahídico. Cf. Apéndice IV. Esta variante sólo se encuentra sin embargo en el nomo antaiopolita. Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I. “The Ancient Egyptian Dialects in Light of the Greek Transcriptions of Egyptian Anthroponyms”, forthcoming.

³¹ Cf. BLASCO TORRES, A. I. “The Ancient Egyptian Dialects in Light of the Greek Transcriptions of Egyptian Anthroponyms”, en prensa.

³² Cf. VERGOTE, J., “Les dialectes dans le domaine égyptien”, p. 237-249; VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 53-59; WORRELL, W. H., *Coptic Sounds*, p. 63-82.

³³ Cf. Apéndice III.

hablara antes del s. I d. C. En el período ptolemaico sólo las variantes con *o* se encuentran por lo general, como en sahídico y bohaírico, los dos dialectos hablados en torno al Fayum. En el primer siglo d. C., el fayúmico comienza a emerger y parece desarrollarse durante los siglos II y III d. C. Las variantes con *α* para los términos que contienen la diaglosa *a/o* son por consiguiente improbables para el período ptolemaico en el Fayum.

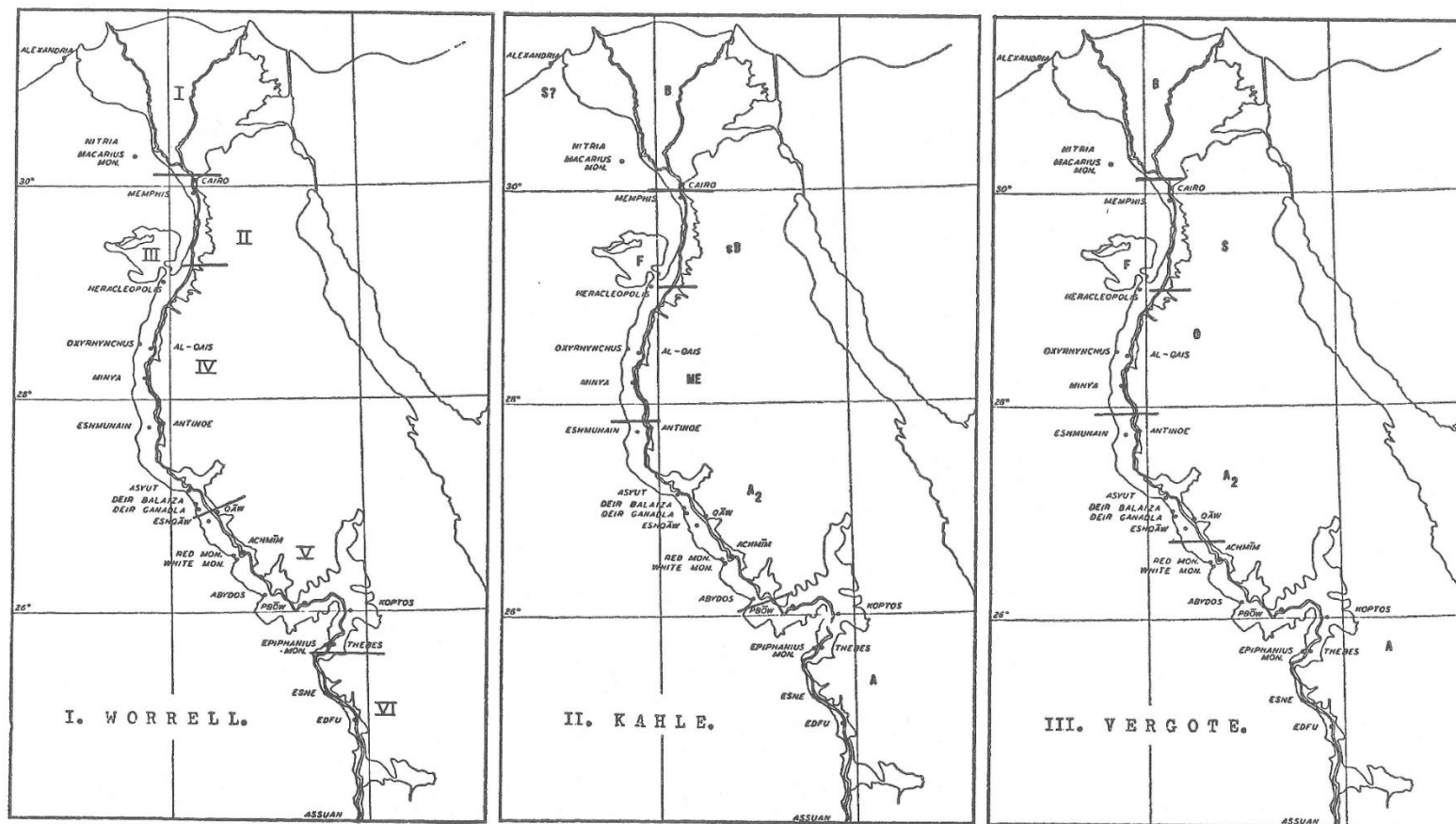
Aunque la distribución de los dialectos del egipcio del período pre-copto se ha revelado después del estudio sobre las transcripciones griegas *Šȝy* por J. Quaegebeur³⁴ y confirmado por este trabajo, la investigación sobre las transcripciones de los antropónimos del período greco-romano debe continuarse en el futuro. Como puede verse en el Apéndice IV, la mayor parte de los elementos egipcios atestiguados en transcripción griega permanecen sin estudiar y algunas cuestiones, como el tiempo verbal de las formas representadas en las variantes Ἀπυγχις/Επώνυχος (< *Īw=f- 'nh*), que parece ser dialectal, requieren una respuesta definitiva³⁵. Por otra parte, un análisis global de las transcripciones demóticas de antropónimos griegos – que todavía no se ha llevado a cabo³⁶ – ayudará posiblemente a definir las estructuras silábicas egipcias y a confirmar – o no – si las sílabas egipcias siempre empezaban por consonante como tradicionalmente se ha asumido³⁷.

³⁴ Cf. QUAEGEBEUR, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique*.

³⁵ Cf. *Īw* en el Apéndice IV.

³⁶ Una primera aproximación puede encontrarse en CLARYSSE, W., “The Demotic Transcriptions of the Greek Names of the Eponymous Priests”. Cf. CLARYSSE, W., *ibidem*, p. 133: “We are fully aware that this is not a final study on the subject, but only a provisional guide for recognising Greek personal names in demotic transcription and a tentative inventory of the rules of transcription into demotic”.

³⁷ Cf. VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 44: “Selon l’opinion la plus courante, une syllabe copte doit toujours commencer par une consonne”; ALLEN, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Language. An Historical Study*, p. 23.



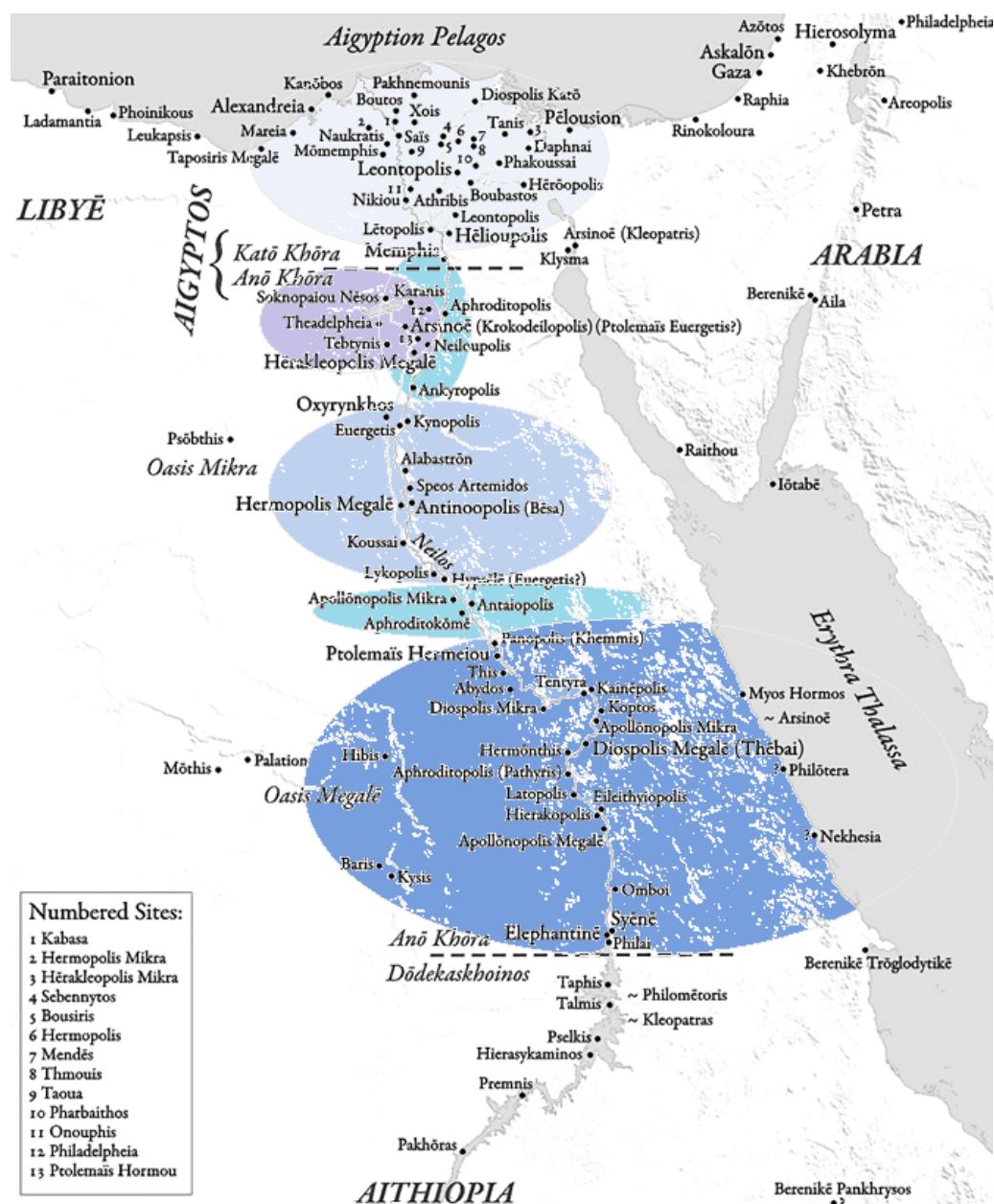
Distribución de los dialectos coptos de acuerdo con W. H. Worrell, P. E. Kahle y J. Vergote

(imagen de VERGOTE, J., *Grammaire copte* Ia, p. 59)

I. WORRELL: zona I: bohaírico ; III: fayúmico; II and IV: sahídico; and VI: achmímico; sub-achmímico: hablado en el área de Qāw

II. KAHLE: A: achmímico; A₂: sub-achmímico; ME: egipcio medio; F: fayúmico; sB: semi-bohaírico; B: bohaírico; S: sahídico

III. VERGOTE: A: achmímico; A₂: sub-achmímico; O: oxyrhynquita; S: sahídico; F: fayúmico; B: bohaírico



- Boháirico
- Fayúmico
- Sahídico
- Área con influencia lingüística de varios dialectos; zona transicional
- Achmímico

Distribución de los dialectos egipcios de acuerdo con las transcripciones griegas de los antropónimos egipcios

RESUMEN (ESPAÑOL)

Como precursoras de la escritura copta, las transcripciones griegas de los antropónimos egipcios no sólo reflejan algunas características fonéticas y morfológicas de la lengua egipcia y muestran rasgos característicos de la Koiné, sino que también, gracias a la notación de las vocales, que no se escribían en los textos egipcios anteriores a la época copta, revelan algunos aspectos dialectales de la lengua egipcia. Sin embargo, el número de elementos egipcios atestiguados en transcripción griega estudiado hasta el momento no es amplio, a pesar de la gran cantidad de nombres egipcios atestiguados en caracteres griegos. El objetivo de esta investigación es analizar, gracias a la base de datos de Trismegistos, desarrollada en el Departamento de Historia Antigua de la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (<http://www.trismegistos.org/>), un número determinado de elementos egipcios en transcripción griega para conocer tanto aspectos de la Koiné como nuevos datos sobre la lengua egipcia y la delimitación de los dialectos de época pre-copta. El conocimiento de las características de los nombres egipcios y de su interpretación evita, además, la creación de nombres fantasma: con frecuencia, de hecho, los papirólogos griegos dudan entre la lectura de varias letras en los textos de escritura muy cursiva o pasajes deteriorados. La correcta interpretación de los nombres egipcios en transcripción y sus variantes es un medio valioso para descartar lecturas erróneas en las distintas fuentes.

La presente investigación ha confirmado el desarrollo cronológico de algunas características de la Koiné, así como algunos aspectos fonéticos y relativos al acento de la lengua egipcia. De acuerdo con las transcripciones griegas de nombres egipcios, la delimitación geográfica de los dialectos egipcios es clara: el bohaírico se hablaba en el Delta, el fayúmico en la zona del Fayum, el sahídico entre Heracleópolis y Licópolis, y el achmímico entre Panópolis y Elephantina. Entre las áreas de Panópolis y Licópolis y Heracleópolis y Memphis pueden encontrarse rasgos de varios dialectos. Futuras investigaciones podrán tal vez revelar si dialectos como el sub-achmímico existieron o si se trata de variedades mixtas situadas en zonas de transición.